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JULY, 1894.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

BY EX-SPEAKER REED.

THE present administration has been in power a year and four months. This would ordinarily be a very short period by which to judge of its value to the people of this country. But since March, 1893, events have moved so rapidly and have been of such serious import that most men's minds are already settled as to the verdict which will be rendered whenever the opportunity is offered.

In fact, the verdict, so far as that means the concentrated opinion of men everywhere, has already been rendered. So uniform has been the expression of opinion that all who speak to the people on this subject are entirely relieved from the need of arguing the question, and are forced to confine themselves to mere comment, unable even in that to avail themselves of the things which were most striking because those things have been worn out by the tireless discussion which has ensued. We have had plenty of leisure for discussion. Business has not distracted our thoughts.

It is true that the course of human history shows many changes from prosperity to adversity, and perhaps it is too much to hope that the time will ever come when the race will be exempt from periodic disaster even as severe as that which is upon us now. Nevertheless, if we are ever to have a more uni-

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form course of prosperity, it must come from such consideration as we may be able to give to the causes which lead to our misfortunes and the incidents which attend them. Knowledge of the disease is the first preliminary to the invention of remedies. Party government being so evidently the sole kind of government possible in any country at all free or civilized, it is strange that men do not grasp the idea and keep it always in their minds that what governs a country is not the individual or individuals who occupy prominent places, but the party which surrounds and supports them; the party, the sentiments of which are really the guiding and controlling force. Human beings are so constituted that each leans upon the other, and all upon each. Of course the sentiments of the party out of office are not without their force, even upon those apparently holding the reins of power; but the main impulse for good or ill comes to an administration from those which immediately surround it. It has in itself very little original power. Of course it may get strength from the whole people, and that strength on particular things may be so great that party may be overridden and measures may become law which party policy does not dictate, but this can only be when the party itself is so discordant and broken that it can hardly be called a party.

For many years the Republican party, under administration after administration, pursued a course so proper and suitable as a whole that the deserved praise bestowed upon it became a rock of offence, and the sneer injected into the words "pointing with pride," which we had justly placed in our platforms, did us more harm than our good works could cancel. In this envious world more than one Aristides has gone into banishment because the world got tired of hearing him called the Just.

When the Democratic party came into power there were not a few of those who had voted against it who gave themselves some consolation in the hope that the possession of power would work in that party a change which would be of advantage to the whole country. Being out of power a long time makes the members of a minority party unreasonable, suspicious, and incapable of those sensible allowances which must be made for the shortcomings of those in office. They get to think of their opponents not as misguided, but as wicked. Nor can you ever entirely exclude a minority from influence. Even their unjust out-

cries have their effect. Hence there were those who hoped that an experience of the difficulties of government would so press upon the newcomers, that, steadied by due sense of responsibility, they would unite upon some reasonable course of conduct which, while it might not be of the best, would at least not be of the worst.

This consolatory hope has hardly been realized, and yet the experience which the Democracy have had in misgoverning the country, conjoined with that rebuke which the country seems so likely to administer promptly at the first opportunity, may secure to us hereafter an opposition less gangrened with envy and more reasonable in its estimate of the doings of those who have the problems of government to solve and its responsibilities to encounter.

At the same time the country at large, and especially those men who pride themselves on being above partisanship, will learn that there are odds in parties, and that it is not the proper subject of a toss-up which they will have.

Of course, we all knew as a matter of theoretical knowledge that the only way in which its ablest leader could seem to bring his party under one tent was to invent that charming phrase, "I am a Democrat," which served at once as a designation and an evasion; but we were very far from having a realizing sense of the real discord which reigned throughout. It is not by words, but by actions, that men show what they think.

It has been owing to this discord and lack of agreement among their opponents the past year that those who were the rulers of this country from 1861 to 1893 have been able to show to the people that whether in power or out of power they have the same good sense which rendered the history of the American people between those dates a history of prosperity and progress unequalled by any other thirty years. Whenever there has been any portion of the Democracy large enough to enable us to turn the scale to the side of right and good government, the Republican party has not been wanting to the country.

The history of the last year must have been a bitter disappointment to many good men who, not satisfied with a reasonable amount of good government, sought to find a future better than the past, by throwing themselves into the hands of a party which was and is the creation of pure opposition, a party which had

never been for anything in particular, but simply against everything in general. How these men could have hoped for anything but the dismal result which now darkens the country they are probably at this moment asking themselves with more of anger than of sorrow. Of course these men, and with them many partisans of long standing, are now repenting with exceeding bitterness of spirit. They are also bringing forth works meet for repentance. No election, however trivial, which gives men a chance to show their feelings has been neglected. Wherever the elections have been on a scale great enough, the disgust of the people has taken on the largest possible proportions, and the people have not failed to emphasize what they meant. In Oregon, where the Populists hoped to render the verdict uncertain, the voters have left no doubt and given no sign which could be mistaken.

What a horribly disappointed country it is, and has a right to be! Read over Mr. Cleveland's inaugural, which perhaps contained his aspirations and the hopes he had of the future he was about to enter upon, and compare it with the events which have happened and those which are impending. Read the second paragraph of page 3 of the first volume of the *Record* of the Fifty-third Congress, in which the inaugural is published, and note the severe measure which was to be meted out to the "immense aggregations of kindred enterprises and combinations of business interests," which was the President's condensation of the word "trusts," and compare the hope with the fruition as shown in the Senate debate and the Senate vote of June 5th on the sugar schedule. Compare the homily on "paternalism" and the duty of having our "judgments unmoved by alluring phrases and unvexed by selfish interests," with the Jones amendments to the Tariff bill and the unerring certainty with which you can pick out the utterly unselfish interests which prompted their introduction and the particular senators who have laid their selfish interests a sacrifice on the altar of their Democracy.

The inaugural also attracts attention, upon rereading, by another phrase:

"When we tear aside," says the President, "the delusions and misconceptions which have blinded our countrymen to their condition under vicious tariff laws, we but show them how far they have been led away from the paths of contentment and prosperity." This was said March 4, 1893, when all mill wheels

were turning, factories were humming, trains were loaded, and the laborer was receiving the largest hire that labor ever knew on earth since Adam left Eden. Mr. Cleveland's administration and friends have certainly "torn aside" a good many "delusions and misconceptions," but, "blinded as our countrymen were to their condition under vicious tariff laws," they never mistook the Slough of Despond for the "paths of contentment and prosperity."

Another part of the inaugural contains some very fitting words in regard to the spoils system, intimating that offices should not be the rewards of partisan activity. Of course this also means that offices should not be used as rewards for legislative action, and we are all quite sure that the two letters of Senator Vest, recently published, which intimate that conformity to the President's views on matters of legislation is the indispensable prerequisite to the reception of a senator's "advice" as to offices in his own State, were erroneous as to fact or mistakes in discernment. We are quite sure also that the advice of Boston Democratic newspapers to use offices for purposes of legislation was never followed.

This REVIEW has not pages enough to contrast the inaugural, which was promise, with the facts, which are fulfillment.

We have very little to do with foreign nations, and there is nothing which troubles us less than our foreign affairs. Judging from what has happened in the little sphere in which we do move, it is lucky for us that rolling oceans, for the most part, divide us from the rest of the world.

If foreign affairs meant for us peace and war, trade and commerce, life and death, this country would have been in as bad a collapse of distrust as to diplomacy as it is as to business. Of course I have not the slightest design to rehearse the Hawaiian affair which excited so much just indignation, but has latterly fallen so dead that the country hardly noticed the other day the fact that the Senate in no ambiguous phrase reëchoed the demand of the country that the people of those islands should be let alone, and thereby administered to the administration that rebuke which would have been so much more valuable if it had been more prompt. It took the present Senate more than a year to come to the conclusion which the country reached on sight. The House, with Governor McCreary chairman of foreign affairs, is still sup-

porting the President. But the House is Democratic by one hundred majority, the Senate by only three. I commented some time ago in this REVIEW on the violation by the Wilson Bill of the principles laid down by the Democracy in convention assembled and made part of the platform which conducted their partisans to power. That lead has been followed throughout, and to-day almost all the other planks of that platform are swimming separate in the vast gulf of human misery which their promises mock, kept not even to the ear.

Washington, the State, is mourning over the swarm of Georgians newly imported into the offices there to show that home rule in a platform and home rule in practice do not go hand in hand, while Washington, the city, sees one of the best places placating a Kansas man who would take nothing else.

Last month, two days after the Oregon election, another distinctive plank was ripped off and flung into the stormy sea. Of course this is the best that could be done with it as with all the rest, but the event shows of how little value are all the declarations of a party which has no real union of principle and purpose. Nevertheless the defeat of a measure which had the deliberate sanction of the party in convention assembled, by a vote of 172 to 102 in a House where the strict party majority is eighty, and the real majority is one hundred, was an event significant of the untrustworthiness of those who did it. The way also in which the bill, which was made the vehicle to bring before the House the repeal of the State bank tax, was kicked into the waste basket afterwards, had in it a befitting touch of the ludicrous; so also had the fact that eight Democrats who two years ago before the convention met voted for repeal, turned round after it became a party pledge and voted against it. The House discussed the question a week and a half, and then the whole thing—bill, amendment, substitute, and all—disappeared, leaving not a wrack behind.

But all these things are small matters hardly worth the time already spent on them. The great crime of the present administration of affairs has been its treatment of the tariff question. The treatment commenced in the Democratic platform, with its wild denunciation of protection and fanatical indorsement of free trade. Had the people of this country taken the tirade seriously there would have been no trouble. Had anybody believed the Democratic party to be in earnest it would not have lived through

half the election day. But everybody thought it only a political manœuvre, a last desperate attempt to beat Mr. Cleveland, and all but a few believed that the rejected plank, which had some sense in it, would be found to embody the real determination of the party when it went really into action. The protectionists in the Democratic party did not dream what a powerful weapon they were putting into the hands of their enemies, or how powerful the South was and how much the organization there was wedded to free trade, and how little the representatives from that section would listen to the established industries of the country. The old Southern Bourbons have been the bane of the Democratic party time out of mind. Naturally attaching themselves to it because it is farthest in the rear, they drag it backward, and, whenever it is in power, the nation with it. In the present House, organized with a Southern man of that stamp in the chair, the Committee of Ways and Means was so composed that Northern industrial sentiment had little influence, so little that the only representative of Northern manufactures allowed on the list refused to vote for the results of their labors.

It is too late to discuss the bill which they presented to the House. The country has discussed it fully and has made up its opinion thereon. So bad was it, even from the Democratic standpoint, that the Senate Finance Committee, even with all the changes they could make themselves, were compelled, as soon as the result of their lucubrations saw the light of day, to propose more than four hundred changes before the most brisk traffic that the history of legislation ever saw could make it possible to secure its passage, and even that has not been enough, for more than one day has witnessed the adoption of amendments the sole purpose of which was to obtain votes by the use of those "alluring phrases" and "selfish interests" which the inaugural so feelingly deprecated. The lovely programme of "free raw material," an "alluring phrase" which was to captivate New England, has given place to those "selfish interests" of senators who demanded "taxed" coal and "taxed" iron ore, while the farmers' wool was despised both as a source of revenue and as a proper subject for protection.

Perhaps the most surprising exhibition of all has been the conduct of the Senate on the sugar question. The protection of sugar refining might be justifiable, and was justifiable on the prin-

ciple that so great an article of consumption should be brought to the market by American labor, and that in this, as in all other products, this nation should do its own work and preserve its own market for its own people. So also a people who desired to produce the raw material of an article which has become such a necessity of modern civilized life as sugar has, might well bestow the public money in the form of bounties to establish an industry at once profitable and indispensable. Those who contended for protection as a principle of national growth in wealth and power, could well afford to sustain all reasonable efforts to make us independent of foreign producers. But that those who denounce all protection as robbery, who proclaim it on all occasions and in every instance to be class legislation, could by a solid party vote not only tax the people perhaps for all time for the benefit of a portion of a single State, but give these *protégés* a year's bounty besides, passes all human understanding; when you add to that the fact that the greater part of that portion of the tax which falls to the refiners will inure to the benefit of one of those "immense aggregations of kindred enterprises and combinations of business interests formed for the purpose of limiting production and fixing prices," which were so denounced in the inaugural, the performance, if it receives the Presidential sanction, will pass all human language. Without trenching for a moment on the province of the investigating committee of the Senate now at work, it will not be unjust to say that all this, so utterly inconsistent with all former and all present professions, was done because some senators representing their constituents were not in the least moved by the "alluring phrases" of the Democratic platform, but laid hard hold upon those "selfish interests" with which the President thought we would be "unvexed."

The sugar clauses were not for revenue only. They had a commercial value, when translated into votes, which could not be resisted. I do not refer to any scandal or make any insinuation of that nature. The only reference is to the use of those log-rolling means from which tariff reform was to free us. The revenue was not needed, for the income tax was always claimed to be ample to supply the deficit, and if the friends of the bill are to be believed we tax the people of this country, and create a surplus, not to supply its needs, but to obtain votes by appeals to selfish interests and those entirely local. Is not this something which recalls the

words "culminating atrocity of class legislation"? How unfortunate it is for a party to have gone into action with so large and interesting a vocabulary—"culminating atrocity of class legislation," "fraud," "robbery," "paternalism," "selfish interests." How queer they look now, those children of the swiftly vibrating tongue as they lie side by side in their last resting-places. They were lovely in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.

The limits of this article preclude any full discussion of the action of the Senate, and such a discussion in the liveliest hands would be wearisome. Hence one can only touch upon the points most salient, the points which have special significance. Nothing shows better than the cotton schedule the care which the Southern men have for their own industries. "Ad valorem" does not predominate there, and yet cottons are sostable in their character that they need specifics as little as any thing on the list. Contrast this treatment with that which woollens receive, and you will realize that while sectionalism may be rebuked in words it may reign triumphant in deeds. There, among woollens, where specifics are most demanded by practical men, where undervaluations are the most dangerous, "ad valorems" lead the way to fraud and the destruction of industries. If those two schedules should ever become law, watch the effect, and then see that sectionalism never again gets into our laws. We in the North are anxious that the South should be prosperous. We are thus anxious for a sounder reason than sentimentalism, we do not say it as an alluring phrase, but are incited by wisely selfish interests which are incentives to human progress. We wish the South prosperous, so that the South may think as we do and senseless bickerings may cease. And it is just as easy to bring the South to our industrial level as it is to lower us to theirs, and far more profitable to this nation. We do not therefore sorrow over anything the South may get in the proposed tariff bill, but rather rejoice. We could still more rejoice if all other industries all over the country were as well treated as cotton in the coarser grades. Cotton also in the finer work could bear the better treatment which we shall some day give it, to the great benefit of both North and South.

We do not complain that Southern rice is protected, but we cannot see just at what point of southern latitude the robbery involved in protection to agricultural products melts off and is ab-

sorbed in what seems to be a universal solvent, the tariff for revenue only, which renders it both pure and peaceable.

Of the effects which this choice of Democracy for the government of the country has had upon wages and labor I shall not speak. Not one single word is needed. Those whom this aspect of the question concerns know better what it means than any human being can tell them. I only pause to note that that problem of lowering wages to meet prices, which seemed to free traders prating about "lower prices to consumers" so easy to solve a half-year ago, does not grow any less difficult of solution as the days go by.

Who is responsible for all this and the hundred more things which might have been described? Some of those gentlemen who helped to create the great fame which the president had in his former adminstration charge it upon him and declare that he, single handed and alone, could have prevented all these disasters and created that ideal republic which four years ago came out of the horn gate of dreams and clothed itself in his language and theirs. How unkind and unjust all this is. Why cannot these men see, for they assisted, that all that the president created four years ago was created not with stone and iron and mortar, but with the pencil and the ruler. A loftier pyramid than either of the three that stand majestic on Egyptian sands can tower on the smallest piece of white paper. But real pyramids mean stone and struggle and sweat of men. They mean not only the king, but Egyptians swarming to do the work. The work these modern Egyptians are swarming to do is not the building of eternal pyramids, but the strewing of the shifting sands which lie at their feet.

How long will it be before the children of this Republic rise to the full knowledge of their faith and rest on the foundation-stone of their institutions, that no one man can make or mar, but that all the people finally come, and are the only Daniel that does finally come, to judgment.

It is true that the last year demonstrates how careless the judgment of our Daniel may sometimes be, and how great are the costs and charges of his court, but there is always an appeal, and to-day neither suitor doubts what the next judgment is to be.

THOMAS B. REED.

PROBLEMS AND PERILS OF BRITISH POLITICS.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

THE present crisis in England has a special interest for Americans, as it has led in an unexpected way to a practical comparison of political experience between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, and made English statesmen for the first time turn their eyes to American institutions. The attempts which have been made to defend the concession of a separate parliament to Ireland by an appeal to the success of the federal system in the United States are obviously unavailing. The position of an American State in the Union, in which all the States have the same measure of local self-government and the same share in the government of the confederation, affords no precedent for the proposal to confer semi-independence on one portion of the United Kingdom. That such a notion should have been for a moment entertained only shows how ignorant of each other the two Anglo-Saxon communities have hitherto been. Instead of being an example of the successful application of home rule, in the Irish sense, the United States are a tremendous example of civil war brought on by the separatism of State-right; while the practical prevalence of the national over the federal tendency has of late been a leading feature of American history. But what is at once surprising and important is the recourse of British Conservatives in quest of safeguards against revolutionary violence to the conservative elements of the American Constitution. Hitherto the American Republic has been the bugbear of the English Conservative, as was seen with disastrous effect in the sympathy shown by that party for the seceding South. Now British Conservatives are looking with wistful eyes to the American Senate, to the President's veto, to the Supreme Court, to the clause of the Constitution forbidding

legislation against the faith of contracts, and generally to the security against revolutionary change which the written Constitution affords.

Republican America is in fact more conservative than monarchical and aristocratic England. The reason is plain. The framers of the American Constitution looked democracy in the face. They did their best to organize it and to provide it with safeguards, though, being only wise men, not inspired prophets, they failed to foresee all the dangers, notably the danger of party, which Washington evidently regarded as an accidental and transient evil. But England has never looked democracy in the face, never attempted to organize it, or provided it with safeguards. English statesmen and Englishmen generally have floated on in the belief that, having sufficient safeguards in their hereditary monarchy and their aristocratic Upper House, they could afford to make the House of Commons as popular and democratic as they pleased. Meantime the House of Commons, thanks to its sole command of the purse and to the general triumph of democracy, has been becoming supreme, and has drawn to itself, not only the legislative power, but the virtual appointment of the executive. The monarchy has practically ceased to exist as a political force and dwindled to a social apex. Its legislative veto has not been exercised in any important case since William III. vetoed the Triennial Bill, and its last exercise of authority in the appointment of the executive was the dismissal of the Whig Ministry by William IV. Nobody thinks it strange that in the midst of this dangerous crisis monarchy should be disporting itself in the pleasure haunts of Italy. The House of Lords has practically ceased to be, what in theory it is, a coördinate branch of the legislature in everything save the initiation of money bills. It now claims nothing more than a suspensive veto, the exercise of which is fiercely challenged by the democracy and met with threats of ending the House itself. The House of Commons, meanwhile, through successive extensions of the franchise, in which the two political parties have been bidding against each other, has been growing more and more democratic. The process is still going on. A new registration bill has been brought in by the Radical Government to give full effect to the ascendancy of numbers, strip property of its only remaining advantage, and thus snap the last link between representation and taxation. Payment

of members is apparently coming, and when it comes it will level about the only bulwark of a practical kind which conservatism retains. Already the majority of the House of Commons is not only radical, but revolutionary, and is doing the will of the wage-earning class, which, having got political power into its hands, is inclined to use it for the purpose of industrial and social change. Recent legislation by the House of Commons has been distinctly socialistic. The Eight-Hours Bill is an interference with the freedom of adult male labor, and with the contract between the adult male laborer and his employer. The Employers' Liability Bill also involved an abrogation of liberty of contract. The next measure, it seems, is to be a grant out of the taxes for pensions to aged laborers, which, by the avowal of its promoters, will be likely to entail an expense of a hundred millions of dollars a year—a different thing, be it observed, from a grant of army pensions, or any pensions, for a specific purpose; though all pension lists alike are liable to abuse when the pension agent gets to work. The party from which these measures emanate retains the name of Liberal; but in truth it is no longer Liberal, it is Socialistic. The only Liberals, in the old sense of the term, now remaining in England are the Hartingtonians, whose sentiments are practically identical with those of an American statesman.

The danger of a revolutionary change is enhanced in the case of Great Britain, by her being the centre of a world-wide empire. If a demagogic and revolutionary assembly, the creature of trade-unions and the Clan-na-Gael, could not be trusted with the destinies of its own community, much less could it be trusted with the destinies of colonies and dependencies scattered over the globe. The British rulers of India, with its subject population of two hundred and eighty millions, and with all its difficulties and perils, may well tremble at the thought.

To end the upper chamber or to strip it of all authority by leaving it a nominal existence, and thus to make the House of Commons the sole as well as the supreme power in the state, is the aim of the revolutionary party. To mend the upper chamber, make it again a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, like the American Senate, a real restraint on the excesses of a popular House, and a substantial barrier against revolution, is the aim of enlightened Conservatives. This is the great issue of the hour. Enlightened Conservatives see that this cannot be done without

divesting the House wholly or in part of its hereditary character; that the hereditary principle, whatever may have been its function in an earlier stage of civilization, has done its work and had its day; that while in the Middle Ages the lord had arduous duties, military, administrative, and judicial, to perform, and was thus saved from sybaritism, sybaritism is the inevitable tendency of the modern man of wealth and hereditary rank; that the record of the House of Lords during the last two centuries will not bear examination, being simply the record of the resistance of a privileged order, and of the landed interest which that order represented, to all change, even to reform of the criminal law, the improvement of security for personal liberty, the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of the press. But what shall take the place of the hereditary principle, and on what line the House shall be reorganized, are problems not easy of solution. No constituencies for the election of a Senate present themselves like the States in the American Constitution. The mere injection of a certain number of life peers would by no means meet the exigencies of the case, and would in itself be an unpromising expedient, since the hereditary and life sections could scarcely fuse, and as often as the life members were outvoted by those whose only title to a share in legislation was their being "the sons of their fathers," popular clamor and a cry for the abolition of the hereditary element would ensue.

The idea of a nominative senate is condemned, not only by its unpopular character and the weakness which its want of popular basis would entail, but by decisive experience in the colonies, notably in Canada, where the nominative senate is a hopeless failure and the nominations are little better than an addition to the fund of corruption in the hands of a party government. A basis of the elective kind, as nearly equivalent to the States of the Union as Great Britain affords, seems to be supplied by the County Councils, newly instituted in place of the Quarter Sessions, composed of county magnates acting as justices of the peace; by which the rural administration has hitherto been carried on, together with the councils of cities. To a House elected by these bodies it has been proposed to add a certain number of members appointed for special qualifications, such as having held high office or command, national or imperial, being the head of professions, or having done eminent service to the state. Such a house

might, it is thought, command rational allegiance and form a rallying point for reasonable resistance to revolution. It would not be likely to be reactionary, or to do more than give the deliberate opinion of the nation the ascendant over demagogic violence and gusts of popular passion. The bi-cameral system, compose your chambers as you will, has its inherent disadvantages: it is liable to deadlock, to the withdrawal of guidance and control from the popular chamber, and to the weakening of its sense of responsibility; but the system is too deeply seated in England to be changed, especially when the nation is crossing a dangerous ford.

Supposing a scheme to be framed, the difficulty of getting it adopted is still great. There is a section of the House of Lords, unfortunately including the leader, which clings to hereditary privilege and will do all it can, openly or furtively, to stave off reform, a course in which it will be encouraged by the parting ray of popularity which has shone upon the House of Lords since their preservation of national unity by the rejection of Home Rule. These Tory opponents of reform have powerful though unnatural allies in the revolutionists of the House of Commons, who desire nothing so little as a reconstruction of the upper chamber, which would make it an effective curb, and who would easily find pretexts for wrecking the measure in its passage through their own House. It has been suggested that the House of Lords, were it so minded, might turn the flank of the resistance in the House of Commons by a resolution of self-reform, limiting the practice of sitting and voting to a select body of its members, while all would preserve their eligibility to the select body as well as their titles and their social rank. The House some time ago divested itself, by a formal resolution, of the invidious privilege of voting by proxy, while the lay members informally renounced their power of voting on legal appeals. This plan, however, would call for a good deal of self-sacrifice in a quarter where much self-sacrifice is not commonly found.

On the other hand the Radicals have no means of abolishing the House of Lords or docking it of its powers without its own consent, otherwise than by revolution. To constrain the Crown to swamp by new creations a majority of hundreds would be revolutionary, and, if it came to that, the next thing would be civil war.

The reorganization of the Upper House of Parliament at all events is the vital question of the hour. Upon its solution, not only the escape of the country from revolution, but the preservation of its unity depends. Since the surrender of the House of Commons to Irish disunion the House of Lords has become the guardian, not only of the Conservative institutions, but of the integrity of the nation.

It is not only the decadence of the hereditary principle that enforces a change in the constitution of the House of Lords. The power of the British aristocracy has rested not so much on the pedigrees, which in truth do not go back to the Norman conquest, as on the entailed estates. By an aristocracy and gentry of entailed estates England was in fact ruled entirely till 1832, when the Reform Bill admitted the commercial element to a share of power, and continued to be largely ruled down to the recent extension of the suffrage. But the rents of the entailed estates have now been fearfully reduced, and in some cases almost annihilated, by the fall in the price of wheat, which seems likely to continue, for the Argentine is now exporting, in addition to Russia, America, and Hindustan; while the wheat-growing area of Hindustan seems capable of indefinite extension and of being rendered more productive by construction of railways and improvement of implements, Hindu labor being at the same time extremely cheap. It seems hardly possible that the land in England should continue to maintain squire, farmer, and farm laborer. Many of the estates are moreover burdened with mortgages and with rent charges in favor of widows and younger children, which remain fixed while the rents decline. Mansions are being everywhere let by their impoverished owners, who retire to economize elsewhere, and in the palace of a noble family in Piccadilly dwells an American millionaire. Economical revolution, as usual, draws political and social revolution in its train. The weakness of a peerage without rents will soon be seen. The accidental coincidence of this economical catastrophe with the political and social crisis is a singular and momentous feature of the situation. The political enemies of the landed gentry of course grasp the opportunity of hastening and completing its fall. The new Parish Councils are the engines by means of which they hope, as they say, to disestablish the squire. They are using the taxing power for the same end. What rural England will be when the manorial and large-

farm system which forms its present organization is abolished Radicals, provided the political revolution is effected, are not very anxious to inquire.

Home Rule, as a popular movement, is almost dead. As a popular movement, indeed, apart from the agrarian agitation, it never had in it much life. What the Irish people wanted was, not political change, but the land. It was because they were persuaded that an Irish Parliament would give them the land that they shouted for the political change. Having got the land they care little for political change, and they could scarcely be lashed into showing the slightest resentment when the Home Rule Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords. They have contributed but sparingly to the Home Rule fund, while the hat has been sent round among their friends in the United States; a symptom which is the more significant, as they are very generous by nature and usually give freely to any object near their hearts. All the agitations in Ireland for the repeal of the union, when not combined with agrarianism, have been utterly weak, O'Connell's agitation not less than the rest. But there are still the eighty Irish Nationalist members in the House of Commons bent on having a parliament, government, treasury, and patronage of their own, and these have the fate of the ministry in their hands. Nor is disunionism, or what the Germans would call "particularism," now confined to the case of Ireland. To get his Irish measure carried, its author appealed to provincial jealousies and antipathies all round, Scotch and Welsh as well as Irish. The spirits came at his call, and while other countries, formerly disunited, such as Germany and Italy, are now united, or moving in the direction of union, while in America herself nationality has been prevailing over federalism, Great Britain is suddenly threatened with dissolution into her primal elements. It is one thing to devolve the business of an overloaded parliament on local councils; it is another to split up the realm into its original nationalities and undo the work of statesmen who have been laboring for ages to form a united nation. The first may be a necessary measure; though the main reason why Parliament is overloaded is that it wastes its time in faction-fighting instead of doing its business. The second is manifest ruin. Yet to the dismemberment of the nation the madness of party is ready to resort, if it can win the game by no other means. Let other nations which

have given themselves over to the rule of party profit by the example.

All dangerous questions seem to have been brought to a head at once by the storm which the framer of the Irish Bill raised to put wind into the flapping sails of his Irish barque. The next fight, apparently, will be about the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, which Mr. Gladstone promised the Welsh on condition of their supporting his Irish policy. The author of "The Church in Its Relation to the State" may perhaps be congratulated on not having remained in office to face his former self upon this issue. Inured as he must be by this time to charges of inconsistency, and preternaturally gifted as he is with the faculty of explanation, his position would hardly have been pleasant, especially as he would have been brought into direct collision with all his High-Church friends, who, while they cared comparatively little for the established Church of Ireland, a strongly Protestant communion, will fight desperately for the established Church of Wales, in the fate of which they believe that of the whole English establishment to be involved. The established Church of Wales must go, though it is hardly, as some American journalists seem to think, worse than the Inquisition, the extermination of the Albigenses, or the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The established Church of Wales must go, and in time the established churches of England and Scotland will follow. Yet one could wish that so great a change as this must be in the spiritual organization and life of a nation could be made by hands more tender and reverential than those of infuriated politicians, and through some process calmer than a faction fight.

England of course shares the general unrest of the world. She shares the decay of the religious beliefs by which the social frame has hitherto been largely sustained and the perturbation which follows. She shares the failure of trust in a future life as the scene of compensation for poverty and suffering in this life, which has hitherto reconciled the less fortunate to their present lot. She shares the discontent which, when religion ceases to breathe contentment, is inevitably one of the first effects of popular education. She shares the prevalence, in the dim twilight of popular knowledge, of social chimeras and reveries of all kinds. She shares the unhappy effects of the sharp line of division between the employer and the wage-earner with the industrial

conflicts to which it gives rise. She shares the danger arising from the eagerness of the masses to use the political power of which they have become possessed for the purpose of transferring the property of the wealthier classes to themselves. Of the industrial disturbances and perils she has a particularly large share, owing to the great numbers of her wage-earners, the large proportion which her factory-hands, mechanics, and miners bear to her general population, their collection in inflammable masses, and their singular lack of national feeling; while the sensitiveness of her vast commercial system, partly made up of industries which are rather artificial and factitious than growths of her own soil, exposes her to catastrophes of no ordinary kind.

There is a general complaint of the deterioration of British statesmanship. One is always inclined to mistrust laudations of the past at the expense of the present, but it can hardly be doubted that in dignity at all events there has been a decline since the days of Pitt, Canning, and Peel. Extension of suffrage has brought with it the stump. Nor was it possible that statesmanship could escape the effects of a vast extension of the franchise, or the need of demagogic arts. This may be merely a stage in the political education of the people, as all the disturbances and perils of the time may be incidents of a period of fermentation from which the stream will one day run calm and clear. But at present it is difficult for any independent, lofty, and commanding figure to appear in the political field. Cavour and Bismarck were not the offspring of the caucus or the platform, but of high national endeavor and of the hour which would have the man.

Let evolution and the philosophy of history say what they will, much depends, especially at the great turning points, on personal action. If Mirabeau had not died, or Napoleon had died, events would have taken a widely different course. In England at this moment amidst all the confusion, uncertainty, and irresolution, with the gulf of revolution beginning to yawn, the appearance of anything like a commanding figure, especially one that rose above party, might turn the wavering scale. There are some men of high mark, but there can hardly be said to be a commanding figure on the scene.

Lord Salisbury owes the Conservative leadership in part to historic rank and princely wealth, but mainly to ability and character. He is a powerful though not a finished nor always,

it is commonly thought, an adroit or discreet speaker. Diplomacy is his line ; he prefers it, as aristocratic statesmen often do, to domestic politics. Of domestic politics he has not made a serious study, nor is there anything to show that he grasps and is prepared to deal with the situation. His leisure is understood to be spent, not in working out political problems, but in chemistry, in which he is an adept. In regard to home politics he shows something of aristocratic indolence and nonchalance ; nor can desperate effort or the readiness to run risks for which a great crisis may call be naturally expected of a grandee. In 1886 Lord Salisbury, raised to power at a most critical juncture, with a majority of a hundred in the House of Commons, instead of grappling with the question of the hour and trying to redress the balance of the constitution, retired into the Foreign Office and allowed the fruits of Unionist victory to be lost. His one fixed aim appears to be the retention of an hereditary House of Lords, not that he is actuated by any narrow or selfish spirit of caste, but he regards hereditary aristocracy as the heaven-appointed antidote to democratic excess and baseness. He even goes so far in his efforts to stave off reform from the House of Lords as to appeal to the jealousy of the revolutionary party in the House of Commons. He also clings to Church establishment, to which his allies, the Liberal-Unionists, do not cling, though they wish the question to be treated with tenderness and moderation. It is unfortunate that, being set to stem revolution in the interest of gradual and rational progress, he happens to concentrate upon himself all the popular feeling against caste. He is, moreover, in the wrong House. The Conservative party is proud, and has reason to be proud, of its leader ; but fatal experience seems to have shown that it is not skilfully led.

In Mr. Balfour there is a union of practical vigor and courage with sensibility and culture, which never fails to interest, and which has impressed not only American lookers-on, but the people of Ireland, by whom, when he visited their island, the Unionist secretary was remarkably well received. In debate he is very prompt and effective, and no fault has been found with his leadership of the opposition. Why he is not exactly a commanding figure, or more generally regarded as the destined deliverer of the country from its perils, it is difficult to say. Perhaps he is rather too much of a tactician. His opposition to the

Home Rule Bill was distinctly tactical. It failed to make a broad impression on the national mind, such as would have been made by a great national statesman of the old school, and all the tactical skill was not crowned with a single victory in Committee. Strategy based on the hope of divisions in the enemy's camp is always weak ; sections may quarrel among themselves, but, at the decisive point, they all prefer the frying-pan to the fire. Mr. Balfour shows a weak spot when, to capture votes, he flirts with bimetallism and woman suffrage.

The Duke of Devonshire, better known by his former title of Lord Hartington, was in his youth regarded as a lounger and a man of pleasure. He was in public life as the heir of a great Whig house, but was supposed to consider it a bore. Comic stories embodying that belief were current. His high rank and vast wealth left scarcely an object to which his ambition could aspire. If in 1875, when Mr. Gladstone for a moment threw up the cards, he was made provisional leader of the opposition in Mr. Gladstone's place, it was mainly because he could with more grace than one of the older men give way to the real leader when it pleased the real leader to return. But when the unity of the nation was in peril by the secession of Mr. Gladstone to Home Rule, Lord Hartington nobly responded to the call of duty. And he has ever since lived laborious days, days which must be doubly laborious to an unambitious and pleasure-loving man. As a speaker he is content to talk good sense, without pretence to eloquence, though with dignity and effect. The confidence which his character inspires is perhaps the nearest thing to a hold upon the entire nation possessed by any of the leaders. Like Lord Salisbury he is now in the wrong House, though his presence in it adds to its strength at a critical juncture.

Nothing in these events is more striking than the force shown by Mr. Chamberlain in holding Birmingham, with all its democracy, fast to the Union cause. His speeches of late, both in Parliament and out of it, have been most effective. He is unquestionably a man of real mark and must play a leading part in whatever is to come. To call him a turncoat and a wandering rhetorician, as Lord Rosebery does, would be absurd. The ground of quarrel between him and Lord Rosebery's party is that on the great question of the day he refused to turn his coat. It is true

that some of the socialistic utterances of his early days, however, still embarrass him. It is true also that he has been regarded rather as a municipal than a national politician. On the other hand, he is free from the indolence, the timidity, and the formal embarrassments of the grandee. He could dare and risk something for the country.

That social feeling still goes for something is apparent when a party which is shouting for the abolition of the House of Lords finds itself constrained to accept as its leader a lord who has never been in the House of Commons, and who has less of a record than any prime minister since the beginning of this century. Mr. Gladstone himself, on whose recommendation his successor was chosen, has, amidst all his political developments, preserved his feeling of traditional reverence for the aristocracy and the Court. A greater contrast there could hardly be between two leaders of the same party than that between Mr. Gladstone and his successor, the first appealing to the religious public by defences of Mosaic cosmogony, the second appealing to the sporting public as the winner of the Derby. Lowell used to say of Mr. Gladstone that he had a unique power of improvising lifelong convictions ; his convictions, however, when improvised, were intense. His successor seldom speaks without confirming the general belief that he is a politician of the sporting order, and is running for the political Derby. He may be said almost to avow himself an Opportunist. He tells you that he sees nothing wrong in the established Church, and that he is ready on demand to pull it down ; that he is a second-chamber man, and ready on demand to abolish or reduce to impotence the house of Lords ; that he considers the consent of England indispensable to the alteration of the compact of union, and that he is ready, if he can get a large majority, to alter it without her consent. One day he is visibly angling for the support of the Liberal-Unionists. Finding they do not bite, he next day makes a thorough-going Home Rule speech. Mr. Gladstone has always been opposed to aggrandisement and to military expenditure. Lord Rosebery owes his popularity largely to his reputation for Imperialism, with which he combines a pledge to dismember the nation which is the heart of the Empire. Lord Rosebery's opponents all acknowledge his great address, his singular charm of manner, his unfailing readiness and liveliness of speech. His comparative youth, for he is only

forty-five, invests him with a certain glamour, and his eminence on the turf, while it helps him with the sporting class, is not likely to do him much harm with the Non-Conformist conscience, now more political than religious. He has the very considerable advantage of a perfectly open choice among all the principles, policies, and courses which may seem conducive to the maintenance of his party in power. The only cloud on his horizon is the probability that a point will be reached at which the grand seigneur and the social radical will part.

So rapidly is the scene shifting that forecast is hardly possible, even for those upon the spot. To attempt to define the situation is like shooting at a running deer. The strategy of the government, which it calls statesmanship, is directed to two objects: the invention of a profitable quarrel with the House of Lords, and the dissolution of the alliance between the Conservative and Liberal wings of the Unionist party. To attain the first object measures are brought in, such as the Employers' Liability Bill and the Eight-Hours Bill, which the Lords are likely to reject, and the rejection of which may embroil them with the trade-unions. For the attainment of the second object Home Rule, which unites the two wings of the Unionist party, is kept in the background, as far as the necessity of retaining Irish support will permit, and questions which divide the Unionists, such as Welsh Disestablishment, are brought to the front. After all, the event will very likely be decided, not by any one of the great issues, much less by a general judgment on national policy as a whole, which far transcends the mental power of the masses, but by the last thing which has happened before the election, if it is of a kind to interest or stir the people. It is believed that on the last occasion some of the metropolitan elections were turned by popular indignation at the arrest of a respectable woman as a street-walker, through a mistake of the police. "Go, my, son and see with how little wisdom the world is governed." The well-known words of Oxenstierna are hardly less applicable to popular than to royal government.

If any American is enough of an Anglophobist to wish to see misfortune befall the cradle of his race, it is not unlikely that his wish may be fulfilled. Still there is force in old England, if the man can be found to call it forth.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE POSTAL SERVICE AT NEW YORK.

BY THE HON. CHARLES W. DAYTON, POSTMASTER AT NEW YORK.

"NEARLY all the mails to and from the other nations of the world are despatched from or received at the New York office.—*Report of Postmaster-General Bissell for* 1893.

The chief end of a postal service is the most rapid and unerring delivery of mail matter. The postal system which secures that result is the best, and to the best postal service the people of the United States and all civilized peoples holding communication with our country are entitled.

The cost of the postal service in the United States is far in excess of the receipts for postage—the reports of the Postmasters General showing, with monotonous regularity year after year, a large deficit. The main cause of this undesirable financial condition is to be found in the heavy outlay necessary to provide for the transportation of the mails, not only between the great business centres and throughout the more densely populated sections of the country, but to the remote and sparsely settled portions of our vast territory, in many cases over routes where the postage on the mail matter conveyed is but an inconsiderable fraction of the sum paid the contractors for its conveyance. Of a total expenditure of $81,000,000 in 1893 for all postal purposes, nearly $41,500,000 was paid for mail transportation and items incident thereto. The contrast between Great Britain, whose postal surplus is over $14,000,000, and the United States, with its deficit of over $5,000,000, is readily accounted for by the fact that while both countries have the same rate of inland letter postage, the transportation service of the former covers only 121,112 square miles, while that of the latter extends over 3,594,000.

This annual shortage in our postal accounts, however, is an

unavoidable incident to our position as a growing and yet "unfinished" country, and to seek a remedy through an increase of letter postage would in my judgment be most unwise and impolitic. The benefits resulting from an efficient system of mail transportation to every portion of our land are too important to be ignored or restricted because the pecuniary returns derived from that service fall below its cost. Its maintenance is a public necessity, and I believe the people, whose welfare in all directions is so largely dependent on its efficiency, are quite willing to provide the necessary funds. But as the cost of mail transportation is the primary cause of the deficit, and while the postal revenues mainly accrue at the larger post offices and throughout the older and more thickly populated States, and while the service on unremunerative post routes is mainly of benefit to the residents of the newer States and Territories, it would certainly seem unfair and illogical that appropriations necessary to improve and extend the postal facilities in the larger cities should be refused or opposed by the representatives of those rural constituencies who enjoy the advantages which others are taxed to provide—especially as improved and extended facilities at the large offices involves improvement and extension everywhere.

There are in London eight "District Post Offices," each in charge of a Postmaster. Within the delivery district of each of these offices there are from 40 to 173 branch and sub-post offices, the aggregate number of which is 795—making a total of 803 offices, at all of which stamps may be purchased, and letters and parcels posted, and at nearly all of which money orders are issued and paid, letters may be registered, and Life Insurance Annuity and Savings Bank business may be transacted. At all the larger sub-offices there is also telegraph service. The population of London in 1891 was 4,231,431—so that there is in that city a post office to every 5,268 inhabitants. The number of officers and subordinates regularly employed in the London local postal service is 10,896, of whom 5,886 are letter-carriers, in addition to a large "auxiliary" force, available for extra duty whenever required. The amount paid the latter is equivalent to that necessary for the constant employment of 1,000 additional men—so that the actual force is very nearly 11,000.

In New York there are: 1 General Post Office, 18 Branch

Post Office-Stations, and 24 Sub-stations, at all of which, in addition to ordinary postal business, money orders may be procured and paid and letters registered. The resident population of New York, as shown by last municipal census, is 1,801,739—and on that basis there is allowed one post office to each 41,900 of its people. But during the business hours of each secular day the population is increased by the influx of a large proportion of the adult male residents of Brooklyn, Jersey City, and numerous other cities, towns, and villages located within a radius of 50 miles, all of whom receive and post their business correspondence at New York; and considering this fact, it is entirely safe to estimate that the proportion of post offices to population in New York is as 1 to 50,000. The number of officers and employees of all grades is 2,873.

This contrast between the postal facilities enjoyed by the residents of the chief city in Europe and those vouchsafed to residents of the chief city in the United States is not gratifying to our municipal or national pride; and one of the least agreeable incidents in the official life of a postmaster at New York is the receipt of written and oral comparisons, made by foreigners and travellers, between the service here and that provided in London and other European cities.

During the six months ending February 10th, 1894, there were received at the New York Post Office, in open transatlantic mails, 11,770,116 letters, of which 2,487,065 were addressed for delivery in this city; also 20,920 sacks of newspapers, printed matter, etc., 6,464 of which contained matter for distribution in this city. These figures do not include mail received from South America, West Indies, and overland from China, Japan, Australia, and Hawaii, nor mails received in sealed sacks to be forwarded, unopened, to Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and other large cities which exchange direct mails with Europe.

During the same period, the number of letters and postal cards made up in open and closed mails at the New York Post-office alone, was 14,800,966 in addition to printed matter. The total despatch consisted of 60,375 sacks.

The last published statistics of the International Bureau at Berne (which acts as a sort of general agency or clearing-house in all international postal affairs) shows that the number of pieces despatched in 1892 in mails from the United States to all other

countries of the Postal Union was 107,997,787. No report appears to have been made of the number received here; but from the proportion given in previous statements it may safely be estimated at not less than 100,000,000.

In 1853 the transatlantic mail service here was confined to four steamship lines, making 101 round trips; the number of letters carried during that year in both directions was 5,500,950. In 1893 this service was performed by twelve steamship lines, making 634 round trips and conveying about 65,000,000 letters and postal cards. Prior to 1854 the rates of postage on letters to Europe and beyond ranged from fifteen to fifty-nine cents per half ounce, and the cost of Transatlantic service in 1853 was $1,178,833, when five and one-half millions of letters were carried, while in 1893 a little over $500,000 was paid for that service in carrying over sixty-five millions of letters.

The First International Postal Conference grew out of the suggestion made in 1862 by Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair, resulting in the formation of the present "Universal Postal Union" and the establishment of a uniform rate of postage for letters at five cents per half ounce, and for printed matter, commercial papers, and merchandise samples, one cent per two ounces.

In 1859 Postmaster-General Holt, in his first annual report, said:

> "It is desirable that this department shall have the power to send forward the foreign mails as often as a safe, reliable vessel can be found to convey them, and that the obligation to prefer the American to the foreign steamships shall only exist when they sail on the same day."

This statesmanlike utterance did not fail in its effect; and in 1874 Postmaster-General Creswell arranged for the carriage of mails, without discrimination as to nationality or ownership, by the vessels which had shown by their records their ability to deliver mails at their destination in the shortest time.

The British office furnishes the Post Office Department at Washington with a weekly statement, showing the exact time of the arrivals of mail at the London Post Office, and the mails to be forwarded hence each month are assigned by our department to the vessels which, according to the record of their three immediately preceding eastward voyages, delivered the mail in the shortest time in London. The British Postal Administration has adhered to the contract system, which is liable to involve

delay to westward bound transatlantic mails, such as occurred when the "Bothnia" was given preference over the "Alaska," sailing on the same date, and landed several hundred sacks of British mail in New York a week after the arrival of the latter; and, as shown in more recent instances, where British mails, despatched from Liverpool by ships of contract lines on the same date at which fast vessels of the American line left Southampton, have not been received here until two and three days after the arrival of the latter at New York.

If the postal administrations of all countries despatching transatlantic mails could be induced or were compelled to select only the fastest ships using the most direct routes, without regard to considerations of national favor or of private or corporate interests, the "certainty, celerity, and security" of transatlantic mails would be greatly promoted.

The New York Post-Office is the exchange and banking office for the greater part of the postal money order business (domestic and international) of the country. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, there were 3,916,691 money order transactions, aggregating $113,762,698.77—being an increase of nearly 288,000 in the number of transactions and of over $4,000,000 in the aggregate amount thereof. It is the "Exchange Office" for the certification of money orders to twenty-three foreign countries, and also acts as the intermediary through which money orders issued in the United States may be paid in other foreign countries. The transactions incident to this portion of the money order business during last year aggregated over $18,000,000. The settlement of money order accounts with foreign countries is effected through this office, which during the same period purchased over $11,000,000 in European bills of exchange to be applied to that purpose.

The postmasters at over 900 money order offices in the United States remit their surplus funds by registered mail to the Postmaster at New York, who deposits the same daily in a depository designated by the Postmaster-General. From 130 to 135 such remittances are received daily, and their aggregate annual amount is nearly $35,000,000.

One fact in connection with the International money order system is of more than ordinary interest and suggestiveness—and that is the large excess of money-order remittances sent from this office to other countries over the amount received here from

abroad. The total excess for 1893 was over $11,000,000, nearly $9,000,000 of which was transmitted to four foreign countries—Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Sweden; and notwithstanding the general financial depression existing during that year, the amount sent to those countries exceeded by over $360,000 the sum transmitted during 1892.

During 1893, 1,152,431 registered letters and parcels were delivered, and 1,291,406 received for registration—the fees on which amounted to $103,312.48. The number of registered packages and pouches despatched was 1,724,254. New York is also the only "Exchange office" for all registered mails exchanged between the United States and transatlantic countries, and every letter and package included in those mails must be recorded here.

The value of registered packages of course cannot be accurately ascertained; but their daily inspection would convince the most casual observer that millions upon millions in bonds, stocks, currency, coin, jewels, etc., pass through the hands of the employees here every year. The clerks who have charge of the safe where packages of known money value are placed receive respectively salaries of only $700, $900, $1,100, and $1,400. The value of postage stamps cancelled on registered mail matter here amounts to about $172,000 per year. The pay-roll of this division and the salary list for registry clerks at the branch stations, aggregate about $150,000. In other words, the stamps cancelled upon registered articles originating in New York city pay for the clerical labor devoted to the entire registry business, and to all matter handled regardless of origin, foreign and domestic, including the enormous exchange office business to the rest of the world, the largest in existence, and the very large city delivery business, the largest in the world but one.

The cashier at the New York office is in charge of the sales of stamps, postal cards, stamped envelopes, etc., and each day each clerk in charge of stamps is obliged to balance his account in cash. The total value of stamps received for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, was $7,098,832.09, and the total sales $7,137,463.64—an increase of more than $750,000 over the sales in 1892.

There are at present nineteen branch stations in New York city, each one of which is a fully equipped Post Office. Station

"P," situated at the Produce Exchange, did an aggregate business for the year ending June 30, 1893, of $351,559.08 for sales of stamps—94,372 in number of registered letters and articles, $331,632.67 in money orders, and is the largest Branch Post Office in the United States. Thirteen of these stations rank as first-class Post Offices; an interesting fact when such "first-class" offices as Albany, Troy, Indianapolis, Newark, Syracuse, and many others fall considerably below these branch stations in the volume of postal business.

Existing conditions at the New York office will doubtless soon be largely improved, upon the report of the Postal Commission appointed by the Postmaster-General to consider a reorganization and increase of the several branch stations, sub-stations, and stamp agencies. While all that is now needed may not be accomplished, for lack of appropriation, much of benefit will ensue.

The entire force at this office numbers 1,225 carriers, 1,614 clerks, 34 superintendents, and 100 stamp agents. The Postmaster receives a salary of $8,000 per annum and gives a bond for $500,000; the cashier receives $2,600 per annum and gives a bond of $50,000; the superintendent of the money order department, $3,200, bond $50,000; registry department $3,200, bond $50,000. Superintendents of stations "A" and "D" receive a salary of $2,500; superintendents of stations "E" and "F" each $2,200; "B," "C," "G," "H," and "P," each $2,000; "O," $1,800; "R," "K," and "L," each $1,700; "W" and "J," $1,500 each; "M" and "S," each $1,000; and "T," $1,400. The average salary paid to clerks is $845. Many employees with families receive but $600 per annum.

The carriers' hours are limited to eight by law; the clerks have no specified hours of labor; and in the registry department, money order department, in the general post office and branch stations, the men are not unfrequently called upon to work from 12 to 14 and sometimes 18 hours a day.

The Classification Bill, now before Congress, will, if passed, secure to postal clerks and others in the service, compensation approximately commensurate to their deserts.

Considering the fact that the total volume of business at the New York post office for the last fiscal year was upwards of $7,000,000, and that its net contribution to the revenue of the Government was upwards of $4,000,000, and also the fact of

these enormous transactions and the inadequate compensation allowed and paid to all the force, our citizens should not only be highly gratified with the efficiency of those who do such onerous and responsible work, where temptation is aggravated by the smallness of pay received, but should heartily recognize the almost invariable honesty and zeal of those who so thoroughly perform the details of this great and exacting public service.

The present method of sending mails between the General Post Office and the Branch Office Stations is by the old-fashioned wagon service or by messenger service on the elevated railroads. Owing to the lack of proper facilities, the elevated railroads are unable to run express trains except during the morning and evening, the result being that it takes one hour for a letter to reach Harlem from the General Post Office. Numerous suggestions have been made looking forward to having the pneumatic tube system put in operation in New York city, but owing to the large expense that this would entail, no person or corporation has been found willing to put in the plant as an experiment. The sum of $196,000 is now paid yearly for the transportation of the mails in the city; but it is certain that the constantly increasing bulk of the mails will, at no distant day, render the employment of some means for their more frequent and rapid transportation an absolute necessity. The inventive genius of the American will, doubtless, solve this problem, to the satisfaction of the Department, Congress, and the public.

This being an exchange office for foreign mails, for money orders and registered matter, also the receiving office of 25 per cent. of all second-class matter mailed in the United States, its rank precludes comparisons as to cost of maintenance. There are no two post offices in the country working under the same conditions. Each office should be conducted according to its surroundings. The delivery system in such cities as Keokuk should not be controlled by conditions prevailing in New York, nor should salaries of carriers, clerks and superintendents in New York be regulated by the cost of living or the character of work in such places as Yankton. Nor should the larger offices of the country be subjected to the endless confusion, friction, and annoyance arising from the "duly considered" correspondence and "red tape" of departmental clerks at Washington.

The postal system of the country, organized in 1789, when the

population was about 3,000,000, is still conducted on the same general principle: that is to say, postmasters at the largest offices are charged with maximum responsibilities and a minimum of power; even to the expenditure of five cents for a penholder or a bottle of mucilage, unless by written direction of the department at Washington. To illustrate: it is desirable or necessary to change or establish a branch station. The postmaster must communicate that fact to the department; the department refers it to a post office inspector, who investigates without any obligation to consult the postmaster; the place is selected on the recommendation of the post office inspector, and the postmaster receives word that the post office inspector will be sent to see that the station is properly fitted up. This post office inspector may be one appointed from New Mexico, while the selection of a site and the fitting up of a station in any large city should be based upon intimate knowledge of the postal needs of that city.

Such a state of affairs is sought to be remedied by Postmaster-General Bissell, who says in his report for 1893:

"I would be glad if these (the post-offices at New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Brooklyn, San Francisco, Baltimore, and Pittsburg) could be placed in a class by themselves and the appropriations made for them by Congress direct, without the interference of rules and methods as to allowances that are properly applicable to other post offices."

This proposition has unfortunately been defeated by the refusal of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads of the present Congress to approve it. I believe, however, that the sound business sense of this plan will ultimately prevail, and as a result responsibility will be accompanied by power. Each Post Office so classed will thus be enabled to regulate its management in accordance with its environment, resulting in greater efficiency, in increase of business, and still further, in a compensation to the men who do the work, proportionate to the extent, amount, and importance of the work done; and my judgment further is, that the outcome of this plan will be additional revenue instead of a deficiency in the Post Office system.

The New York office will, within a year, probably yield a net revenue of about $5,000,000. Its work stops neither night nor day, holidays nor Sundays. Its force is insufficient and overworked; the accommodations provided for most of its branch stations and its main office are unworthy the system which so largely

helps to maintain that part of the government which it represents.

Much has been said regarding the feeling of jealousy existing towards the city of New York in other parts of the country. So far as the postal service is concerned, such a sentiment should have no place; because whatever is done to improve the service here finds immediate reflex of benefit everywhere throughout the land. The sooner the merchant can have his order for goods delivered here, the sooner the goods will be delivered; and so with the constant interchange of finance, no matter how far distant the point of interchange of letters; and thus it is that the perfection of the postal service in New York means that other cities of the Union near and far, will grow towards occupying corresponding positions in the problem of postal magnitude and postal perfection.

There is no branch of the government nearer to the daily lives of our own people and to "all sorts and conditions of men" the world over. True economy in its administration consists in liberal appropriations, carefully and intelligently expended; and for every dollar so properly invested the government will receive, as it does in this city, a plentiful return.

CHARLES W. DAYTON.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

BY MADAM ADAM.

As FRANCE refused to shed Egyptian blood and to take part in the odious bombardment of Alexandria, she ought all the more energetically to have prepared herself for her peaceful struggle against the occupant of Egypt, thus serving her own interests, those of the oppressed people, and of those numerous colonies of strangers, which give to Egypt her peculiar character of internationality.

Every struggle allows of the choice of arms. Now what can one think of a combatant who is simple enough to change his weapon every day, and imprudent enough when he begins to use it well to deliver it over to his adversary? This is what the French government has done in Egypt since its occupation by the English. I shall first take for example a series of facts—as to the relationship which the traditional policy of France should desire to see continued between the governments of Egypt and of Turkey.

France had perhaps sustained Mehemet Ali in exaggerated fashion against the Sultan; Napoleon the Third was eager to obtain firmans which would deliver Egypt, under Ismail, from excessive vassalage and sanction its internationality. Tewfik, on ascending the Khedival throne, careful about the opinions of the foreign colonies in Egypt, had no idea of going to Constantinople to receive investiture and to make a personal act of submission.

When Abbas Pasha ascended the throne the English had not entertained for an instant the idea of sending the young Khedive to receive investiture at Constantinople, in spite of their conviction that one day or another—if Egypt returns to her traditions of vassalage—it would be the colonies of foreigners, always ready to resist the occupation of Egypt, who would suffer most. The Foreign Office has long known that at a given moment the Porte

may have diplomatic, financial or military need of England, and at that moment she may extort from it the protectorate of Egypt as she extorted that of Cyprus.

The English advisers occupied themselves only with negotiating with the Sultan on the subject of the firman of investiture to be received at Cairo.

The negotiations had for their object the transforming of Egypt's administration of the territories of Akaba and Sinai, in Arabia Petrea, into a definitive incorporation into Egypt itself, so that when the day of total absorption should arrive England should possess an important frontier on the Asiatic coast and both banks on the north of the Red Sea.

France then had a diplomatic success with which it would have been wise to rest contented. The Sultan replied to the English demands by publishing an *iradé* declaring that Akaba and the points occupied by Egypt on the east side of the Red Sea should be comprised in the Turkish vilayet of Hedjaz, and that for the peninsula of Sinai the *status quo* would be maintained. The ground, for the first time since "the occupation," was solidifying under our feet.

The Khedive had felt that the influence of France, combined with that of Russia at Constantinople, could overcome that of England and check it. The native population felt that we were not passive in the face of what was occurring, and this was an advantage which should have been satisfactory for the time. But our diplomacy—one knows not in truth why—and at the very time when the young Khedive was trying to encourage the pride of the natives by his own pride; at the very time when he was allowing the foreign colonies to foresee the possibility of some day finding again, in Abbas II., a proper representative of the Khedivate of Ismail, leaving to the foreign colonies the free play of a development which was exercising itself in favor of general progress; at that hour, I say, our Minister at Cairo, following either his own individual idea or the instructions of our government, commenced a systematic effort to deliver the Viceroy of Egypt again to the complete vassalage of the Sultan.

Our diplomacy was thus made to serve the future interests of England, the Ottoman influence being that on which finally English diplomacy has most power to act.

The rescript of the Khedive on his departure for Constanti-

nople was lamentable and of extreme importance in the sense that I indicate. In appointing Riaz Pacha, Kaimakan, that is to say Regent, Abbas II., used a phrase that neither Mehemet Ali nor Ismail nor Tewfik would have employed :

"Having made arrangements by the grace of God to repair to Constantinople to lay our respectful homage at the foot of our august Master, his Majesty the Sultan, etc."

This voyage, which superficially might appear as a provocation to England—the English advisers being opposed as a matter of form to it—French diplomacy gloried in as in a success, and her colony at Cairo had the imprudence to applaud it. The Sultan, who is one of the finest and most astute diplomats, took care not to neglect such advantages. He covered the young Khedive with flowers, but he made him follow the grand Vizier—thus reminding him that he was only a simple "Vali," and that Egypt is simply a Turkish province.

Thus, for an apparent success, French diplomacy forgot its traditional policy: Egyptian autonomy, and its separation from Turkish authority. At that moment I uttered a warning cry which, had it been heeded, might have saved the situation.

To-day they are talking of a direct understanding between London and Stamboul, and we have there, as I said at the commencement, not only changed our weapons, but surrendered our arms to England.

If France continues to act blindly so as to undo the work of fifty years, she will create with her own hands danger for the future. A direct understanding between England and the Porte may one day be very costly to Downing Street, but will help it to conquer a legal title in Egypt in the easiest manner. What results for our policy and for the independence of Abbas II. as regards England has the voyage of the young Khedive to the banks of the Bosphorus had ? Results more than negative.

Through the flowers that were thrown to keep up appearances before the Mussulman world there was administered to the "vassal" at Constantinople a lesson which the English advisers of Cairo would not have repudiated.

Certainly Abdul Hamid could not answer with too much haughtiness the supplications of a faithful people, whose spokesmen addressed him in terms like these :

"O Khaliff, we humbly approach thee, in submitting to thee, that the

stranger who came into our country, with false pretexts and with promises, periodically repeated, to go away, remains in occupation.

"O Khaliff, it is the land of Egypt, it is the sacred soil, it is the doorway of Mecca and Medina, whose people come before thee in tears, on account of him who is thy vicar, and thy representative, to render thee homage.

"Receive him with favor because he and we are blindly subject to thy will.

"Deliver us from the presence of the stranger, for we are like the bird caught in the net of the snarer, and put an end to our tribulation by the power of the sword of the Khalifate."

But so far the young Khedive has obtained nothing, not even the recall of the Ottoman Commissioner, of whom Abbas Helmi Pacha complained as not being sufficiently opposed to the English.

It is an illusion to believe that the Porte will ever break with London, where rightly or wrongly she expects help in the hour of financial crisis, or political peril. It is therefore a grave fault to have urged the Khedive to go to Dolma-Bagtché, and to have accentuated by act and by word the homage laid by the vassal at the foot of his august master.

If our diplomacy answers the fears of the "previsionists," as to the "opportunist" policy, by alleging that nothing has been lost, I would remark (beyond the bad results of the abandonment of a traditional polity, and of the greater intrusion of Turkish authority in Egypt) that in the place of an ardent young Khedive, impatient of the yoke, desirous of enfranchising himself, and thinking himself capable of doing so—and in consequence determined to push his way ahead—we shall see a Khedive more prudent, less audacious, as a result of the counsels of patience that have been given him, and who for the future will reflect twice before assuming a responsibility, or making a bold decision.

No personality is more engaging than that of the young Khedive trying to find an outlet through all the obstacles with which he is surrounded and with which the pathways of his destiny are blocked. Who knows if the Khaliff did not tell him to submit himself to England in the same manner that his father, Tewfik, appeared to submit himself. I use the term "appeared," for Mr. Chaillé Long, late United States Consul, ex-colonel in the Egyptian army, and chief of the American Military Mission under Tewfik, wrote to me after a speech by Mr. Gladstone:

"Mr. Gladstone praises Tewfik, and among the hitherto unknown quali-

ties of the late Khedive he attributes to him loyalty and devotion to Great Britain. I know myself the contrary. Tewfik told me, in an interview that I had with him in 1889, *that he cursed the English, that he detested them cordially; and he explained to me the horror and the hatred he felt for their domination and occupation of his country, which weighed horribly upon him.*"

Tewfik unable to control himself showed his spirit of revolt against the oppressor, and secretly placed himself in communication with the National party of Egypt. Then he died suddenly. His death fulfilled the wishes of Lord Salisbury. With Tewfik and his secret opposition getting more and more courageous, the noble Lord had anxiously awaited the approach of the general elections. Thus, he was ready for all audacities.

The very young Khedive who succeeded his father was of an age to submit without the least reservation to the most absolute tutelage. But note this mischance—at the first command given by Lord Cromer the English pupil revolted.

In an interview Lord Cromer explains his displeasure in words which give a shock of cold to one's heart. He said of Abbas II.: "He is young, *he has not yet suffered like his father the effects of rebellion, and perhaps he does not yet know the power of England.*"

Will the young Khedive be victorious over his tyrants, or will he be vanquished by them? It is to be desired that he may be clever and capable, so that he can extricate himself from the English machinations, and train the Egyptian people, so little as yet prepared for it, to assimilate the idea of nationality.

A book of the highest interest, which unveils the thoughts of England about Egypt, whose author is Mr. Milner, appears to me to sum up the question as follows:

Passive obedience of the Khedive of Egypt, who is bound to consider all "advice" coming from England as an "order."

"We have only the right to give counsel to Egypt," says Mr. Milner.

But Lord Granville, who is not often accused of being vigorous in his expressions, showed clearly to Sir Evelyn Baring in 1884 *that counsel did not differ from command.*

"It is indispensable," wrote Lord Granville, "for the government of Her Majesty, that the advice given the Khedive be followed. The ministers and Egyptian governors *who do not follow this policy must resign their positions.*"

Mr. Milner further cites the phrase of Lord Dufferin: "The

all-powerful hand of a resident will soon have curbed all under his will."

Thus Abbas Pacha can neither choose nor change one of his ministers without the authorization of his English adviser.

This pretension was made public on the occasion of what is known in England as the *coup d'état* of the young Khedive. In what diplomatic convention did the delegate of England, salaried by the Egyptian Government, acquire the sovereign right of *veto*?

England has not attempted to justify her temporary occupation except by proclaiming in an official act, at the bottom of which is the signature of her representatives, that she occupies Egypt only to maintain internal peace to aid in the proper working of the administration, and finally to give up Egypt to the Egyptians.

Perfidy and falsehood!

The most sincere man in England, the editor of *Truth*, Mr. Labouchere, wrote:

"The real gravity of the situation is that, up to the present time, we have justified our occupation and the violation of the undertakings which we have given Europe, by making the pretext, that we are prolonging the period of the occupation for the greater happiness of the Egyptians. It is not possible to play this game any longer, and to get people to believe we are in earnest.

"Rightly or wrongly, the Egyptians like better to govern themselves than to be governed by us. The action of Abbas is so manifestly approved by all his people, that we are strengthening our garrisons, not to defend Egypt against the Soudanese, but to defend our occupation against the Egyptians, and yet we are considering the simple expression of the natural aspirations—in favor of our departure—as a crime of high treason. . . . Like the Irish, the Egyptians want home rule. We cannot call this sentiment patriotism with the Irish, and treason with the Egyptians."

Voices are lifted up from time to time in England against the cynicism of the Egyptian occupation, but they are rare, and provoke the imprecations of the majority of the Liberal party itself, in spite of the promises made by Mr. Gladstone when he was leader of the Opposition.

Concerning the Blue Book published in March–April, 1893, and the dispatch of Lord Rosebery to Lord Cromer, which recalled to the young Khedive a lesson too soon forgotten, the *Globe* declared that it is

"Clear that England under a Conservative or Gladstonian Government will not retreat before her responsibilities."

The mockery of a speech of Mr. Gladstone, who humorously proved that France had not the same rights in Egypt as England;

the comedy of the interpellation of Sir Charles Dilke, stating after this public declaration that "even if the Liberal Government *did nothing towards carrying out its promises of evacuation* he, Sir Charles (author of *Greater Britain*), would not propose a *vote of want of confidence.*" All went to prove that the Liberal party, then in power, had in its policy towards France one more fault than the Conservatives—impertinent hypocrisy.

Mr. Milner argues "that the Egyptians are incapable of acting for themselves as soldiers, as well as in civil affairs." They have, he says, need of being commanded and supported by individuals of "a superior race."

English pride is unbounded. Do we not know by the *Standard* of May 11, 1893,

> "That there only is one Empire on the earth, the English Empire, and that the English race belongs to what Macaulay calls 'the hereditary aristocracy of humanity'"?

From time to time a loyal spirit tells the truth to his country, but he is forthwith classed as an eccentric individual, like Mr. Labouchere or Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who published an article in the *Nineteenth Century* which attracted general attention, in which he confronts England with the falsehoods that she had heaped on the benefits of her occupation of Egypt.

A characteristic illustration of the tendency of the English—to find identical resources in all arguments good, bad or contradictory—is the astounding reply of the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 29, 1893, concerning the picture of chaos and disorder made by Mr. Blunt.

> "All that is false, but if it were true it would prove that England cannot abandon Egypt."

Unskilfulness, contradiction, disorder, waste, administrative injustice, inefficiency, unsurpassed crimes of "creatures" of the English, cruelties of the police—such is very nearly the balance sheet of occupation. Here and there certain monstrosities like the odious article in the *Egyptian Gazette* throw a sinister light upon the Egyptian situation.

"The line of conduct of England," ventured to write the official organ of England at Cairo, "appears to be to allow the inhabitants of the Upper Nile to die of hunger, just until those who survive have arrived at such a state of utter feebleness that the work of conquest will offer no further difficulty." To satisfy the

bondholders, to pay them a high interest, such is the sole ideal of her English advisers in Egypt; then under cover of this guarantee to ruin and starve Egypt, so as to place her more easily at its mercy. The holder of Egyptian bonds only sees one thing—27 millions of surplus in 1892 for the public revenue of that year, and 45 millions of surplus deposited for the payment of the debt. As to Egypt, if she exhausts and devours herself, what does that matter to the bondholder? When the English speak of their hard task, when they speak of a reserve fund of the debt, of the cultivation and perfected crops, and of abolition of *Bakhsheesh*, now driven away, they tell nothing new to those who have lived in Egypt under the reign of Ismail or Tewfik, at the epoch of the control of the condominium. At that period, things worked at least as well as now in Egypt. There was *a real reserve fund*, and the debt diminished, whereas it has increased 30 per cent. during English occupation, which is a pertinent fact. As to the contracts for public works and supplies there, no Egyptian will admit that they are transacted in regular and legal fashion, which is also a matter of some gravity!

These assertions have obtained for me the honor of being roughly handled by the partisan English press of Egypt, but they were never seriously denied.

Lord Granville exaggerated, in 1884, the reported ruin of Egypt. Further than this, by financial quotations, of which art the English are masters, and through all the jugglery, the balance of the budget of Cairo goes on improving.

But, while the apparent resources grow larger and salaries and pensions increase, England is multiplying new offices. She often undertakes public works which are frequently as excessive in number as they are useless.

Yes, Egypt pours into English coffers more money than she paid into Egyptian coffers, but neither the *fellahs* nor the general commerce become enriched in the same proportion. It is, therefore, by exhaustion and not by the creation of new resources that this has been done, and it remains to be discovered if Egypt has found in the cost of her new administration any compensation for her sacrifices.

To that one can answer "No," for the English themselves at Cairo are forced to admit to what an extent all the public ser-

vices are neglected. One of my friends wrote to me from there some time ago:

"The sanitary condition of Egypt is the cause of daily complaints. In Egypt, constantly threatened with cholera from India, the appropriation for sanitary purposes only amounts to seventy thousand pounds for the care of its five millions of inhabitants, while the rate of mortality reaches occasionally sixty per thousand."

The defective organization of the Egyptian army is notorious. They have not, moreover, ceased to lead them to certain defeat—in fighting the Soudanese.

The instruction of the army is deplorable, and what they have learned comes from the French and American missions, which the English wish suppressed. The only thing that the English have been forced to keep intact is the military school, which is in the hands of a Frenchman, Larmée Pacha, who could not be replaced, "the English not having sufficient instruction to take charge of the school." This is the exact phrase used by Larmée Pacha to Colonel Chaillé Long, who repeated the words to me. In an access of alcoholic folly did not an officer of the army of occupation burn the precious documents and scientific reports, the fruit of thirty years labor, of the officers of the French and American missions?

The English have so little faith in their famous reorganization of the Egyptian army, that they constantly reënforce the army of occupation, which from 3,000 men has been increased to 10,000, thus further exhausting impoverished Egypt for this new expense. From time to time the English generals drag a portion of the native army to the Soudanese frontier. Then the tragi-comedy recommences. They repel an incursion of dervishes, a certain number of Egyptian soldiers are killed, and thus the "Soudanese peril" so dear to Lord Salisbury is renewed.

It would be necessary to devote many pages to prove that England deliberately lowers the standard of studies for the youth of Egypt, and that she endeavors to keep them in a state of ignorance which guarantees the invader against the claims of a host of young and educated patriots.

Those who continue the work of Mr. Milner will have a good opportunity in a few years to declare that the Egyptians are without any personal valor and need to be led by a superior race.

All the documents that have been communicated to me, and

that I have caused to be published and circulated by all the means in my power—by the press, by pamphlets and by republication, etc.—if I could give them in a short review article, would, without possible refutation, confirm what I have just advanced.

Here is one of the documents that I have received from a trusty source, and that I have already published :

"Mortgages on real estate and land in Egypt, which from 1883 to 1891 increased to the enormous extent of 30 per cent., are still increasing on account of the severity with which taxes are collected from the farmer. The mortgagees purchase for £15, sometimes for £10, lands which two or three years ago were worth £30 the feddan. At the present moment the lands of Lower Egypt, *belonging to native farmers*, are mortgaged at an average rate of 10 per cent. As a result of this, in about four years the half of these borrowers lose their lands."

All that is the fruit of the occupation and of the systematic exploitation of the toiler, who fosters against the European a dangerous and daily increasing hate. On every side he runs against English implacability. Spurned, driven back, he is on all occasions the prey of those who invaded his country, with the solemn promise of helping him to govern it, and to deliver up Egypt to the Egyptians. They tell the oppressed one that he is poor and without intelligence—and they try to make him poorer and more stupid.

If I were to enumerate at length the English traps in which France and her agents have allowed themselves to be caught, the list would be a lamentable one.

The project of judiciary reform as expounded by Mr. Scott contains one of the gravest dangers to which foreign colonies are exposed in Egypt.

The matter may be summed up as follows—native jurisdiction is not yet in our hands, but we are preparing Egypt for its destiny of servitude to ourselves.

We will people it with our friends and creatures, and we will so manœuvre that by and by the life and property of Europeans will be entirely at our discretion, and then we will dispose of Egypt. We will surround the fusion of mixed tribunals and native tribunals with all the appearances of guarantees and all imaginable promises. We will employ all the terms known to diplomacy, we will yield, we will make formal concessions, but we will gain our point.

When we shall no longer be hampered by the Consular Courts,

vestiges of a former epoch, and when we shall have lessened the power of the Court of Alexandria, we shall say to the Powers that, having suppressed for the Egyptians purely national jurisdiction they cannot require us to maintain for their benefit on the soil of Egypt all these foreign and distinct jurisdictions. "The arguments invoked for the creation of the Reform tribunals we will use in favor of our recombinations," say the English, and thus the Consular Courts and the "capitulations," the only protection for Egypt against our final *seizure*, will no longer exist.

What have we done up to the present time to struggle against the manœuvres of our rivals, of our enemies at Cairo? By what acts have we practically and continually protected Egypt against her gradual seizure by perfidious Albion? When have we taken in hand the interests of the oppressed Egyptian people? We have done nothing in favor of the oppressed ones and, worse still, we have been opposed to the abolition of forced labor. Our agents have often appeared not only to be tired of the contest against England, not only to be powerless to continue it, but more than once the attitude of our Ministers at Cairo has been, as one of our national Deputies recently informed me, "a source of encouragement to anti-French enterprises."

And it is at the solicitation of our agents that our government has given its consent to the worst measures against the future of France and the French colonies in Egypt.

Except in two instances—that of the license law, and the action of the Sultan as to Akaba and Sinai—let us frankly admit that since 1882 we have given up all courageous, intelligent, and far-seeing resistance to the English invasion of Egypt.

But now at last we clearly understand the rôle played by England for the past ten years—which is established by a thousand proofs—that in place of increasing the prestige and authority of the Khedive, she has lowered and broken them; that instead of aiding the native capacity in its development, she has simply crushed it; that sooner than help the local element, or enlighten the national spirit of Egypt, England would weaken them, and place her sinister influence upon them; that, in short, instead of working for the reorganization of Egypt for the benefit of the Egyptians, she has with implacable hate done her best to make such reorganization impossible.

It is necessary to conclude. To-day we have tested the probity of the Liberal party of England and its loyalty to its promises—let us struggle with the only arms that remain in our hands. Let us defend the rights of the people of Egypt; let us also protect those of the foreign colonies; let no concessions be made as to treaty rights; finally let us co-operate by our support with the Khedive, not in intrigues, but in his legitimate sovereignty, with the final aim, in accordance with equity and with the law of history, of restoring Egypt to the Egyptians.

JULIETTE ADAM.

A LAST WORD ON THE SOUTH CAROLINA LIQUOR LAW.

BY THE HON. B. R. TILLMAN, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE HON. W. F. DARGAN, MAYOR OF DARLINGTON, S. C.

GOV. TILLMAN:

THE experiment of legislation for the control of the liquor traffic which has been made in South Carolina, during the year beginning July, 1893, has excited widespread interest. In previous articles in THE REVIEW I have given my opinion as to the merits of the Dispensary system, together with such facts as were then obtainable, tending to show the superiority of the Dispensary over the licensed saloon, from a temperance standpoint. Everything promised a speedy and almost total suppression of the illegal traffic in liquor, when, on April 19 last, the Supreme Court by a vote of two to one declared the Dispensary law unconstitutional.

It would be difficult to describe the surprise and disgust manifested by a large majority of our people when this intelligence reached them. The constitutionality of the law had been sustained by the United States Circuit judge; seven out of eight of the State Circuit judges had sustained the law; the Liquor Dealers' Association, of Charleston, had employed the best legal talent in the State, and had received it as the opinion of the attorneys that the law was impregnable and could not be attacked on its constitutionality. The Supreme Court itself, in a previous case arising under it, in May, 1893, unanimously declared:

"The only question really involved here is whether said act violates the constitution in forbidding the granting of licenses to retail spirituous liquors beyond the 30th day of June, 1893, and to that question we have confined our attention, and have reached the conclusion that the said act, *being in effect an act to regulate the sale of spirituous liquors*,—to do which is

universally recognized,—it is quite clear that there is nothing unconstitutional in forbidding the granting of licenses to sell liquor except in the manner prescribed in the act."

To aggravate the situation the division between the judges was along political lines, the dissenting judge, who upheld the constitutionality of the law, being a reformer, or "Tillmanite," while the two controlling judges are "antis," and belong to the old *régime*. The friends of the law naturally denounced the decision as a political and partisan one, and the change of base by the judges from the position held in the previous May, in the Chester case, already cited, together with the forced and inconsequential arguments adduced to sustain it, lend color to the charge.

For far-fetched, unnatural, and strained construction and illogical deductions, this decision will stand as a monument to show how far judges will go when prejudices or feelings are allowed to influence their minds. Goodwin says of Lord Coke that "where precedent failed, he had recourse to the invention of a principle to justify him in deciding as he pleased." Our Court has gone further than this. It has "invented" new principles and overturned the best established old ones to find excuse for this decision. It out-herods Herod and out-cokes Coke; and so muddy was the decision that no two lawyers in the State could agree as to what was the *status* of the liquor traffic under it. The only thing made clear was that the Court declared the Dispensary law to be unconstitutional.

Let it be understood that the Act upon which they were passing was the first Dispensary law, approved December 24, 1892. After considering the law in all its bearings and having had experience of its benefits for six months, the General Assembly had strengthened it, clarified it, and improved it in December last. As every question of constitutionality had been presented to the Court in May, 1893, two months before the law was to go into effect, if the Court had any doubt as to its constitutionality it was clearly its duty to stop the State from committing the wrong of "driving its citizens out of business" and of "monopolizing" the liquor traffic for itself. But the judges could not then see as clearly as they did a year later, when they asserted that "the Dispensary law conflicts with the following sections of our State constitution:

Article I, Section 1: "All men are born free and equal—endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are the rights of

enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."

Section 14 of the same article: "No person shall be despoiled or dispossessed of his property, immunities, or privileges, or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land."

In order to present the arguments which I shall advance to show the constitutionality of the law, I must briefly give the grounds upon which the Court overthrew it. Quoting the above paragraphs from the State constitution, they next declare the law to be in conflict also with the following from the 12th section of Article I: "No person shall be prevented from holding, acquiring, and transmitting property." After expatiating on the inalienable right of personal liberty and private property, the court quotes with unction the following from Mr. Justice Bradley (*First Abbott's U. S. Reports* 388):

"There is no more sacred right of citizenship than the right to pursue unmolested a lawful employment in a lawful manner. It is nothing more nor less than the sacred right of labor."

The idea of speaking of the liquor traffic as an inalienable right of "personal liberty and private property," or describing a bar-keeper standing behind his counter and dishing out poison as one of those possessing the "sacred right of labor"! To bolster the claim that the liquor business is legitimate, the Court then cites the decision of the United States Supreme Court, Leisy vs. Hardin (135 *U. S., page* 100). This is the celebrated "original package" case from Iowa. The Court ignores altogether the fact that Congress by the Wilson Act has overridden the Supreme Court in that case and has expressly placed whiskey under the absolute and direct control of the State Legislatures, possessing none of the rights attaching to any of the ordinary articles of merchandise under the Interstate Commerce law.

The judgment goes on floundering from one *non-sequitur* to another, and announces the following:

"Now, while the power of the legislature to enact such laws as may be deemed necessary and proper to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors by any person within the limits of the State, in order to prevent or at least to reduce as far as possible the evils which are apt to flow from such a traffic, is conceded, yet we cannot regard the Dispensary law as such an act."

Indeed it must be a contradiction in terms to speak of an act of such a character as this is as an act to regulate the sale of liquor by the people of the State, for it is difficult to see how an act forbidding a sale can be regarded as an act regulating such sale.

That which is forbidden cannot well be regulated. This is the very profundity of legal acumen and common-sense! If liquor is forbidden to be sold by any one, excepting bonded State officers, and those officers are forbidden to sell it unless it has been chemically analyzed and placed in certain sized sealed packages to be sold within certain hours at a certain price, under restrictions naming the purchaser of every package—minors and drunkards being barred the right to purchase—if this is not a well-regulated business I would like to know the meaning of the word "regulated." But the Court proclaims aloud: "You have created a monopoly, and the State usurps the inalienable right of her citizens." Let us see. A monopoly, in law, is a franchise or privilege enjoyed by some one person or corporation, from which all others are shut out. How can the State government, which is the representative of all the people when it assumes control of a recognized nuisance to protect the people, and uses the emoluments of the business as a fund in the State Treasury for the benefit of all the people, be said to create a monopoly? If a monopoly at all, it is a monopoly of the whole for the benefit of the whole, both as a matter of police regulation and as a matter of profit, and is the very antithesis of a monopoly. As the profit feature is purely a matter of administration and may be destroyed, and a loss created by a change in the price, there is no principle involved; and when the Court announces, as it does, that if there were no profit in the business it would be constitutional, it surrenders its whole contention.

Discussing the question of the State going into business in competition with its citizens, the Court tells us that this is unconstitutional. It is idle to deny, for our experience of nine months has shown it to be true, that the State alone can handle the liquor traffic as a business with any degree of satisfaction in minimizing the nuisance inherent in it. When licenses were required and liquor allowed to be sold only in incorporated towns, as was the law here prior to the Dispensary system, a monopoly was created in two ways. The towns had a monopoly as against the country (decided by this same Court to be constitutional), and those who obtained licenses, which were fixed according to the judgment of the municipal authorities, obtained a monopoly under protection of the State law, for which a price was paid, and the State was bound to see this monopoly protected. There were

regulations, both municipal and legislative, against sales on Sunday and sales to minors. They have never been enforced, and experience shows that they cannot be enforced, simply because of the political influence exercised by the barkeepers upon the officers charged with that duty. It cannot well be claimed then that the sale of liquor by the State is a "business" in the ordinary acceptance of the term. She assumed control for a specific purpose; that of policing and regulating the traffic. The profit is an incident and, as I have shown, may be eliminated; but is necessary, in the interest of temperance, to prevent the encouragement of consumption by making the liquor too cheap. But it is not such a bad thing, nor has it been held unconstitutional by our courts, State and national, for the United States Government or for the State governments to go into "business." The United States Government is in the business of transporting the mails, has made it a monopoly, and protects that monopoly by stringent laws. It is in the business of manufacturing arms and building ships. It is in the business of printing and engraving. The United States also went into the business of building railroads, very extensively, about twenty-five years ago, (and giving them away,) if not directly, still indirectly. The State of New York long ago went into the business of building canals, greatly to the benefit of her people; the State of Georgia went into the business of building railroads direct, and still owns a line from Atlanta to Chattanooga, worth nine million dollars. None of these things has been considered unconstitutional. But whenever society has attempted, through legislation, to stifle the evils of the liquor traffic the courts have always been prone to throw obstacles in the way and place the constitution, State or national, in the pathway of reform. It is a sacred word, but many sins are committed in its name.

Our Court has reversed its own opinion inside of twelve months. It has enunciated doctrines of law, in its recent decisions, that are contrary to all the accepted principles and repeated decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Take this opinion for instance. On the question of the "inalienable right" of the citizen to sell liquor, upon which so much stress has been laid, in Mugler vs. Kansas (123 *U. S.*), Mr. Justice Harlan said:

"Such a right does not inhere with citizenship, nor can it be said that

the government interferes with or impairs any one's constitutional rights of liberty or of property when it determines that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks for general or individual use as a beverage is or may become hurtful to society, and constitutes therefore a business in which no one may engage."

Again, Mr. Justice Field, in Crowley vs. Christiansen (137 *U. S. Reports*, 91):

"Their sale in that form may be absolutely prohibited. It is a question of public expediency and public morality and not of federal law. The police power of the State is fully competent to regulate the business, to mitigate its evils, or to suppress it entirely. There is no inherent right in a citizen to sell intoxicating liquors by retail. It is not a privilege of a citizen of the state or of a citizen of the United States. The manner and extent of regulation rests in the discretion of the governing authorities."

Congress has since put liquor at wholesale or in original packages in the same category.

Then take this opinion on the constitutional power of the General Assembly of a State, in the case of Giozza vs. Tiernan (148 *U. S. Reports* 661), by Chief Justice Fuller:

"Irrespective of the operation of the federal constitution, and restrictions asserted to be inherent in the nature of American institutions, the general rule is that there are no limitations upon the legislative power of the legislature of a State, except those imposed by its written constitution. There is nothing in the Constitution of Texas restricting the power of the legislature in reference to the sale of liquor; and it is well settled that the legislature in that State has the power to regulate the mode and manner, and the circumstances, under which the liquor traffic may be conducted, and to surround the right to pursue it with such conditions, restrictions, and limitations as the legislature may deem proper."

It would be difficult to make language stronger or to put the question at issue in a more clear and convincing light. There is a radical distinction between the power of Congress, under the United States Constitution, and the powers of a Legislature of a State. In brief it is the accepted rule, and universally recognized, that the federal government has no rights, nor powers, and Congress cannot legislate, except under an explicit grant from the federal constitution; while the State Legislatures can do anything and enact any law not forbidden by the State constitutions. The sections of our State constitution which have been quoted by our Supreme Court as conflicting with the Dispensary law, and therefore nullifying it, can in reason receive no such interpretation. In fact they do not bear on the question at all.

Most men would no doubt contend for the inalienable right to drink whiskey; no sensible man, of this time, will contend for

an inalienable right to sell it. There being no prohibition, express or implied, in our constitution to prevent the State's selling liquor in the exercise of its police power, the argument falls to the ground; and the people, through their representatives, have the right to pass on the wisdom or unwisdom of the law in question. It is usurpation pure and simple, for the judges to stand up and say to them, "You shall not regulate the liquor traffic in this manner."

Will the people of South Carolina submit to this? is the question that mostly interests the outside world. Unless I am egregiously mistaken, they will not. Once before when our Supreme Court, in 1832, attempted this kind of usurpation the Legislature met and abolished the Court. The people in the United States are the source of all political power. They are greater than constitutions and courts. They make and can unmake both. Fortunately, at the coming election in this State, the question of calling a constitutional convention will be voted on. The Dispensary will be one of the principal issues in the campaign about to begin. The friends of temperance may rest easy. The South Carolina experiment is not dead, nor is it likely to die. The Dispensary law is stronger with the people since the decision of the Court than it was before; and if it be necessary to give the direct power to the State to enter into business, the people will incorporate it in the organic law. I repeat it as my deliberate judgment that the Dispensary system has come to stay, and that if it is not constitutional it will be made so. In face of the decisions I have cited, however, and the arguments advanced, it appears to me impossible for any reasonable man to deny that the law is a legitimate exercise of the police power, and that it is just as constitutional for the State to sell liquor as for the State to license its sale. If the State can prohibit its sale altogether—and this no one is bold enough to deny—the State can do anything less, for the whole is greater than any part.

B. R. TILLMAN.

MAYOR DARGAN:

GOVERNOR TILLMAN'S article entitled "Our Whiskey Rebellion" in the May number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is calculated to mislead the thinking public, and as a representative

of Darlington I feel it my duty to present a few facts, for the verification of which I invite investigation.

Our people are not champions of whiskey, and the men who dare maintain their rights as against Governor Tillman or any one else, as a rule, are not identified with the liquor business; on the contrary some of them are strong prohibitionists, and are advocates of peace, law, and order. I venture the opinion that not one-tenth of the sellers of liquor in this State are native Carolinians.

A few years ago the people of this old commonwealth, tired and torn by the troubles and trials incident to the war, broken in spirit and fortune, and striving to adjust themselves to the new order of things, had turned their attention to the building up of their broken fortunes, and were learning and teaching their children in the sad school of adversity, patience, and endurance. They were giving but a passive attention to politics, which they allowed to be run by men whom they had been taught to love and honor for their patriotism and sacrifices.

In 1890 Governor Tillman rose up with charges of incipient rottenness against the powers that be, entered upon an active crusade of agitation, made charges against everybody and everything the people had believed in, arrayed class against class, appealed to the prejudices of the "wool hat" and "one-gallus boys," incited the farming population against the towns; and made the most extravagant promises as to the good that would follow his election. He made overtures to the Farmers' Alliance and obtained their support. To his standard flocked all political malcontents and sore-head politicians who had for years failed to secure office from the Democratic party. He was elected. His object being accomplished and no rottenness or crookedness appearing, he had to confess that his charges were unfounded.

No realization of the many promises being apparent from his first administration, in the next campaign he told the people that the Legislature had failed to do its duty, and that if they would send him a Legislature that would do as he told them, he would give all the reforms he had promised. In this campaign of 1892 the *sine qua non* for office was belief in Governor Tillman. In most of the counties no one could be elected, no matter who or how capable, unless he professed to be a "Tillmanite."

At this Democratic primary the Prohibitionists had a box

where each voter was requested and urged to vote for or against prohibition. The result of the primary was about 10,000 majority for prohibition, and both houses of the Legislature were overwhelmingly carried by the "Tillmanites." When the Legislature met, several prohibition bills were introduced and the fight was on between prohibition and high license. The majority of the "Tillmanites" were pledged to prohibition, but Governor Tillman is not a prohibitionist; thus these subservient so-called representatives of the will of the people were "betwixt the devil and the deep sea"; they had promised their constituents to vote for prohibition, and their master did not wish prohibition. So when he, within forty-eight hours of adjournment, had prepared his now celebrated Dispensary bill, and tacked it on as an amendment to a prohibition bill, then about to be passed, by striking out all of the latter except its title, and substituting the Dispensary bill, it passed. It is not supposed that one-half dozen members of either house ever heard of such a system before, and it would have been an impossibility for such a measure, so introduced, to pass that or any other legislative body except under this peculiar condition of affairs.

This Dispensary bill has been declared unconstitutional and a subversion of the functions of government, by our Supreme Court; hence it is useless to discuss its merits or demerits. Though extremely stringent and drastic in its many provisions, having been gotten up hurriedly, it was very imperfect, yet it recognized local option. A dispensary could not be placed in a prohibition town or county, and before it could be established in any town a majority of the freehold voters had to join in a petition for it.

In 1893 when the Legislature met, another Dispensary bill was passed, and its measures were still more severe and arbitrary. One or more dispensaries could be established for each county in the State, with this difference: that to prevent its establishment a majority of the voters of the township in which such dispensary was to be located had to be obtained to a petition requesting that no dispensary be established in that township, whereupon some other place could be designated. In counties, towns, and cities where liquor-selling was prohibited by law a dispensary could be established upon a petition, signed by one-fourth of the qualified voters of such county, town, or city, being filed with the county

commissioners, or town or city council, respectively; then an election was required to be held, submitting the question to the voters of such county, town, or city, and if a majority of the ballots cast was found to be for a dispensary it was required that one be established. In two of the prohibition counties, Williamsburgh and Marion, an exception was made, and dispensaries could be established without such election. In the neighboring town of Timmonsville, where liquor-selling had been prohibited for years by its charter, a dispensary was established with the aid of negro votes and against the earnest protest of the most intelligent voters and property-owners of the town. Thus it appeared to be the policy of the administration to establish dispensaries wherever money could be made out of them.

The Dispensary Law amply provided for its enforcement, authorizing the appointment of as many constables as were deemed necessary. The methods resorted to by these constables in their search for contraband liquor were often as annoying as they were novel. Of all the reckless acts of the Governor, the selection of some of these men has been the most unpardonable. While a few of them are sensible men of experience, most of them are desperate characters.

On the morning of March 28 the authorities of Darlington received a letter from the Governor stating that the Dispensary profits would be withheld after April 1, for the reason that he had been informed that the police were obstructing the constables in the discharge of their duties. The Governor says that this letter "added to the anger of the mob." That this letter added to the anger of anybody in Darlington is an assumption on his part, as we had received letters of this nature before, and the authorities, having determined to test the question in the courts at the proper time, were not concerned about the Governor's communications. And as a matter of fact his information was incorrect; on the contrary the police, in accordance with their instructions, rendered every assistance to the constables, and accompanied them in the raids.

The Governor's statements that "large numbers of armed men gathered in the streets" and that "the five or six constables in Darlington were followed by this armed mob, which guyed, cursed, and abused them," are without foundation, the fact being that no constable or body of constables was ever followed in that

town by any armed man or body of men; and yet after this body of five or six constables had executed every process in their hands except one, and had broken into one private apartment without a warrant, meeting with no resistance, Governor Tillman ordered from Charleston his chief constable, with a force of seventeen men, armed with pistols and Winchester rifles. Before doing this he had ordered out the Darlington Guards, without the request of any civil officer in the county, and on the next day, when his band of constables arrived in Darlington, he ordered the Sumter Light Infantry to report to the sheriff at Darlington, in face of the fact that he had been assured by the sheriff of the county, the mayor of the town, and the captain of the Darlington Guards that no troops were needed, as no trouble was anticipated, and all was quiet. The ordering of these constables to Darlington was announced in the morning papers, and naturally caused apprehension and excitement all over the State, and especially in the neighboring town of Florence. The advent of this unusual number of armed men into our peaceful community excited anxiety among our best citizens, as no cause could be assigned for their coming, yet there was no assemblage of persons, and no demonstration whatever. A few of the citizens of Florence and Sumter, being apprehensive, came to Darlington, and as they with our people could see no reason for this display of force, they naturally supposed that Governor Tillman would order his constables, backed by the State militia, to search private residences, even of citizens who did not make bar-rooms of their homes. They met therefore in an orderly manner in the Courthouse, and passed resolutions to the effect that they did not propose to have their residences searched by whiskey constables, and notified the constables of their action, but at the same time informed the sheriff that any process placed in his hands could be served without resistance, even were it for the search of a private house. They had no intention of protecting any one who made a saloon of his residence, but fully intended to defend their homes. This meeting was not composed of whiskey sellers, but in it were some of the best men in the State. They assembled as they had a right to assemble, made their intentions known, and quietly dispersed to their respective homes. These are the conspirators to whom the Governor so persistently refers. Upon the following morning the only re-

maining warrant in the hands of the constables was served without the least interest or demonstration on the part of the citizens, and in the afternoon four of the constables went to one depot and nineteen to the other to take their departure.

Governor Tillman says: "Two boys, citizens of the town, got into a fight at the depot where the main body of the constables was. One of them, who was whipped, ran up town, and returned, followed by an armed mob." The fact is that the young man alluded to, on his way to town, in the omnibus, met five other young men walking to the depot, one of whom was to take the train. He got out of the omnibus, told them he had been imposed on, and wished them to return with him and see fair play. To this they agreed. It turns out that of these five young men, three had pistols on their persons and participated in the fight with the constables. One was killed, and one shot in five different places. This was the composition of the "armed mob" which followed the young man back to the depot. In the fight were two other citizens, besides the chief of police with one assistant, who were commanding the peace. These men armed with pistols, all, except one, of less than 38 calibre, were pitted against nineteen constables armed with the most improved rifles and pistols.

We will not attempt to give an account of the fight, how it occurred, or who precipitated it. The record has been made and by the Governor himself. That the investigation by the coroner, and its results, should be absolutely unprejudiced, he appointed a military board of inquiry to sit with the coroner's jury, to hear the evidence, through the coroner to examine witnesses, and to make its report to him. This board was composed of four officers and one private, who were from different sections of the State, unconnected with and unknown to our people. After reviewing the evidence, they in a written report unanimously found that the constables started the trouble, that two of them were guilty of felonious murder, and that fifteen others were accessories. When this conflict was reported up-town, a mile distant, the sheriff and mayor called on the captain of the Darlington Guards to assist them in maintaining the peace, supposing at the time that the fight was still going on. The company turned out immediately and marched to the scene with the sheriff and mayor, where they found the participants had all dispersed, and that quite a number

of citizens had started in pursuit of the constables. Posses were immediately started by the writer in all directions. Before the arrival of the officers on the scene, some of the citizens who had preceded them, being under the impression that the constables had gone across to the other depot and got on the train then due, ran to the crossing where it usually stops. The train did not stop, and they fired into it as it ran by. This was the only unlawful act committed in the town of Darlington. It was inexcusable, and was condemned by all. The only palliation is that the men who committed this deed were wrought up to a state of frenzy by seeing the dead and bleeding bodies of their friends and comrades, and supposed the perpetrators of this dastardly deed were on this train about to escape.

As has been stated, the eyes of the State were on Darlington, and when it was heralded abroad on the evening of March 30 that the constables and citizens had clashed, the impression prevailed, that Governor Tillman, in fulfilment of his many threats, had ordered the constabulary to search private houses; that our citizens were defending their homes; that the Governor wished to back up the constables with the State troops, and knowing full well that he was capable "of giving commands of such an outrageous kind as to override law, decency, and justice," when he ordered out the troops of Columbia and Charleston they refused to respond, and chose rather to cast their arms at his feet. He caused by his untoward action this impression to prevail throughout the State, and the troops were right and acted properly with the lights before them. Our volunteer troops as a rule are composed of the very best elements in the State. They are intelligent and know as well when duty calls and will respond as quickly and endure as long as any in the United States. They are the men, and those who lead them, to whom South Carolina will look, and not in vain, when her real trouble comes. They did right in refusing to obey; and had the real facts, as they were subsequently learned, been what they were at that time supposed to be, the Governor could not have massed at Darlington a corporal's guard of the regular troops, and by the time his farmers reached here they would have been met by the best men in South Carolina, and some from other States, and among them would have been found many a "wool hat" and "one-gallus boy," as he is pleased to call them. But we are thankful that the facts were not

as they were supposed to be, as the Governor tried to make them, and as he would have liked them to have been, at least until he found that there were men still left in South Carolina. In response to the many offers of assistance we wired promptly the real state of affairs. When it was ascertained that our people were willing to have troops come here, then it was that the Governor of South Carolina was enabled to march some 300 men up the hill and down again. The Governor also says, "I was informed by the sheriff that the civil authorities were powerless in Darlington, and was asked to order out the militia." One not in possession of the facts would suppose that the sheriff had requested the Governor to order out the militia. The fact is, the sheriff made no such request; and prior to the conflict, when the officers of the Darlington Guards and Sumter Light infantry reported to him under the Governor's orders, he expressed surprise and told them he had no need of them; and this fact was reported to the Governor.

Again, the Governor says, "One of the most potent factors in the suppression of the rebellion was the seizure of the telegraph lines and the railroads." It is hard to say whether the Governor was serious in making this statement or whether it was a piece of facetiousness on his part. The only point in South Carolina that this place could not at all times communicate with by wire was Columbia; and as for trains, we could have had as many as we desired at any time.

On the 31st of March, Governor Tillman issued a proclamation declaring that:

> "Certain persons have assembled in the Counties of Darlington and Florence, and are now in open rebellion against the authority of the Government of this State, and it has become impracticable to enforce the ordinary course of judicial proceeding of the laws of this State," etc.

This was a wanton exercise of power, as certain persons had not assembled in the counties named in open rebellion against the authority of the government, and it never was impracticable to enforce judicial proceedings; on the contrary every process had been fully executed without resistance, by the officers charged therewith.

In restoring the civil status on April 5 he issued another proclamation in which, after reciting the terms of the first, he says:

> "The commanding general has just informed me that the insurgents

have dispersed, and that peace and order are restored, and that the civil authorities are now able to employ and enforce the law."

There was about as much accuracy in this as in the other. The commanding general never made any such report. On the contrary, when the Adjutant-General of the State arrived in Darlington in advance of the commanding general and his troops, and on the night after the day of the fight, after reviewing the situation, he reported to the Governor that "to all appearances the town was unusually quiet," and in his report says "as a matter of fact it was unusually so," and that the people "seem not only quiet, but sad, depressed, and melancholy." In the face of this information the troops under the commanding general, arrived the next night, and he reported that "good order and quiet prevail in the city."

W. F. DARGAN.

HOW TO MAKE WEST POINT MORE USEFUL.

BY F. A. MITCHEL, LATE CAPTAIN AND AIDE-DE-CAMP, U. S. V.

THE annual examinations at West Point have been concluded, and a new class of ex-cadets is turned out to grow old as captains or lieutenants in the army, or to seek a different kind of promotion in civil life. The Military Academy remains the same as when our fathers* and grandfathers were graduated there, to be attached to the army as brevet second lieutenants. American universities have been constantly enlarging in every sense. There are more courses, more professors, more students. Why, then, do the West Point cadets still constitute the same little battalion as fifty years ago?

It may be considered an unwarranted innovation to suggest any change for West Point; indeed few people consider any change necessary. There is a growing disposition to arbitrate disputed international questions, and war every day seems more barbarous. But it is questionable if the time has yet come when any people can afford to neglect military education. As the Supreme Court is the final means of settlement of all constitutional questions by peaceful methods, so is war a final refuge when all peaceful methods have failed.

Three main elements enter into the military dependence of the United States: the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Volunteers. In time of peace there is but little connection between the first and the second, and no connection between the second and the third; for the Volunteers force only exists in time of war. The Regular Army and the National Guard exist always; and since in time of war the Regular Army is expected to leaven all the United States forces, and the National Guard is

* The writer's father, Ormsby McKnight Mitchel, was a graduate of West Point, class of 1829; the writer's brother, also Ormsby McKnight Mitchel, was graduated in 1865.

to form a basis for the Volunteers, a connection between the first and the second is a proper subject for consideration. Prior to the Civil War no attempt had been made to disseminate any influence of regulars through the National Guard. Of late years a few officers of the army have been detailed for duty with the State forces at different points, but under the present system it is questionable if they can be of service except as drill masters. Thus far no direct well-established link between West Point and the National Guard has even been suggested.

West Point, when it was established, in 1804, was intended to turn out some half a hundred cadets a year to serve as officers for a force of about 20,000 men—a representative standing army for a nation of ten or fifteen millions of people, whose only anticipations of war were with Indians. The true value of the Military Academy did not become apparent for fifty years after it was instituted, for the only two wars occurring during this period were that with England in 1812, which occurred simultaneously with the founding of the academy, and the war with Mexico, a comparatively small affair. Only a dozen years after the Mexican war the nation suddenly woke to the consciousness of the fact that she needed a great army. A struggle was upon her more gigantic, more extended, of greater variety, than any the world has ever seen. A million of men were enlisted as volunteers. But where were the officers to come from? There were perhaps 1,500 in the regular army, but no more than were necessary to officer that army. There were perhaps 1,500 West Point graduates in civil life who could be called on, and this was the limit of the nation's resources in educated officers. There was the militia, but beyond the drill in arms they were very ignorant of military service. The consequence was that the war had no sooner opened than a great demand sprang up for West Point graduates. The volunteers must be drilled, clothed, fed, armed, and furnished with ammunition. Assistant adjutants-general were required to superintend the clerical work; ordnance officers to furnish arms and ammunition; engineers to construct forts, railroads, bridges; quartermasters and commissaries to distribute clothing and food—in short, a small army of especially educated officers was needed to fill the staff corps alone. After the men had been enlisted, organized, and equipped, they must be fought. Fifty thousand officers were required to lead them.

The comparatively few West Point officers available were made general officers, in some cases Colonels in the line, but rarely could be obtained for any less important position. The bulk were placed where they were most needed, in the Staff Corps. As engineers, assistant adjutant-general, quartermasters, commissaries, ordnance officers, they were soon exhausted at the headquarters of the Army at Washington, or at the main points of organization and supply in different parts of the country. The old army, depleted of most of its officers, was filled up with citizen appointments. The militia, after serving a few months under its own organization, sent many of its members into the volunteers to serve as officers. But even with the militia to draw from, the bulk of volunteer officers at the outset knew no more about the military service than the raw recruits they commanded. The militia officers were largely available as drill masters, but all, except the West Pointers, were lamentably ignorant of that code deduced by long experience for the management of an army, the "Army Regulations."

West Point graduates necessarily took the lead at the start and held it to the finish. At first there was a disposition to give a preference to those who were in the old army at the opening of the war, and to regard those who had resigned as of secondary consideration, but it was soon discovered that those who had left the army for civil pursuits were of equal value with their comrades who had confined themselves to the duties of a soldier. Indeed, they had in many instances added to their value by an experience acquired in civil engineering, transporting goods, and other peaceful duties, while an absence from army routine had rendered them more patient and efficient with volunteers.

The result of organizing this improvised army and putting it into the field officered by men not familiar with army system was a great deal of suffering among the troops. The nation could afford to give them clothes, food, equipments, transportation; but all these must be distributed. It is the duty of the officer to see that the necessities of his men are provided for. But few of the officers of the volunteers upon their entry into the service knew how to properly write a requisition. While requisitions for overcoats were being returned for informality, the men were chilled by November winds. They were often delayed in getting rations, shoes, blankets, indeed, any or every thing to make their exposure endurable.

One in need of food and clothing has very little patience with one who denies him on account of informality; therefore, there arose from the Atlantic to the Mississippi the cry of "red tape." True, there was red tape in abundance, but not enough to prevent a number of disbursing officers hanging about Washington for months after the close of the war, in a vain endeavor to settle their accounts. Had each regiment been able to secure educated staff disbursing officers, there would have been comparatively little trouble. But as the West Pointers were few and the militia had never been instructed in aught save the drill, there were no more educated disbursing officers available than for the main depots of supply. Had the militia who served as officers of the volunteers been something nearer to real soldiers than simply drilled soldiers, there would have been a sufficient number to supply and equip all the volunteers.

Considering West Pointers as leaders of armies, they made the same showing as in the staff corps. At the outset civilians with no military education, but prominent as political leaders, were in some instances given important command, but as the war progressed it became apparent that those who were educated in the science of war, if they were no more efficient, at least inspired greater confidence. Notwithstanding the good work achieved by citizen leaders, no one of them ever was intrusted with the command of a large army. Of the West Pointers an important fact was soon demonstrated, that it was not essential for even general officers to have served continuously in the regular army. Those graduates who were appointed from civil life proved as successful in generalship as those who had been always exclusively soldiers. Indeed there was often a disposition on the part of a general whose education had not been applied as it could only be in active civil life, to attach too much importance to the rules of war learned from books, to the exclusion of practical common-sense. Of four great leaders who came out at the end of the war as central figures, two had left the old army for civil pursuits. Grant and Sherman were reappointments, Thomas and Sheridan were regular officers. But it is safe to say that of the West Pointers nearest the rank and file (colonels, lieutenant-colonels, or majors), those who were in civil life after service with the old army were most efficient with volunteers.

The war taught us then, first, that a military education is

essential, and second, that no disadvantage results from the educated soldier going into civil life in time of peace, to resume his mental and physical equipment in time of war. Why, then, has West Point, after the nation has been taught this lesson, been suffered to remain in the same status as when it was founded ?

In the first place, there was a great deal of prejudice engendered from the fact of so many West Point graduates entering the Confederate Army. Secondly, as has been stated above, many officers whose scope had not been enlarged in civil pursuits were too much wedded to theory, and among a number there was an ill-disguised contempt for the volunteeer. These causes are now largely lost sight of, but it will be a long while before the nation will forget that at West Point she was educating men to turn against her in time of her necessity, and any attempt to enlarge the Academy would be met by this important, though illogical, argument. The main cause to-day for leaving West Point as it is is a well-grounded opinion that she now turns out more officers than are required to officer 30,000 men, and that 30,000 men are enough for the standing army of the United States.

The war demonstrated, however, that West Point graduates are necessary in case of need, and that after graduation no detriment results from entering civil life ; why then should not West Point turn out men in far greater numbers to enter upon civil pursuits at graduating ? And as the National Guard is the next most important resource in case of war to the regular army, why should not these young men pay for their education by a stated term of service with the National Guard ?

General Grant has been quoted as saying that there should be 1,000 men at West Point; but if he left a plan for putting and keeping them there it is not known to the writer. To educate a man in one or more branches of the military service would require from one to four years of training. The full course of four years is now considered a proper time to educate cadets in all the branches, to enter the army as officers. An additional number of cadets might be appointed to study, some one, some two, and some three years, to be scattered at graduation through the National Guard, to transmit what they have learned at West Point. The three-year man might choose a number of electives to include all except the higher studies of the fourth year; the two-year man, such studies as would be best fitted to go with

his drilling in staff and line duties; while the one-year man would simply be drilled perhaps in the line and instructed in a single staff corps, studying what most nearly pertained to his specialty. This would give the student an opportunity to become proficient as an assistant adjutant-general, an artillery officer, a cavalry officer, or in such other corps as he might elect.

It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest a plan, but to indicate the expediency of educating more young men at West Point to serve with the National Guard. Two important points remain: to discover the additional equipment and expense essential, and to make a practical status for the West Point graduate in the National Guard. The former would be a part of the general plan of educating more men, and should be treated by an experienced graduate of the Academy; the latter pertains especially to the National Guard and should be treated by an experienced National Guardsman. It would doubtless involve changes in the laws governing the State forces, and would be of little or no value unless the men were more directly brought under the control of their officers and the State or General Government. Their status as soldiers should be intensified as far as possible without interfering with their condition as citizens. The winters should be devoted to instruction; the summer encampments should take on such discipline as prevails at West Point.

Such a consummation would bring West Point up to the status of the great American universities (though in a military line), which have entirely outstripped it. As at the university, there is the student pursuing the regular academical course, so at West Point is the cadet being educated to officer the regular army. As at the university, there is the special-course man, so at West Point we should have the student in the duties of quartermaster or commissary, or of an infantry, artillery, or cavalry officer. The National Guard, which is now a vast improvement on the militia prior to the Civil War, would take a still greater stride forward. Every year would see several hundred West Pointers entering its organization to bring its discipline up toward a regular-army standard. Lastly, in case of a great war, we would have the whole National Guard ready as trained soldiers, instead of having to make soldiers of raw material.

F. A. Mitchel.

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF THE "A. P. A."

BY W. J. H. TRAYNOR, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

IF THE American Protective Association owed an apology for its existence either to the people of the United States or to humanity at large, I for one should not be among its apologists, nor should I at this moment occupy valuable space, and to me and those I serve much more valuable time, in a condensed exposition—not defence—of its principles, and the conditions which have brought about its existence, in reply to Mr. Lathrop's article entitled "Hostility to Roman Catholics," which appeared in the May number of this REVIEW.

By way of preface, I wish to state that, denying as I do the catholicity of the Papal church and the pretensions of the See at Rome, it would be inconsistent in me to use the term "Roman Catholic" or "Catholic." Therefore in substituting "Papist" and "Papacy," I but wish to be understood as alluding to that ecclesiastical government of which the Pope is the head and to the followers thereof—not in any sense with a desire to be discourteous or derisive.

Mr. Lathrop has asked: "Why should not Catholics enjoy equal freedom, as citizens, to hold opinions on morals or education, to engage in politics or government, to advance them?" The question is a pertinent one, and the reply hinges upon the definition of the term "Catholic"—the prefix "Roman" being conceded. Webster defines a (Roman) Catholic as "an adherent of the Church of Rome." We have now to determine by evidence whether the assumptions of the Papal church are consistent with good citizenship.

There is no obscurity in the position taken by the United

States in the matter of allegiance; the State requires most perfect and complete fidelity and obedience to the Republic. The voice of the Papacy is no less uncertain; it demands the unqualified obedience of its adherents to the Pontiff. Thus Cardinal Manning, speaking in the name of the Pope, has said:

"I acknowledge no civil power; I am the subject of no civil power; I am the subject of no prince, and I claim to be more than this. I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men, of the peasants that till the fields, and of the prince that sits upon the throne; of the household that sits in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am sole, last, supreme judge of what is right and wrong. Moreover, we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation to every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

All of which may be found in Quirinus (Appendix I., p. 832) and the *Tablet* of October 9, 1864.

I now quote from Manning's *Decrees and Civil Allegiance*, p. 54, where the Cardinal says:

"It is clear that the civil power cannot define how far the circumference of faith and morals extends. . . . If the church cannot fix the limits of its jurisdiction, then either nobody can or the state must. But the state cannot unless it claim to be the depository and expositor of the Christian revelation. Therefore it is the church or nobody. This last supposition leads to chaos. Now if this be rejected, the church alone can; and if the church can fix the limits of its jurisdiction, *it can fix the limits of all other jurisdictions.*"

The same authority, in *Cæsarism and Ultramontanism*, p. 36, argues:

"Any power which is independent and can alone fix the limits of its own jurisdiction, and can thereby fix the limit of all other jurisdictions, is, *ipso facto*, supreme."

The following from an address delivered by Pope Pius IX., of infallibility fame, July 21, 1873, is pertinent:

"There are many errors regarding infallibility; but the most malicious of all is that which includes, in that dogma, the right of deposing sovereigns, and declaring the people no longer bound by the obligation of fidelity. This RIGHT has now and again in critical circumstances been exercised by the pontiffs . . . its origin was not the infallibility, but the AUTHORITY of the Pope."

It is denied by many that the Papacy demands the temporal allegiance of Papists. Let me quote the following from an Encyclical of Leo XIII., November, 1885:

"We exhort all Catholics to devote careful attention to public matters, and take part in all municipal affairs and elections, and all public services, meetings, and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily political life in countries where they live. All

Catholics should exert their power to cause the constitutions of states to be modelled on the principles of the true church."

The Revised Statutes of the United States declare :

"The alien seeking citizenship must make oath to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, in particular that to which he has been subject."

The obligation of the oath of allegiance to the United States, from the point of view of a Papist, may be measured by the following :

"No oaths are to be kept if they are against the interests of the Church of Rome."—*Corpus Juris Canonici*, Leipsic ed., 1839, p. 1159.

Again :

"Oaths which are against the Church of Rome are not to be called oaths, but perjuries."—*Ibid*, p. 358.

Again, Pius IX. asserted to himself the right to annul the constitutions and laws of certain countries, viz., New Grenada, in 1852; of Mexico, in 1856 ; of Spain, in 1855, and of Austria in 1868. See *Acerbissimum*, Sept. 27, 1852 ; *Nunquam Fore*, Dec. 15, 1856 ; *Nemo Vestrum*, July 24, 1855; *Allocutio Nunquam Certe*, June 22, 1868.

The foregoing, it will be seen, are authorities of comparatively modern date. One authority even more recent deserves insertion here, under the head of civil allegiance—

"We command all whom it concerns to recognize in you (Francisco Satolli) as apostolic delegate, the supreme power of the delegating pontiff; we command that they give you aid, concurrence, and obedience in all things, that they receive with reverence your salutary admonitions and orders. Whatever sentence or penalty you shall duly declare or inflict against those who oppose our authority, we will ratify, and, with the authority given us by the Lord, will cause to be observed inviolably until condign satisfaction be made." "*Notwithstanding constitutions and apostolic ordinance or other to the contrary.*"—Extract from encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. to the Papal clergy in the United States, January 24, 1892.

Thus we see that the Papal hierarchy declares its complete sovereignty over the state, and, in utter disregard of the constitution and the laws of the land, decrees that the Papal fiat is superior to the voice of the people ; and that the Papists of the United States yield acquiescence and obedience to this assumption of authority is shown in the following :

"We glory that we are, and, with God's blessing, shall continue to be, not the American church, nor the church in the United States, nor a church in any other sense, exclusive or limited, but an integral part of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ."—*Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii*, p. LXXVI. (Baltimore, 1886.)

"Nor are there in the world more devoted adherents of the Catholic Church, the See of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ than the Catholics of the United States."—*Ibid.*

The position taken by the Papacy regarding matters of state, as illustrated by the authorities quoted, and a hundred others equally as pertinent, form the fundamental reasons for the existence of the American Protective Association, although it is doubtful whether, if these conditions had existed as a theory only, the organization would ever have been anything more than a mere name. It was the active and aggressive application of the temporal claims of the Papacy by its subjects in this country that made the perfection of the "A. P. A." not only possible, but an actual necessity, our legislators, for the greater part, being either unwilling or too corrupt to deal with an issue in which their personal interests had become inextricably involved.

Mr. Lathrop makes an unfortunate reference to "ballot or bullet." This expression has been used, so far as I have been able to learn, exclusively by members of the Papal church; notably by Monsignor Capel, who threatened with "bullets" the school-tax collector; and by the Jesuit Sherman, who, from the public platform in Chicago, less than six months since, advocated the use of "free bullets" in preference to free speech.

Opinions among Romanists may differ as to who seeks to "trail 'Old Glory' in the dust"—he who hauls it down upon St. Patrick's or any other day to replace it with the emblem of another nation or race, as so frequently done in New York and other large cities, or he who declares that it shall be all-sufficient for those who live upon American soil. To the members of the American Protective Association there can be no question of its all-sufficiency. We have had many instances of priests of the Papacy refusing to admit to their churches and cemeteries deceased members of the G. A. R. until the "stars and stripes" had been removed from the coffin.

"Arms in Catholic churches" or rumors thereof, is a matter that needs neither confirmation nor refutation. It is sufficient that Papist societies, from which non-Papists are religiously excluded, armed with rifles and bayonets, may be seen upon the public streets at any important Roman Catholic celebration. Why these armed companies exist or whether they store their arms in churches, convents, or lodgerooms and armories, are

matters which come within Mr. Lathrop's province to determine; it is enough for me that both men and arms are actual and visible auxiliaries to the Papal church.

Parenthetically the following item from the New York *World* of April 27, dated from San Jose, Costa Rica, April 26, is significant:

"Relations between the government and the church party are strained, owing to discoveries of arms stored in convents."

I have yet to learn that General Sheridan was as "good" a Papist as Mr. Lathrop would make him appear. If the brave general was a "good Catholic" he believed in the temporal power of the Pope; if he did not so believe, he was a Papist only in name. It is as much a heresy to deny a dogma of the Papal church as to deny the church itself.

Mr. Lathrop refers generally to those "colonial families" who were members of the Papal church, and particularly to his own pedigree, ranging over two hundred and sixty years; yet he neglects to inform the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that nearly all—if not all—of these ancestors of whom he is justly proud were not Papists in any sense of the word, and among the signatures upon the Declaration of Independence I fail to discover one *bona-fide* Roman Catholic. Carroll, of Carrollton, was the nearest approach to a Papist, yet he was evidently a most indifferent one, and the last to sign the Declaration.

Mr. Lathrop says:

"We (Roman Catholics) are bound to obey the laws of the state when they are not contrary to the law of God."

Very clearly put; and as Cardinal Manning asserts that "it (the Church) can fix the limits of all other jurisdictions" besides its own, the reason is easily discoverable why Papists oppose the public school, and, in defiance of the Constitution, demand public money to support sectarian institutions, and why, also in defiance of the Constitution, it has for many years past used the garb of sanctity as a means whereby to absorb the political offices of the country, as in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, and all other important cities of the United States, wherein from 60 to 95 per cent. of the public officials are papists.

"Neither the church nor its American members are trying to break down the public-school system," Mr. Lathrop asserts, but here again I prefer the authority of Pius IX., who denounced the

public schools as "godless" and threatened with anathema all who dared to send their children thereto. I would also refer Mr. Lathrop to the decrees of the Councils of Baltimore upon this matter.

Mr. Lathrop is undoubtedly a "good Catholic," for he quotes St. Thomas Aquinas as an authority upon "what constitutes cause for revolution by the people." The reference is most happy; and before returning St. Thomas to the shelf I take occasion to refer to Vol. 4, p. 90, where I find the following:

"Though heretics (*i. e.*, all who are not 'good catholics') must not be tolerated because they deserve it, we must bear with them, till, by a second admonition, they may be brought back to the faith of the church. But those who, after a second admonition, remain obstinate in their errors, must not only be excommunicated, but they must be delivered over to the secular power to be exterminated."

In passing let me call attention to an extract from another Papal authority—this time a decree passed by the council of Lateran in 1215, and declared by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Foley, of Chicago, under oath on Dec. 30, 1870, before the Circuit Court of Kankakee, Ill., to be a law of the Papal church to-day:

"We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy that rears its head against the holy orthodox or catholic faith, condemning all heretics, by whatever name they may be known, for though their faces differ, they are tied together by their tails. Such as are condemned are to be delivered over to the secular powers for punishment. If laymen, their goods must be confiscated. . . . Secular powers of all ranks and degrees are to be warned, induced, and, if necessary, compelled by ecclesiastical censure, to swear that they will exert themselves to the utmost in the defence of the faith, and extirpate all hereties denounced by the church," etc.

In the whole range of history was ever a stronger argument than this submitted as a reason for the existence of an organization for the conservation of American liberty?

The assumption of the Papacy to control in politics was illustrated most fully during the recent debate upon the civil-marriage bill in Hungary. The moment the state claimed the right to legalize civil marriage, the church created almost a revolution to defeat the claim, acting upon the self-asserted right of *defining its own jurisdiction*. Even so with our public schools; the state declares that they shall be non-sectarian, yet in defiance of the state the church sends its nuns and priests into the public schools of Pennsylvania and elsewhere to teach Papal dogmas.

The Constitution declares that no appropriation shall be made

for sectarian purposes; the church, *defining its own jurisdiction*, demands a portion of the public money for the support of Romish parochial schools. The State declares the right of free speech; the Church permits its subjects to reject this principle, and they attack and attempt to murder public lecturers at Lafayette, Ind.; Kansas City, St. Louis, and scores of other places.

Closely allied to the principle that underlies the liberty of conscience is *freedom of speech and of the press.*

The First amendment to the Constitution reads:

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or the press."

Yet, in the light of this, Leo XIII., in a letter, June 17, 1885, says:

"Such a duty (obedience), while incumbent upon all without exception, *is most strictly so on journalists* who, if they were not animated with the *spirit of docility and submission* so necessary to every Catholic,' would help to extend and greatly aggravate the evils we deplore."

A writer of the *Catholic World*, in an article published July, 1870, entitled "The Catholics of the Nineteenth Century," explains the position of the Papists on the question of free speech and of free press. He says:

"The supremacy asserted for the Church in matters of education implies the additional and cognate function of the censorship of ideas, and the right to examine and approve or disapprove all books, publications, writing, and utterances intended for public instruction, enlightenment, or entertainment, and supervision of places of amusement. This is the principle upon which the Church has acted in holding over to the civil authorities for punishment criminals in the world of ideas."

Yes, Galileo was a splendid example of the Papal "censorship of ideas." Wycliff, Huss, Bruno, and many thousand victims of the Spanish Inquisition are a few other early instances; and the attempted assassination of public speakers within a few months in the United States may be taken as illustrating the later days of Rome's censorship, leaving no room for doubt (in the human mind) that the Papal boast, *Semper eadem*, is quite true.

In marked contrast is the behavior of members of the "A. P. A." when the defenders of Rome have attacked them either in public or private. There is yet an instance to be cited of a blow struck or a shot fired to avenge either an insult to Protestantism or the order. That cause is a poor one which needs force to defend it against moral argument. It is strange, too, that where

the voice of civil authority has been raised in vain against riot and bloodshed the priests have been able to restore peace with a fews words; notably in the cities just named. It serves to emphasize what the "A. P. A." and Papacy alike have always claimed that the Papist places the church above the state, and canon law above civil law; such divided allegiance is impeachable in the light of the American Constitution.

Permit the Papacy to carry out its aggressive policy, as defined in its canons and decrees, and its methods such as have been pursued in the United States for many years past, and what would become of our boasted constitutional prerogative of free speech and free press?

The minor issues raised by Mr. Lathrop may be disposed of in a few lines. First:

The American Mechanics do *not* admit any one to their order who is not American by nativity. Again, why should they not "wear swords at church"—even as the Knights of St. John and other Papist societies wear them? Why should they not exclude Papists from their order, with the example—half a century old—set them of the Papal orders excluding non-Papists from *their* military, semi-military, and "benefit organizations"?

The American Protective Association has not, nor ever had, any "organ." In my address to the Supreme Council in May last I for the first time advocated the establishing of one.

The assertion that the A. P. A. has urged commercial proscription of Papists, either directly or indirectly, is absolutely incorrect. On the contrary, it has constantly set its face against such an un-American measure. As a matter of fact, the "secrecy" of the order against which Mr. Lathrop inveighs so bitterly is entirely due to the fact that members of the "A. P. A.," when suspected or known to be such, have been so mercilessly boycotted as to drive them out of business, and not unfrequently out of the towns and cities in which they lived.

In regard to the alleged purchase of arms by the "A. P. A." of Toledo, Ohio, the report, like the assertion, is false *in toto*. A clause in the constitution of the order prohibits any but legal political measures on the part of its membership. A military body organizing under the charter of the order would subject the members thereof to expulsion.

The organization does not recognize its members as "Protest-

ants" from a religious point of view, but only by reason of fact that they *protest* against ecclesiasticism and corruption the affairs of state. Comprising in its membership, as it do Jews, theosophists, deists, spiritualists, free-thinkers, adventist and other believers in Deity, it cannot be considered as "Protes tant" from a religious standpoint.

Regarding the matter of so-called "A. P. A. riots," Mr. Lathrop is just as lamentably ignorant as upon other matters connected with the organization. In the case cited, the press of Kansas City stated that the mob set upon and endeavored to murder the lecturer, that he had to fly for his life, etc. In the Columbus matter Mr. Lathrop is equally at sea. The facts are that a young girl *was* detained at a monastic institution against her will, and was released by due legal process, for the details of which I refer Mr. Lathrop to the Columbus court records.

Mr. Lathrop, while evincing the most unmistakable and inexcusable ignorance regarding the "A. P. A.," has had the extremely bad taste to denounce it as "ignorant and stupidly malicious." Hard words neither break bones nor strengthen a weak cause in the eyes of the intelligent, and, moreover, the organization referred to does not consider an amendment to the Constitution necessary to prohibit sectarian appropriations; for the reason that the Constitution has fully declared itself upon this point.

I would suggest that Mr. Lathrop consult the fundamental principles of the Union as diligently as he has the interests of the Papacy. Another glance at the Constitution should convince him that denominational control of public schools is unlawful.

"If religion itself or the political rights of Catholics be threatened, the Pope may advise defensive action, either by abstention from voting or by the formation of a party, etc." So quotes Mr. Lathrop, yet he denounces the "A. P. A." and kindred societies when they assert that Romanism is political as well as ecclesiastical. Where in the Constitution does Mr. Lathrop find provision made whereby a foreign priest may define the rights and duties of American citizens?

The schools of Switzerland are referred to. Mr. Lathrop is all abroad; this is neither Switzerland nor the Vatican, but the United States—a fact which seems to have been overlooked by him.

Are there not bishops and cardinals in the Papal church who

peak for the Papacy? Is it that the Papal authorities are fraid to place themselves upon record as our legislators seem be? I might well be excused from replying to Mr. Lathrop, r he officially represents no one's opinions but his own, while I ave the honor to represent those of more than two millions of my fellow-citizens.

I trust that whosoever hereafter undertakes to defend the Papacy and impeach the "A. P. A." and kindred associations will be a person of some authority in the Papal church, whose utterances may be placed upon record to stand for all time. Meantime the "A. P. A." continues to grow and thrives amazingly, including in its ranks scholars and statesmen of the first magnitude, who, comparing the canon law of the Papacy with the Constitution, have come to the conclusion—Mr. Lathrop notwithstanding—that he who professes to be a citizen of the United States and a subject of Rome is an anomaly dangerous alike to the Republic and the Papacy.

W. J. H. Traynor.

LIFE AT THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

BY THE REV. GODFREY SCHILLING, O. S. F.

MANY Americans have visited the Holy Sepulchre while travelling in Palestine, and tourists from all parts of the world yearly go over the sacred ground; but the writer enjoys the honor of having been the first citizen of the United States who took up his abode in that venerable edifice.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre comprises within its walls the site of Calvary as well as the Tomb of our Saviour, as they are only about sixty feet distant from each other. The identity of these holy spots has of late been assailed from various quarters, but the very fact that every opponent of the traditional site has fixed his imaginary sanctuary on a different spot is enough to prove the emptiness of their assertions. Oriental and occidental tradition has always pointed to the one spot venerated by them all. It is not my purpose, however, to enter upon a discussion regarding the authenticity of the Holy Shrines, which is proven by an uninterrupted chain of witnesses which has never lost a link from the death of Christ to Hadrian, from Hadrian to St. Helena, from St. Helena to the Crusaders, and from their day until the present time. Believers in the Skull Hill and other new Calvarys and Holy Sepulchres are modest enough to suppose that the Christians and scientists of 1,800 years were all blind and misguided until these new theorists appeared. But, excepting a few curiosity seekers, nobody visits these new sites of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, and to-morrow we may hear of some other ones made to order to suit the latest ideas of some seeker of novelty and fame.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is situated at present within the walls of the city, in the northwestern part of Jerusalem. This fact is the chief stumbling-block of the opponents

of the traditional sanctuary, as Scripture tells us that the Saviour was crucified without the gate. The place of the crucifixion, however, was added to Jerusalem about the year A. D. 41 by Herod, and was surrounded by a wall. Recent excavations made by the Russians have brought to light foundations of the second wall, thus establishing the fact that the actual Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre lay without the walls although near to them.

On my first visit to the Holy Sepulchre I was surprised at the dilapidated condition of the Basilica, which certainly ought to be one of the most beautiful churches in the world, since it covers such precious ground. That it is not is due to the fact that the Turkish government owns it, and that not a nail can be driven into the walls without long negotiations with Pashas, Consuls, and Ambassadors. If it depended upon Catholics, I am sure their generosity would erect a temple worthy of the great mysteries fulfilled beneath its domes. But the *status quo* is strictly enforced, and the Oriental dissenting Christians of the Greek and Armenian rites, who look upon the Latins, their Western brethren, as intruders, jealously back up the Crescent and baffle every effort to make any repairs. An incident which happened only some twelve years ago will illustrate this fact. The mosaic flooring on the part of Calvary belonging to the Franciscans being considerably damaged and worn out, the Superior, who is called Custodian of the Holy Sepulchre, concluded to have it replaced by a new one, and for that purpose opened negotiations with the Greek Patriarch, conceding to the Greeks the repair of one of their sanctuaries. The conditions were mutually agreed upon, and the new marble flooring was ordered. When it was ready to be laid the Custodian notified the Greek Patriarch, who then withdrew his consent, as some counter-influence had been brought to bear upon him in the mean time. The flooring had therefore to be stored away for future use, and the question remained in abeyance.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is officiated by the Latins —as the Western Catholics are commonly called in the East—by the orthodox Greeks, and by the Armenians, all of whom have their respective habitations within the Basilica. The Latins are represented by the Franciscans, who have been guardians of the Holy Places since the year A. D. 1230, they having been officially designated and recognized as such by the Holy See. St. Francis, their founder, was himself a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and left

some of his disciples there, who afterwards became the successors of the Crusaders and established a province, which is still called the Custody of the Holy Land.

The history of the six centuries these poor Friars have spent in the guardianship of the Holy Shrines is written with bloody characters. By hundreds and thousands they have fallen a prey to Mahomedan persecution and to pestilence. But their ranks have always been filled by new volunteers coming from every country. Great is the work they have performed, but in their humility they have never paraded it before the world. They have kept alive the spark of Christian faith among the natives; they have worked for civilization among those benighted races who took pride in ignorance, establishing schools wherever it was possible, so that hardly an Arab can be found living within their jurisdiction who is not fairly well educated. They have also been a guide and a protection to the pilgrims who for centuries have flocked to Palestine. Even the Mahomedans could not help admiring their disinterested lives of sacrifice, as is proven by the firmans of various Sultans who recognized them officially as the representatives of Western Christianity, giving them permission to establish themselves and exhorting the Mahomedans not to molest them. They were known all over the East as the Friars of the Cord, the latter being the distinctive mark of the Franciscan order, and formerly no European was allowed to enter the Turkish dominions unless he wore either the costume of the country or the habit of these friars.

Life at the Holy Sepulchre is exceedingly interesting, both on account of the place itself and the many religious observances of the three officiating communities, and also with regard to the pilgrims and visitors.

The religious functions and ceremonies are of a unique character, combining the splendors of both the Eastern and Western churches. The sacred liturgy is celebrated daily at midnight by the three recognized communities, the Greeks officiating first. The Greeks have preserved the old oriental liturgical chant, which is similar to that of the Eastern nations. At first it is very disagreeable to a European ear, but when well executed is pleasing to those familiar with it. They make no use of the organ for accompaniment, as the instrument cannot well be adapted to the strange modulations of their voices. About one

o'clock they begin their mass, and this ceremony varies in length and solemnity according to the feasts. The Patriarch and the bishops wear gorgeous vestments, and on these occasions use crowns instead of mitres. Nevertheless the Greek rite does not convey that dignified and devotional grandeur with which the Latin rite impresses the mind.

The Armenians celebrate after the Greeks. Their liturgy is more grave, the chant being uneven and mournful, and being accompanied by the sound of little bells attached to disks which are carried on long stems by acolytes. Church-bells are not in favor with them. They use instead, as in early times, a wooden or metallic plank, upon which they strike with hammers. The noise thus created is deafening and disagreeable.

Neither the Greek nor the Armenian church, both of which are represented at the Holy Sepulchre, is in union with the Catholic Church, although they do not differ widely in doctrine, or in regard to the Sacraments. The question which separates them from the Catholic Church is the supremacy of the Pope. They are under the immediate control of the Sultan, who practically elects and deposes their patriarchs. For this reason it is not always the worthiness of the candidate which decides whether or not he is to mount the Patriarchal chair and unworthy men are not infrequently enabled to thrust themselves into prominence, to the great detriment of their churches.

Both the Greeks and Armenians are hostile to the Catholic Church, being jealous of the rights and privileges that have from time to time been accorded to the latter by imperial firmans. Only by constant vigilance can the Latins elude their plans. Yet it often happens, especially at Bethlehem, that the Greeks or Armenians try a *coup d'etat*, and then violence has to be met with violence, as a *fait accompli* would only establish a new precedent. The Franciscans there have to be always ready to lay down their lives for the preservation of their rights, and only last September a brother who stood up for the rights of his church was killed in cold blood in the grotto of the Nativity. The Franciscans never act except in self-defence, and are never the aggressors, although European non-Catholic papers would make it appear to the contrary. An appeal to the Government is of no avail, for both the other parties, being Turkish subjects, have the sympathy of the authorities. The Latins

have to present their claims through the French Consul, who generally adjusts matters by making concessions, knowing well enough that France is no longer in a position to prescribe conditions. Besides, these Consuls care very little about these religious affairs, a fact which once caused a high Turkish official at Constantinople to remark to the French Ambassador who was pleading such a question: "I am very much astonished that Your Excellency takes such great interest in the religious orders living in our country, since you have exiled them at home."

The life of the Franciscans at the Holy Sepulchre equals in austerity that of any other monastic institution. Their habitation is worse than that of the Trappists, because the latter have at least the commodities which the rule allows them; and it is worse than a hermitage, because it lacks both air and light. It is more of a prison than anything else, for the rooms can only be compared to dungeons, the one exit being through the door of the Basilica, which is closed except at certain times, and there is no window from which one can get a glimpse of the city or surrounding country, nor is there even a garden. The convent is a perfect labyrinth of stairways and tunnel-like corridors. The cells are so dark that a light is required during the day; and they are so damp that the walls are mouldy, water oozing from them continually. This is of course very unhealthy, and in consequence none of the Fathers is obliged to remain at the Holy Sepulchre longer than four or six months, when they are relieved and sent to another convent although some have remained there uninterruptedly for thirty years.

The cell I occupied was a little room, just large enough to contain my bed, a rough *prie-dieu,* a rickety chair, and a small table. A small square opening near the ceiling, giving out on the terrace, served for a window. The only object to be seen from there was the minaret of a Turkish mosque near by on which the Muezzin would appear at stated hours singing his call for prayer. The one place where we could breathe a little fresh air was on the terrace, a flat square on the roof walled in on every side, which has only existed since 1870, when the Emperor Francis Joseph obtained it from the Sublime Porte. It was formerly a stable, and, as may be imagined, the presence of the horses overhead used to keep the Fathers from sleeping, and disturb them at their devotions, besides endangering their lives, as they never

knew the moment the old building might collapse and bury them beneath it.

The day in the Holy Sepulchre begins at midnight when the Franciscans repair to the choir to say the matins, which last until about half-past one. After this they take a short rest and then say their masses. The greater part of the day is occupied by various offices and meditations. Their spare time is devoted to the spiritual wants of the pilgrims, to study, or to literary work. The meals are sent from the convent of St. Savior, which is about five minutes' walk from the Holy Sepulchre. When the Basilica is closed the food is passed in through an aperture in the main door.

Pilgrims who wish to pass a night at the Holy Sepulchre are provided for in the convent and can assist at the offices. Devout travellers gladly avail themselves of this privilege, and the Emperor Francis Joseph once passed the night with the fathers and shared their humble fare. A marble slab in the refectory reminds the visitor of this fact. A night spent at the Holy Sepulchre is one of the most impressive experiences of a lifetime. When the doors of the Basilica are closed, the visitor may wander at leisure through the silent halls of the temple, which, during Lent, are lit up by hundreds of lamps; the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre being adorned with a crown of lights glittering in all colors. Groups of Russian pilgrims may usually be heard intoning one of the soft and plaintive melodies peculiar to the Slavonic race. I always found that Calvary impressed the pilgrim more than the Holy Sepulchre. Yet the Sepulchre is the seal of veracity attached to the work of the redemption, and its authenticity would never have been recognized had Christ not arisen the third day, showing his superiority over death. Hence the veneration we hold for the Holy Sepulchre, and the pre-eminence of Easter Day over Good Friday.

The influx of pilgrims and tourists to Jerusalem has increased wonderfully within the last ten years. They come from every land and usually remain for Holy Week to witness the ceremonies at the Holy Sepulchre. The Franciscans have a pilgrim-house which is called Casa Nova, where they have always extended a cordial hospitality to visitors, regardless of creed or nationality. They have exercised this charity ever since their establishment in Palestine, and in many places, such as Nazareth, Mount Tabor,

and Tiberias, their hospice is the only refuge where a traveller may find rest after a long journey on horseback. The records of these hospices show how highly the visitors have appreciated the kindness of the fathers, who do everything in their power to make strangers feel at home, without ever asking any compensation. At times, however, it has happened that some bigot has penned in a foreign language an insult to these kind hosts after having enjoyed their hospitality.

The French have organized an annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which generally takes place about Pentecost, and have built a special pilgrim-house called Notre Dame de France. The pilgrims, as a rule, remain about two weeks, and always create a great sensation. The shopkeepers, especially the venders of religious articles, await their coming with impatience, as they generally make large sales. Indeed the natives depend nearly entirely upon strangers for their livelihood, as otherwise Jerusalem has very little trade. The Germans and Austrians have also their pilgrim-houses in the Holy City. The Austrian house is situated on the Via Dolorosa, and has been honored by the presence of the Emperor, his unfortunate son Rudolph, and other members of the Imperial family. Spain organizes an occasional pilgrimage, and so does Italy. The first English Catholic pilgrimage took place in 1890, when, for the first time since the Crusades, the halls of the Basilica resounded with English hymns. It was headed by the Duke of Norfolk and the late Bishop Clifford. America had its pilgrimage in 1889. It was headed by the Very Rev. Charles A. Vissani, and numbered about 100 persons. A beautiful silk banner from the United States was deposited at the Holy Sepulchre and is displayed there on great festivals.

Russia sends the greatest contingent of pilgrims to the Holy Land. During Lent all the streets are crowded with them. These people, who mostly all belong to the lower classes, are clad in the heaviest garments and even the women wear large boots, which must be very cumbersome under the scorching sun of Palestine. They are not very scrupulous in regard to cleanliness, however, and for this reason the fathers who are compelled to mingle with them are often compelled to burn their clothes. They generally lead a very frugal life and visit all the holy places on foot, often walking for days at a time. Many of them never see their homes again, but find a resting-place in Palestine. Nearly

all of them buy their shrouds in Jerusalem. They generally leave on the Holy Saturday of the Greeks, immediately after witnessing the ceremony of the Holy Fire.

This function takes place yearly. It is pretended by the Greek clergy that the holy fire falls from heaven, and all Jerusalem turns out to see the spectacle. On the previous evening a great many Greeks from the neighboring villages assemble in the church and pass the night there, and at an early hour the Basilica is crowded with pilgrims. The excitement grows as the hour for the ceremony approaches, the Turkish troops being ordered out to prevent any disturbance. About one o'clock the Greek clergy form a procession around the Holy Sepulchre. Then the Greek Patriarch, together with the Armenian bishop and a few deacons, is locked in the chapel. Meanwhile the people outside, especially the peasants, shout and sing with wild enthusiasm. Every one attempts to get near the round opening in the wall, from which the holy fire is to be handed out. When the moment at last arrives and it is given to the people, every one lights his bunch of candles and in a moment the Basilica is ablaze with light. Riders on horseback are in waiting to bring the fire to Bethlehem, Lydda, Jaffa; and the pilgrims often carry it as far as Moscow and St. Petersburg.

One of the most incongruous sights at the Holy Sepulchre is the Turkish divan, just inside the entrance, on which a couple of indolent Moslems recline, gazing with apparent indifference at the devout pilgrims who pass through the gate, but really scrutinizing them with a view to soliciting *bakhsheesh*. These men may be styled the jailers of Christendom, for they possess the right of opening and closing the Basilica. This privilege has been hereditary in two families for centuries. To one of them belongs the right of keeping the key of the gate, and to the other one the privilege of opening it. When any one of the three communities living inside the Basilica desires the gate to be opened, a servant is signalled to call the representatives of the two families. After a long delay—because an Oriental is never in a hurry except when he wants a favor—the two men appear. The gate can be unlocked only in the presence of the two, the old regulations prescribing the attendance of both, as the one holding the key is not allowed to open the gate, and *vice versa*. After having performed their duty,

they repair to the divan, and proceed to light the *nargileh* and fan the brazier upon which they make their coffee. Charcoal and coffee have to be furnished them by the fathers besides a stipend of money, the price of all reaching about one dollar for each opening. The gate only remains open till about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. On festivals, when any of the Patriarchs make their solemn entrance, both wings of the gate are thrown open, and the price for this ranges from five to ten dollars, consuls and other distinguished visitors being expected to give extra *bakhsheesh*.

Despite all this servitude things have changed a great deal for the better since the Crimean War. Before that time these hereditary janitors exacted fabulous sums for opening the door, the consequence being that it often remained closed on the communities for months at a time. Pilgrims who could not pay the entrance fee were detained for six months or a year awaiting the arrival of some rich traveller who would pay their way into the Basilica, and many a one has returned to Europe without ever having seen the Tomb of our Lord, although he has stood before its gates. If any one of the fathers died, the gate had to be opened, and then the janitors levied another and higher tax on the poor friars, besides which a special permit for burial had to be obtained from the Government, which was generally given in the following terms : "We hereby allow a damned Frank dog to be buried." In order to avoid these vexations, many a father was buried in the cellar of the convent, within the Basilica, where the remains still repose, or more often the fathers resorted to a ruse to elude the vigilance and rapacity of the jailers. The corpse would be dressed up as usual in the habit, the hood being drawn low over the face, and two brothers, propping it up on either side, would lead it out through the gate early in the morning, as though they were taking the corpse out for a walk, whilst in reality they were conveying it to the burying ground.

These and worse humiliations the friars have had to suffer for six centuries. They were formerly strictly forbidden to build or make the slightest repairs without the written permission of the Cadi, which always involved such expense that they could not afford it. Such work had therefore to be done surreptitiously or by night, and they were obliged either to fill up the unoccupied rooms with the debris or to carry it out by degrees in their sleeves.

The Turks compelled the friars to pay them at every opportunity. When drought prevailed or when rain fell too abundantly, when the locusts devoured the crops or pestilence broke out, when the Pasha's child took sick, the friars were charged. When the Cadi or Mufti chose to take another wife, the friars had to send him presents. The Pasha of Damascus made a visit to Jerusalem nearly every year, which filled the friars with new terror. Upon arriving he would send for the Superior, and tell him that being in financial straits he needed so many thousand dollars. The Superior would protest on his knees that he had not the required amount, whereupon the Pasha would hand him a purse, saying, "Well, in that case I will lend it to you," and then taking the money back would consider the friar as his debtor and charge him besides a heavy interest, for which he demanded a certified receipt. The amount of money which has been spent in such ways on the small convent of the Holy Sepulchre would suffice to have built the most gorgeous palace.

Owing to the confinement and continuous work at the Holy Sepulchre the fathers living there are often allowed to take occasional brief vacations which they usually spend among the various convents which are scattered through the neighboring country. These journeys are generally made on foot. While setting out on one of these holidays some years ago two of the Fathers, while walking along, were suddenly surrounded by a band of Bedouins, who took them prisoners. One of them managed to make his escape, but the other was carried off into the mountains of Moab, beyond the Dead Sea. Seeing that resistance would only aggravate his condition, he showed himself willing to assist his captors and thus ingratiated himself with them. In the course of time he mastered the Arabic language perfectly, was provided with an Arabic costume and came to be regarded as one of the tribe, but his longing to regain his liberty never lessened and finally grew so intense that he resolved to devise a plan of escape. An idea occurred to him one day and he decided upon its immediate undertaking, although it would take him years to put it into execution. During the various strifes in which the Bedouins were engaged he always remained at the camp, for they trusted him in everything excepting in matters of warfare, and he was never allowed to accompany them on their military excursions. After their next departure he repaired to a

solitary ruin and taking a stone from the ancient building began to engrave an inscription thereon in Latin giving his history, imitating the old epigraphs he found there. As his tools were extremely poor the work progressed very slowly, and he was of course careful to bury the stone in the ground when the Bedouins returned. The Sheikh had often pressed him to tell where the hidden treasures of the ruined city were to be found, and when the inscription was completed the Friar took him to the spot where the stone was, pretending he had just discovered it, and telling him that it was worth its weight in gold on account of the inscription, and that it would be immediately purchased if presented at the convent of the Franciscans in Jerusalem. The Sheikh was at first incredulous, but his greed for money gained the upper hand, and he decided to take the stone along when next going to make purchases in the Holy City. In the fulness of time he presented himself and the stone to the Superior, who was startled at reading the message and hearing after fifteen years of the friar who had long been mourned as dead. The Sheikh, reading from his features that the value of the stone must be great, greatly rejoiced, and doubled in his mind the sum he was going to ask for it. The Superior told him that the stone had an immense value, but only if the person who discovered it could be produced, as everything depended upon the site where it was found and the circumstances attending its discovery. The Sheikh left in disgust and decided to let the matter drop, but his avarice again prevailed, and after some weeks he told the friar that he would have to prepare for a journey to Jerusalem, threatening him with death, however, if he would make known his identity. Upon their arrival at the convent they were shown into the reception-room, and treated to cigarettes and coffee. The Superior then asked to see the finder of the famous stone alone and retired with him into an adjoining room, from whence the long lost friar was immediately spirited away into the labyrinth of the convent. In the mean time the Superior had sent notice to the Pasha of the city, who promptly sent a detachment of soldiers to arrest the Bedouins, as they were all wanted for other offences.

GODFREY SCHILLING.

OUR FAMILY SKELETON.

BY CLARK HOWELL.

If the conclusions of Mr. John F. Hume, in his ghastly exhibition of the decaying remnants of "Our Family Skeleton," in the June issue of The Review, are correct, it follows that two things are true: First, that the credit of the States of the South is now below par, as compared with that of the States of other sections; and Second, that this condition, if properly stated, is the direct result of the past repudiation, by the States of the South, of large parts of their bonded indebtedness, which repudiation is the skeleton that Mr. Hume drags from the Southern closet, and flaunts in the eyes of capital as a menace to divert it from the channels of Southern investment. If, therefore, it can be demonstrated that the credit of the Southern States is not only as good, but better than that of some States which have no record of repudiation, and that, as a whole, the credit of the Southern States bears favorable comparison with that of the States of any other section of the Union, then it follows that "our family skeleton" of repudiation is no longer efficacious for the use to which Mr. Hume would put it, to wit: As a scarecrow to frighten capital from the field of Southern investment.

In the first place Mr. Hume does not correctly express the sentiment of the Southern States in his effort to make it appear that they are disinclined to a discussion of the question, and that "to many Southern people the subject is rather a delicate one." He deplores the fact that the Southern governors who recently conferred at Richmond, Va., for the purpose of calling attention to the advantages offered to capital in the development of Southern resources, omitted from their proceedings an inspection of the skeleton, and, excusing their reticence on the ground that the

subject was a tender one, he justifies his attack on Southern credit by the statement that he "does not feel bound to follow their example."

In the commendable work put on foot by the Southern governors at Richmond, the question of repudiated State bonds was not considered, because such discussion was not one of the purposes of the conference, not because the question was a distasteful one, but on account of the fact that the praiseworthy effort of the Southern governors to invite the attention of outside capital to the rich fields of undeveloped resources in the South, was based on abundant evidence that the disestablished credit of the South, resulting from the chaotic condition following the war, was thoroughly re-established, and that confidence in Southern securities was now regulated by the same conditions that controlled the estimate of the credit of any other section, the prime factor in which is the security of the obligations offered, not under past, but under existing conditions.

If, as Mr. Hume holds, it be true that the repudiation by the Southern States of bonds issued contrary to law, many of them admittedly illegal, unconstitutional, and worse than that, monstrously fraudulent, has injured the credit of the Southern States, this would, at once, become evident by public discredit of the securities issued since then, the value of which, according to Mr. Hume's theory, would be manifestly below that of the securities of States whose credit had not been injured by repudiation. And yet we find that Alabama five per cent. interest bonds are quoted in New York at from 100 to 105; Florida 6's at 127; Louisiana 4's at 98; North Carolina 6's at 127; South Carolina 4½'s at from 99 to 100; Tennessee (settlement) 5's at 105; and Georgia 4½'s at from 110 to 112. Among the States which have not repudiated, Connecticut 3½'s are quoted at 100; Maine 3's at from 97 to 99; Massachusetts 5's at 106½ to 107; Rhode Island 6's at 100.

There has not been an issue of Georgia bonds in the past ten years which was not readily disposed of in New York at terms strongly expressive of the good estimate that capital places on the credit of the State. As it is with Georgia, so it is with other Southern States, the credit of which, under the new order of things established with the reorganization of affairs after the reconstruction legislatures had sapped the vitality of every Southern

State, was soon readjusted to a normal basis, gaining strength year after year in proportion to the degree of recovery of the States from the rude shock of war.

Those who are not familiar with the facts cannot appreciate the condition in which the South was left after the war. With its assets halved, its debts more than trebled, commerce prostrated, and its social condition placed on a new basis, the burdens of the Southern States had in a few years increased in more than treble proportion to the decrease of their strength to bear them. Had conditions not been so materially changed by the war, I believe that the South would have cleared itself entirely of the record of repudiation by paying dollar for dollar even for the proceeds of the bonds which were unconstitutional and unauthorized, or by arriving at a satisfactory settlement with the bondholders, even had it become necessary to go to the extreme adopted by Minnesota of clearing its record of repudiation by a compromise settlement of 50 cents on the dollar. At the beginning of the war almost every Southern State had just about as heavy a load as it was possible to carry. But their obligations would have been satisfactorily disposed of in due time had not the war precipitated a condition which forced a different treatment of the question from that which would probably otherwise have been adopted. In this connection statistics throw valuable light on the strikingly disproportionate development in the tremendous decrease in the taxable basis of the South between 1860 and 1870, and the enormous increase in the bonded indebtedness of the same States during the same period, which was the era of germination and development of most of the repudiated bonds. The first of the following tables is taken from the valuable treatise on "Repudiation of State Debts," by Professor Scott, of the Chair of Political Economy of the University of Wisconsin, and the second from an article of Mr. R. P. Porter, in *The International Review:*

FALL IN TAXABLE BASIS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

	1860.	1870.	Per cent. of decrease.
Virginia	$657,021,336	$505,978,190	23
North Carolina	292,297,602	130,378,190	55.4
South Carolina	489,319,128	183,913,327	62.4
Georgia	618,232,387	227,219,519	63.2
Florida	68,929,685	32,480,843	52.9
Alabama	432,198,762	155,582,595	64
Mississippi	509,472,912	177,278,890	65.5
Louisiana	435,787,265	253,371,890	41.9
Arkansas	180,211,330	94,528,843	47.5
Tennessee	382,495,200	253,782,161	33.7

INCREASE IN STATE DEBTS BETWEEN 1860 AND 1870 AND 1880.

	1860.	1870.	1880.	Highest point reached by debt.
Virginia	$31,779,062	$47,39[illegible],830	$29,345,238	$47,390,839
North Carolina	9,699,000	29,900,045	3,629,511	29,900,045
South Carolina	4,046,540	7,665,909	7,175,354	24,782,906
Georgia	2,670,750	6,544,500	10,334,000	20,197,500
Florida	4,12[illegible],000	1,288,697	1,391,357	5,512,268
Alabama	6,700,000	8,478,018	11,613,670	31,952,000
Mississippi	None	1,796,230	379,485	3,220,847
Louisiana	4,561,109	25,021,743	12,635,810	40,416,734
Arkansas	3,092,623	3,459,557	5,813,627	18,287,273
Tennessee	20,898,606	38,539,802	25,685,822	41,863,406

In the last of the above tables it will be observed that most of the State debts in 1880 show a vast increase over those of 1860, notwithstanding the fact that the figures given for 1880 are those left after the weeding out process of repudiation of unauthorized bonds. The last column in the above table represents the highest point reached by the debt of the States, including the bogus bonds, after the elimination of a large part of which the figures indicating the debts in 1880 remain.

It is not my purpose to enter into a discussion of the merits or demerits involved in the repudiation acts of the Southern States. Nor could I do so in the necessarily limited space of magazine discussion. The record of every State is made, and the action of each was the result of mature deliberation. For reasons satisfactory to the States themselves, and which have become a matter of history, a large part of the bonded indebtedness of these States was declared to be illegal, unauthorized, and unconstitutional, and and the States felt themselves justified in repudiating obligations to which they had been committed without due process of law, and by corrupt officials whose record of barter and sale of the credit of their respective States forms a part of the reconstruction history of the South. As for myself, I take the broad position that for every dollar borrowed in good faith on the legal credit of any State a dollar should be paid. Going further than this, I think the equities involved call for the settlement by the States of such bonded obligations as were taken in good faith, and the proceeds of which were clearly used for public purposes. But for such bonded indebtedness as was fixed on the Southern States by those who overturned both human and divine law to obtain authority which did not exist, and who used the good names and credit of the Southern States by which to obtain money which they poured like water down the channels of their riotous and unceasing demand for pillage and plunder, I do not think that either equity,

justice, or law should require payment by the States which were so palpably robbed, and which, generally speaking, did not even receive the benefit resulting from the proceeds of the bonds to which their names were so mercilessly pledged.

In his treatise on "The Laws of Public Securities," p. 5, a well-known authority on the subject (Burroughs) says:

"All who deal with a public agent or officer must take notice of his powers. He derives his authority from the law which authorizes his appointment. No person may profess ignorance of the extent of the powers of a public agent."

This is a broad principle of law which not only justified the States of the South in refusing to meet obligations which did not belong to them, but which also prevents such action from menacing the good standing of their credit, for, under the new conditions established with the reorganization of internal affairs after the South had obtained possession of itself, a basis of credit was established from which it would be as reasonable to say that the Southern States would depart as it would be to charge that Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, or Minnesota would repudiate their obligations of to-day because they had done so in the past.

I quote from Mr. Hume's article, in which, after dwelling upon the fact that the development of the South has been materially retarded by its lack of credit, and by the fear of capital in entering a territory in which the repudiation "skeleton" stalks, the following:

"Georgia is the South's recognized leader in wealth and enterprise, but most of Georgia's railroads are in receivers' hands. It is not so much that outside capital avoids the South. There is plenty of it seeking her coal, iron, and timber lands, and even millions have disappeared in her luckless 'boomer' cities and towns. Why is it, then, that when we come to their railroads, their stocks are shunned by investors, and even their mortgage securities go at murderous discounts? Is it not because, being quasi-public institutions, operating under State legislation and supervision, they share to a considerable extent the discredit of their legal masters and sponsors?"

After this Mr. Hume proceeds to show that not only all the railroads, but corporations generally, including the counties and towns of the South, "are more or less sufferers in the same way." It is a pity that in a charge so grave the author should content himself with a mere statement, without giving either facts or figures to sustain it. Instead of the conditions being correctly stated, the exact reverse of the situation described by Mr. Hume is true. Neither the cities nor the counties of the South are any greater sufferers from lack of credit than the counties or the cities

of any other section of the country. On the contrary, the credit of the city of Atlanta is gilt-edged, and during the past decade she has not issued a bond which has not been promptly taken at an exceedingly low rate of interest. So it is with all of the leading Southern cities, where the restrictions of the law have been clearly complied with in the use of their credit.

As to the Southern railroads being involved in receivership complications as the result of the repudiation acts of Southern States, the conclusion is too far-fetched to invoke serious consideration. Suffice it to say that some of the greatest railroad systems in the United States and Canada are now in the hands of receivers, and there is not a State in the Union whose railroad mileage is not seriously involved in receivership litigation as the result of precisely the same conditions that have led to the appointment of receivers for some Southern roads. A most notable instance is that of the vast system of the Union Pacific Railroad, and even the fact that the government, itself, was its sponsor was not sufficient to keep it out of receivership coils. I have not the statistics before me, but the probability is that they will show that not less than three-fourths of the railroad mileage of the United States is now in the hands of the courts, and being administered by receivers. Even in States with such unquestioned credit as New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, the New York & New England Railroad has recently joined the receivership procession, in which it marches side by side with some of the greatest railroad systems of the New England, Middle, Western, and Pacific States.

And yet the great financial firm of Drexel, Morgan & Co., one of the strongest banking institutions on earth, did not stop to decry the credit of the Southern States when it signified its willingness to undertake the reorganization of the East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia and the Richmond & Danville systems, which traverse the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee

It is a fact not generally known that an Attorney-General of New York delivered an opinion in which he stated, officially, that, after a careful investigation of the facts, he saw nothing that should in any wise impair the credit of the State of Georgia. I refer to the decision of Attorney-General O'Brien, which was extensively circulated when rendered, and which was given as the

result of a call for his construction of a statute of New York, to ascertain whether that statute would permit savings banks in New York to invest in an issue of three and a half millions of Georgia bonds, sold at a premium in 1885 to well known New York financiers. The statute referred to allowed "savings banks to invest in the stocks and bonds of any State that has not within ten years defaulted in the payment of principal or interest on any debt authorized by any legislature to be contracted." The petitioners, being the purchasers, were represented by Hon. N. J. Hammond and Mr. Pat Calhoun, of Atlanta, who were opposed by the holders of the repudiated bonds of the State of Georgia, whose counsel were Mr. Hutchins, Receiver of the American National Bank, of New York, and an ex-Member of Congress from that State, and ex-Chief Justice Lochrane, of the Supreme Court of Georgia. Counsel for the petitioners admitted that Georgia had not paid the interest on the repudiated bonds, but contended that because they were unconstitutional issues, they were not in any fair sense a "debt authorized by any legislature to be contracted." After a full investigation of the merits of the case, Attorney-General O'Brien rendered a decision, in which he took the position that most of the repudiated bonds of the State of Georgia had been issued unconstitutionally. Still he thought that a certain very small portion held by certain parties ought, under the circumstances, to be paid on the doctrine of estoppel, said parties having purchased certain bonds after a resolution of the General Assembly of Georgia recognizing their validity. The Attorney-General thought that under the law of New York the question of unconstitutionality could not probably be considered, though under a technicality savings banks could not invest in the bonds. He took pains to say that there was nothing in the investigation which should, in the slightest degree, impair the credit of the State, and this decision, and particularly the last statement referred to, was complained of severely at the time by those who were seeking to discredit the State, they charging that it was a voluntary indorsement of the State of Georgia, which the Attorney-General of the State of New York went out of his way to give.

As for development, railroad and otherwise, the answer of Georgia and other Southern States completely refutes the argument and annihilates the conclusion that repudiation has reduced

credit, and reduced credit has retarded development. Proof of the fact that more outside capital has sought investment in the development of Georgia than in probably any other State of the Union of the same population, in the past fifteen years, is absolute proof of the unsoundness of Mr. Hume's charge that withered resources awaiting development are the indirect result of the repudiation by the State of unauthorized debts.

For the past ten or fifteen years the record of railroad-building in the United States shows that Georgia has led, almost every year, in the mileage of new roads. Taken as a whole during that time the mileage of new railroads built in Georgia by far surpasses that of any other State in the Union. Most of the capital put in such development has come from the outside, and the repudiation "skeleton" had no terror for it. Some of the greatest railroad systems in the United States have pushed their lines into and through Georgia, and the remarkable advance made in the railroad development of the State has been but the index of that which has kept pace in the improvement of other resources. As it has been with Georgia so it has been with other Southern States, the railroad and general development of the South Atlantic and Gulf States having been more marked for the same period of time than that of any section of the country. Millions upon millions of dollars—most of it outside capital—have been invested in unlocking the mineral resources of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, and West Virginia, and to a greater degree than in any other territory of the same area, have the untold iron, coal, mineral, marble, and hard-wood industries of these States responded to the quickening touch of outside capital.

In Florida, which Mr. Hume says "is responsible for four or five millions more" of repudiated bonds, and the development of which from the demoralization of repudiation, if Mr. Hume's argument be true, would be seriously retarded by the loss of credit incident to repudiation, we find the most remarkable evidence of the recent work of outside capital to be found probably in any State in the Union. Eminent Northern capitalists, ranking among the greatest financiers of the country, are there vying with one another in the apparent effort to see which can put the most money in transforming that beautiful land of sunshine into the

garden spot of the continent. Untold millions of Northern capital have been expended in building vast railroad systems, establishing steamship lines, constructing the most beautiful hotels on earth, and in otherwise adding to the marvellous gifts which nature had bestowed upon the state of perpetual summer. Neither Mr. Plant, nor Mr. Flagler, nor Mr. Disston, nor Mr. Duval has stopped to inquire into the issues involved in Florida's repudiated obligations, nor has the credit of the State been lessened one whit by such repudiation. The men who are spending their money there in such abundance that it is impossible to keep up with the details of the progress of the State, have satisfied themselves that the past is a matter of record, and that the present is an open book of brilliant promise for Florida's future. Whatever may have been the conditions leading to repudiation, they do not exist to-day, nor can they exist again under the wise restrictions of the reorganized fundamental law of the State, which, as other States have done, has thrown every possible safeguard around its credit, rendering it, like that of every other Southern State, as secure as that of any State in the Union.

In this connection, it may be well to call attention to the fact that the power of the States of the South to contract debts was, before the war, practically unlimited, as compared with the restrictions placed by the States upon themselves after the war. The necessity of this limitation was evolved from the dear experience bought from reconstruction legislatures, which would have broken the Bank of England if they had had the same opportunity to trifle with its credit that they did with that of the States, which their usurped charge came near bankrupting. The fundamental law of most of the Southern States, like that of a large majority of all the States of the Union, now inhibits State indorsement of corporation securities—a fruitful source of corruption and plunder before the war, and particularly during the reconstruction era—and forbids the use of the State's credit for any other than administrative, educational, or other such emergent purposes. I am aware that a favorite argument of those who hold the States responsible for all repudiated obligations, even though admitted to be unconstitutional, fraudulent, and unused for State purposes, is that innocent holders of the State obligations should not be made to suffer the penalty of the misuse of the State's credit. And yet to hold the State responsible for an obligation,

in the making of which it had given no authority whatsoever, would be to put a premium on corruption which would, if such a principle held good in law, imperil the credit of even the strongest and richest of the States of the Union. Carrying this argument to its logical conclusion would force the United States to redeem every dollar of counterfeit money in the hands of innocent holders, on the ground that they accepted the money on their faith that the government was back of it and was responsible for it.

The government itself established the precedent that the innocence of the bondholder was not to be considered as overcoming the illegality of the issue of securities held, in the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which compelled the repudiation of debts contracted either for direct or indirect aid of the rebellion. Millions of dollars of bonded indebtedness of the Southern States were thus repudiated by the Federal Government itself after the war. Nor were the debts so repudiated incurred directly in aid of the rebellion, though they were placed, constructively, in that category. Vast amounts of money were raised on bonds by Southern States, not in aid of the Confederacy, but for the absolute protection of life against the ravages of destitution and starvation. It is not strange, therefore, that under the peculiar conditions existing at the time, the line of demarcation between such obligations as the Southern States were forced to dishonor, and others which they did dishonor for reasons fully as satisfactory to themselves, was necessarily vague.

The conditions of the South before the war and after the war widely differed. A new order of things grew out of the ashes of the fires left by the Northern armies. The change was even greater than that in which the new republic found itself when the Colonial armies cut the United States from English territory. Then the same homogeneous people, fresh from the strife of war, turned to the vocations which they left when they went to the field of battle, and devoted their energies with renewed enthusiasm to the upbuilding of industry and commerce on the same lines that they had pursued before. How different with the South in '65! A new era of industrial development and commercial possibilities dawned with the freedom of slave labor, by which the attention of the South had been confined almost entirely, most unfortunately, to agricultural pursuits. Tax valuations had been cut in half, and when the South finally awoke to a real-

ization of the fact that it was in the possession of its own people once more, it was astonished to find that its overwhelming burden of new indebtedness had increased in thrice the proportion of the decrease of its ability to pay. Irresponsible, corrupt, and despotic officials had gotten hold of the ledger of its credit, and had stamped debt, debt, debt on every page. No people under the sun ever faced such a task. The lack of limitation on the credit of the State, which had been safely guarded and protected by the conservatism and the honor of the people, had been taken advantage of by a horde of cormorant dervishes who, if they had been permitted to continue their mad carousal, would have placed a greater debt on the Southern States than could have been met by the combined nations of Europe. Yet such were the instruments chosen, amid such surroundings, to absolve the Southern States, by virtue of the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, from certain portions of their bonded indebtedness. Thus directed by the government to reorganize the fundamental law of the Southern States, they paid more attention to the details of making robbery easy than to the special work of repudiation assigned to them.

On regaining possession of their capitals, and resuming the administration of affairs, the people of the respective Southern States addressed themselves at once with becoming energy to the work of restoration and rehabilitation, and to the more important task of establishing laws and regulations to meet the requirements of the new order of things. This great task they soon performed, and so wisely did they execute it that the credit established by the Southern States on the new basis, and under the new era of their progress, was at once put on a firm foundation, which has been strengthened year after year by the never-failing test of experience. It will not do for Mr. Hume to point to ancient evidences of dishonored and unauthorized debts which are being hawked about the stock market of New York, at a few cents on the dollar, to establish his charge that the credit of the Southern States has been seriously impaired by such repudiation. The only demonstration of the correctness of his proposition would be the failure of the Southern States to negotiate loans on their credit, under reasonable terms, during a comparatively recent period. Instead of this being true, the record of daily stock market quotations shows that the obligations of the Southern States since

they have fully gained possession of themselves and have adjusted their laws to meet the new conditions growing out of the war, float side by side, and under essentially the same terms, with those of the States of every other part of our common country. Since it has been demonstrated, therefore, that the credit of the States of the South is not now at the low ebb Mr. Hume argues it to be, and since it is clearly demonstrated that their credit compares favorably with the States of other sections which have no record of repudiation, and since these two propositions form the premise of Mr. Hume's doleful conclusion of the direct result of past repudiation, it follows that, being wrong in his premise, his conclusion is equally erroneous. Nor is it demonstrated that this conclusion is wrong, on the principle that his premise is incorrect, for the actual evidence of statistics and of financial records, corroborated by the daily details of the unprecedented development of the resources of the Southern States, by the influx of outside capital, proves both his premise and his conclusions to be false.

Notwithstanding the fact that the affairs of the South have become thoroughly adjusted to prevailing conditions, and that the credit of every Southern State is thoroughly established, I would not be understood as taking the position that they should even now refuse to pay a single dollar which can be shown to have been used honestly for public purposes, and for which the State got value received, even though such a loan did not conform strictly to the technical requirements of the law. If it can be satisfactorily demonstrated that among the repudiated bonds of the Southern States there is any part of them which represents money obtained for the State, and used by the State, which has not yet been paid, then the settlement of such should, and will be, made in due time. It was necessary to apply a heroic remedy to save the South, by cutting from it the sores of the reconstruction thievery. If in applying the remedy injustice was done, in the necessity for immediate and incisive action, correction will no doubt be made wherever conservative sentiment is convinced that correction is due.

CLARK HOWELL.

HOW TO PROTECT A CITY FROM CRIME.

BY THOMAS BYRNES, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE NEW YORK POLICE DEPARTMENT.

A DISCUSSION in the public prints of the ways and means of preventing crime is not altogether free from danger. For one of the most important of these is the preservation of absolute secrecy on the part of the men whose business it is to protect the people and their property from criminals. To expose therefore in detail the methods of the police would be impracticable here. It would do no good and it might do considerable harm. The best that can be done in an article of this character is to deal with the subject in its larger aspects.

In the first place, it is now pretty generally understood that crime is greater in the larger cities than elsewhere. This is due, not merely to the fact that where a great number of people are gathered there is sure to be a larger number of criminals than where the community is less extensive, but to the attractions that large cities offer to those who live by preying upon their fellow-beings. In other words, criminals find more opportunities for the profitable exercise of their wits in the great centres; besides, they can elude detection more easily there. Consequently, it is of the greatest importance that the utmost vigilance be used to protect these places.

Not many years ago, New York city was infested with criminals of all kinds. It was impossible to walk along the streets without rubbing up against them; indeed, they were so numerous that they actually elbowed respectable people off the sidewalk. They consorted with politicians of a low order and with gamblers and the like, and they enjoyed such immunity from punishment that they developed a really amazing effrontery. It was felt that

radical measures must be taken to root them out and to protect the city against them. So radical measures were taken; in a comparatively short space of time every one of these men was summoned to Police Headquarters and ordered to leave town and to keep away. They all left and most of them have kept away; those who returned have had occasion to regret it. Such measures may seem harsh and unjust; it may be thought cruel to arrest men on no specific charge and drive them from their place of residence. But the police knew what they were about when they did this; they knew that these men were professional criminals, that their very presence in a city was a menace to its safety. At any rate, the proceedings caused New York to cease to be a hotbed of criminality, and transformed it into a place where self-respecting people could live without fear of public danger.

New York, however, has, of course, still to be protected with the utmost vigilance. Just as criminals flock to cities, so it is their tendency to flock in largest numbers to the largest city in the country. Consequently, New York is the place in which not only those in this country, but those who come here from abroad, would naturally like to congregate. When we consider the vast number of inlets and outlets that New York has—more than any other American city—the problem, how to keep it vigilantly guarded, is seen to be one of extraordinary difficulty.

For example, a foreign criminal flees to this country. He lands in New York, absolutely untrammelled, as free as the most law-abiding citizen in the land. If he were in Europe, he would be marked as a ticket-of-leave man, or he would be known to the police there, for the European police are very watchful; or he would be checked by the passport system. But once on American soil, in New York city, is lost among two millions of people, and practically begins a new life. If he continues to lead a criminal life, he has possibly an added advantage over the police by following foreign methods of crime, with which they may not be familiar.

Within the past few years Europe has sent to us the most dangerous kind of criminal that exists at the present time—the Anarchist. It would surprise the American public very greatly if the number of Anarchists now in this country were published. When these men are hounded from their own lands they seem to gravitate here by a natural attraction, and most of them display

a fondness for taking up residence in New York city. To the police they present a peculiarly difficult problem, for they do not belong to the usual type of criminal and, as a rule, they are far superior in intelligence and education to most of the members of the criminal classes. Moreover, they use the most terrible forces of nature, forces that the ordinary criminal would not think of using. Among those I have talked with—and I have had very intimate relations with a great many of them—I have observed a religious, perhaps I would better say a fanatical, spirit. They have dedicated themselves heart and soul to their peculiar beliefs; and they, that is, the leaders among them, stop at nothing, not even death itself, in their efforts to put these beliefs into practice in terrorizing the community. I make particular mention of their "leaders," for, as a matter of fact, only about one in ten of the Anarchists is really active; the others merely follow the guidance of the more daring spirits. It would be a mistake to suppose that when they leave the monarchical countries and come here they do not carry their revolutionary principles with them. They are opposed not merely to old forms of government, but to all government as we understand the term, and they would gladly destroy our republican government if they had an opportunity to do so. On arriving here, however, they find the authorities ready to meet them, and thus far they have been held well in check. In New York an incessant watch is kept upon them, and any move that they might make hostile to the well-being of the citizens would bring against them the full power of the law.

All this will serve to suggest a few of the difficulties which beset those whose duty it is to protect from crime a city like New York. These difficulties are enormous, but I believe that they can be overcome. The burden of the work rests, of course, upon the police, upon their alertness, their efficiency, and their discipline. It is upon their discipline that I lay the greatest stress; to do their work efficiently it is essential that they be thoroughly organized and under perfect control. Each policeman is assigned to a certain district, and on him the people in the district rely for protection. Now this protection does not consist merely in the arresting of those who attempt to commit crime or who have committed it; on the contrary, this is only a secondary part of their work. Their most important duty consists of *preventing* all attempts at crime. This, of course, can be done only by the

exercise of the most unremitting vigilance. In the first place, each policeman must make himself thoroughly acquainted with everything concerning his district; he must know the people and their habits; he must find out, among other things, who those are that habitually remain away from home till late at night, or who appear on the streets early in the morning. The honest men who are obliged by their work to do this have no occasion to fear such vigilance, for, far from being an impertinent interference in their business, it is a protection to them. As a matter of fact, only those need fear the intrusions of the police who have themselves something criminal to conceal. On the incessant watching of each district by the policeman in charge of it, rests the entire protection of the citizens of a city. In my experience, I have found the exchanging of policemen from one district to another at intervals advantageous; it broadens the man, removes him from any possible breaches of duty that might result from too close a familiarity with one district and one set of people, and is in every way beneficial to him in the exercise of his duty.

But, of course, no policemen, however vigilant they may be, are able to cope with all the crime in a great city. A keen-witted and conscientious detective force must co-operate with them. Such a region as Wall street, for example, possesses very great attractions to clever criminals in all great cities. It is important, therefore, that unusual methods be tried to protect it. Until within recent years, no less than eleven millions of dollars were stolen in Wall street. But since extraordinary efforts were made to prevent further stealing there, by the use of the detective force, the robberies have ceased. This illustrates the importance of a thorough detective service; no city should neglect to keep this service up to the very highest standard.

One point of great importance in dealing with criminals is this: they must be kept as much as possible apart; they must be prevented from organizing, and, if they are organized, the organization must be broken up. To accomplish this, the greatest skill is necessary; they must be met on their own ground and beaten at every one of their games. No quarter should be shown them; they should be made to feel that the heel of the law is upon them and that they are mere dust beneath it. In other words, they should be taught that they are utterly insignificant and that the law has them completely in its power. In this way

alone, I believe, can they be successfully dealt with. My experience has taught me to look upon criminality and criminals in a wholly practical way. I have no sympathy with those who regard the matter from the sentimental point of view, and who maintain that criminals, instead of being punished, should be won over to right living by love and kindness.

Before touching upon this subject, however, I want to make clear just what I mean by criminals. I distinguish between those who yield to temptation and commit one crime, and those who repeatedly commit crimes—those whom we know as "professional" or hardened criminals. With regard to the first class, I can say that they often deserve to be treated with leniency, for in this way they may be saved from ruin and from criminal lives; but with regard to the second class, I am of the opinion that it is impossible to reform them. They are sent to prison, not merely to be punished, but to serve as a warning to others; that is, their punishment is given chiefly as a preventive of other crime. When once a man serves a term in prison, I have very little hope for him; for while there he lives in a criminal atmosphere, he comes in contact with other prisoners, who talk to him about their crimes, and who teach him new ways of committing crime; so that he leaves the place more tainted than he was when he went into it. Yet I do not mean by this to cast a reproach upon any of our prisons. Our prison system is by no means ideal, but it is the best that has been devised so far, and prisons are necessary evils. The great danger from them, as I have already intimated, comes from the intermingling of the inmates. But this cannot be helped. Prisoners are human beings and therefore gregarious; if they were kept constantly in solitary confinement they would simply become mad.

As for the sentimental treatment of prisoners, I have, for many years, observed its workings very carefully, and I am convinced that it does them neither good nor harm. Those ladies who present prisoners with flowers are no doubt very kind-hearted and very well-intentioned; but their labors are wasted. The prisoners like to receive their visits, for they afford diversions to many monotonous lives; but when they go away, they are ridiculed by the very ones on whom they have spent their time and showered their gifts. Some of these ladies are given nick-names by the prisoners, who frequently refer to them by these names.

This will, perhaps, illustrate as well as anything else the way in which the prisoners regard them.

Those people who look at criminality from the sentimental point of view apparently do not realize that with hardened criminals it becomes a business, which they pursue very much as normal human beings pursue theirs. Indeed, from the psychological point of view, the criminal is a most interesting study: he is depraved, suspicious, and absolutely without honor; the proverb about "honor among thieves" has no foundation in truth. It should be borne in mind that the criminal class, though apparently exceedingly numerous, makes altogether only a very small proportion of the total population. The more people become educated, the fewer criminals there are. By this I do not mean that education of itself necessarily promotes morality, for I have known well-educated men, of good birth, too, who have been thoroughly dishonest and corrupt: but simply that the more intelligent a man becomes the more plainly he sees the risk he runs in committing a crime. The average criminal is utterly reckless; he does not stop to consider what will happen to him if he is caught in his law-breaking. As soon as he does stop to consider what the consequences of a crime that he thinks of committing will be, he shows that there are possibilities in him of becoming a law-abiding citizen. So it follows that one of the best ways of protecting a community from crime is by raising the standard of intelligence among its members.

A good deal is said nowadays about the causes of crime and about crime as a hereditary disease. I have observed that most of the crime committed in New York city is due chiefly to two causes, drink and environment. The first cause needs no explanation; perhaps the second does, as I wish to emphasize the distinction between heredity and enviromnent. I have seen men so corrupt that it has seemed to me as if a tendency to commit crime must be in their blood; but, on the whole, I do not put much faith in the theory that criminals are born with an irresistible tendency to evil-doing. I know, however, that the children of criminals are very apt to become criminals themselves. As a rule, criminals try to conceal the character of their lives from their children; but when one of the parents disappears from home for three or four years at a time and when the home is the resort of other criminals, the children are always sharp

enough to see just how things stand and so they fall very naturally into vicious ways. In a great city it is supposed that poverty is also the cause of much of the criminality; but this is not the fact; such crime as it does cause is comparatively slight.

There is another great evil abounding in large cities that has puzzled good thinking men for hundreds of years—the social evil. In my work I have naturally had occasion to study this question, and I have come to the conclusion that it is the most baffling of all the kinds of crime with which the law has to deal; indeed, so baffling that I believe it cannot be exterminated. There are those who maintain that it ought to be regulated by the authorities, that it should be confined to a certain district in the city; but I do not agree with these theories. In my opinion it should be kept as far from the public view as possible; if it were relegated to any particular quarter in a city, it would simply create a plague spot, a marked place, which would thus be given a dangerous publicity and made a blot upon the community. These people who indulge in sensational crusades against the social evil take a fearful responsibility upon themselves, and, far from accomplishing any good, they do an untold amount of harm. In the first place, they are inexperienced; all they know about crime and criminals is purely theoretical. Many of them, moreover, are nothing less than fanatics. They drive the degraded from their own haunts and force them to hide among respectable people, where they are far more harmful than they were before, because they have greater opportunities to spread vice. Moreover, they cause to be disseminated in the public prints the most shameful accounts of vice, which cannot fail to do a great amount of injury. Tampering with the social evil is a very ticklish game. The more the public hears about it, the worse for the public. It is the business of the law and of the police, who are supposed to aid in the carrying out of the law, to protect the public; in my judgment, therefore, the police in their efforts to eradicate this crime must take particular care to keep it as far from public notice as possible.

On the whole, I believe that during the past twenty-five years a very distinct advance has been made in the protection of cities against crime. The law is more effectually enforced than it ever has been before, and the methods of prevention and detection have become much more skilful and effective. Extradition

treaties have now been made by the United States with nearly all the other countries in the world, and it is therefore most difficult for a criminal to elude justice. It must be confessed that under our system of government any system of police must be more or less handicapped. For example, in European countries, a criminal may be arrested and held by the authorities for a time in secret. In this country, however, such a course of procedure would be impossible. A prisoner is brought into court the very day of his arrest or the day after. This method of dealing with those who are accused of criminality has its advantage for the accused, and there is, of course, a measure of justice in it; but, on the other hand, it often handicaps the police in the detection of crime and of its perpetrators, for secrecy is an important element in this work.

The publicity given to crime by our newspapers is also a frequent obstacle to the detection of it; yet the papers, of course, render an incalculable amount of assistance in the ferreting out of malefactors in a great many cases. Publication is a warning to criminals; but it is, besides, an appeal to the country for aid in detecting them. As soon as a criminal's description is given in the newspapers, thousands of people are on the watch for him. Consequently, at the present time, the means of detection of crime and of bringing its perpetrators to justice are remarkable. But, as I have already pointed out, detection is only a secondary consideration; those improvements in the police system are most important which are in the direction of *preventing* crime; and the more our reformers work in this direction the more practical will the results of their efforts be and the more beneficial to the community.

THOMAS BYRNES.

IN DEFENCE OF HARRIET SHELLEY.—I.

BY MARK TWAIN.

I HAVE committed sins, of course; but I have not committed enough of them to entitle me to the punishment of reduction to the bread and water of ordinary literature during six years when I might have been living on the fat diet spread for the righteous in Professor Dowden's Life of Shelley, if I had been justly dealt with.

During these six years I have been living a life of peaceful ignorance. I was not aware that Shelley's first wife was unfaithful to him and that that was why he deserted her and wiped the stain from his sensitive honor by entering into soiled relations with Godwin's young daughter. This was all new to me when I heard it lately and was told that the proofs of it were in this book, and that this book's verdict is accepted in the girls' colleges of America and its view taught in their literary classes.

In each of these six years multitudes of young people in our country have arrived at the Shelley-reading age. Are these six multitudes unacquainted with this life of Shelley? Perhaps they are; indeed one may feel pretty sure that the great bulk of them are. To these, then, I address myself, in the hope that some account of this romantic historical fable and the fabulist's manner of constructing and adorning it may interest them.

First, as to its literary style. Our negroes in America have several ways of entertaining themselves which are not found among the whites anywhere. Among these inventions of theirs is one which is particularly popular with them. It is a competition in elegant deportment. They hire a hall and bank the spectators' seats in rising tiers along the two sides, leaving all the middle stretch of the floor free. A cake is provided as a prize for the

winner in the competition, and a bench of experts in deportment is appointed to award it. Sometimes there are as many as fifty contestants, male and female, and five hundred spectators. One at a time the contestants enter, clothed regardless of expense in what each considers the perfection of style and taste, and walk down the vacant central space and back again with that multitude of critical eyes on them. All that the competitor knows of fine airs and graces he throws into his carriage, all that he knows of seductive expression he throws into his countenance. He may use all the helps he can devise: watch-chain to twirl with his fingers, cane to do graceful things with, snowy handkerchief to flourish and get artful effects out of, shiny new stovepipe hat to assist in his courtly bows; and the colored lady may have a fan to work up *her* effects with, and smile over and blush behind, and she may add other helps, according to her judgment. When the review by individual detail is over, a grand review of all the contestants in procession follows, with all the airs and graces and all the bowings and smirkings on exhibition at once, and this enables the bench of experts to make the necessary comparisons and arrive at a verdict. The successful competitor gets the prize which I have before mentioned, and an abundance of applause and envy along with it. The negroes have a name for this grave deportment-tournament; a name taken from the prize contended for. They call it a Cake-Walk.

This Shelley biography is a literary cake-walk. The ordinary forms of speech are absent from it. All the pages, all the paragraphs, walk by sedately, elegantly, not to say mincingly, in their Sunday-best, shiny and sleek, perfumed, and with *boutonnières* in their buttonholes; it is rare to find even a chance sentence that has forgotten to dress. If the book wishes to tell us that Mary Godwin, child of sixteen, had known afflictions, the fact saunters forth in this nobby outfit: "Mary was herself not unlearned in the lore of pain"—meaning by that that she had not always travelled on asphalt; or, as some authorities would frame it, that she had "been there herself," a form which, while preferable to the book's form, is still not to be recommended. If the book wishes to tell us that Harriet Shelley hired a wet-nurse, that commonplace fact gets turned into a dancing-master, who does his professional bow before us in pumps and knee-breeches, with his fiddle under one arm and his crush-hat under the other, thus:

"The beauty of Harriet's motherly relation to her babe was marred in Shelley's eyes by the introduction into his house of a hireling nurse to whom was delegated the mother's tenderest office."

This is perhaps the strangest book that has seen the light since Frankenstein. Indeed it is a Frankenstein itself; a Frankenstein with the original infirmity supplemented by a new one; a Frankenstein with the reasoning faculty wanting. Yet it believes it can reason, and is always trying. It is not content to leave a mountain of fact standing in the clear sunshine, where the simplest reader can perceive its form, its details, and its relation to the rest of the landscape, but thinks it must help him examine it and understand it; so its drifting mind settles upon it with that intent, but always with one and the same result: there is a change of temperature and the mountain is hid in a fog. Every time it sets up a premise and starts to reason from it, there is a surprise in store for the reader. It is strangely near-sighted, cross-eyed, and purblind. Sometimes when a mastodon walks across the field of its vision it takes it for a rat; at other times it does not see it at all.

The materials of this biographical fable are facts, rumors, and poetry. They are connected together and harmonized by the help of suggestion, conjecture, innuendo, perversion, and semi-suppression.

The fable has a distinct object in view, but this object is not acknowledged in set words. Percy Bysshe Shelley has done something which in the case of other men is called a grave crime; it must be shown that in his case it is not that, because he does not think as other men do about these things.

Ought not that to be enough, if the fabulist is serious? Having proved that a crime is not a crime, was it worth while to go on and fasten the responsibility of a crime which was not a crime upon somebody else? What is the use of hunting down and holding to bitter account people who are responsible for other people's innocent acts?

Still, the fabulist thinks it a good idea to do that. In his view Shelley's first wife, Harriet, free of all offence as far as we have historical facts for guidance, must be held unforgivably responsible for her husband's innocent act in deserting her and taking up with another woman.

Any one will suspect that this task has its difficulties. Anyone will divine that nice work is necessary here, cautious work, wily work, and that there is entertainment to be had in watching the magician do it. There is indeed entertainment in watching him. He arranges his facts, his rumors, and his poems on his table in full view of the house, and shows you that everything is there—no deception, everything fair and aboveboard. And this is apparently true, yet there is a defect, for some of his best stock is hid in an appendix-basket behind the door, and you do not come upon it until the exhibition is over and the enchantment of your mind accomplished—as the magician thinks.

There is an insistent atmosphere of candor and fairness about this book which is engaging at first, then a little burdensome, then a trifle fatiguing, then progressively suspicious, annoying, irritating, and oppressive. It takes one some little time to find out that phrases which seem intended to guide the reader aright are there to mislead him; that phrases which seem intended to throw light are there to throw darkness; that phrases which seem intended to interpret a fact are there to misinterpret it; that phrases which seem intended to forestall prejudice are there to create it; that phrases which seem antidotes are poisons in disguise. The naked facts arrayed in the book establish Shelley's guilt in that one episode which disfigures his otherwise superlatively lofty and beautiful life, but the historian's careful and methodical misinterpretation of them transfers the responsibility to the wife's shoulders—as he persuades himself. The few meagre facts of Harriet Shelley's life, as furnished by the book, acquit her of offence, but by calling in the forbidden helps of rumor, gossip, conjecture, insinuation, and innuendo, he destroys her character and rehabilitates Shelley's—as he believes. And in truth his unheroic work has not been barren of the results he aimed at; as witness the assertion made to me that girls in the colleges of America are taught that Harriet Shelley put a stain upon her husband's honor, and that that was what stung him into repurifying himself by deserting her and his child and entering into scandalous relations with a schoolgirl acquaintance of his.

If that assertion is true, they probably use a reduction of this work in those colleges, maybe only a sketch outlined from it. Such a thing as that could be harmful and misleading. They

ought to cast it out and put the whole book in its place. It would not deceive. It would not deceive the janitor.

All of this book is interesting on account of the sorcerer's methods and the attractiveness of some of his characters and the repulsiveness of the rest, but no part of it is so much so as are the chapters wherein he tries to think he thinks he sets forth the causes which led to Shelley's desertion of his wife in 1814.

Harriet Westbrook was a schoolgirl sixteen years old. Shelley was teeming with advanced thought. He believed that Christianity was a degrading and selfish superstition, and he had a deep and sincere desire to rescue one of his sisters from it. Harriet was impressed by his various philosophies and looked upon him as an intellectual wonder—which indeed he was. He had an idea that she could give him valuable help in his scheme regarding his sister; therefore he asked her to correspond with him. She was quite willing. Shelley was not thinking of love, for he was just getting over a passion for his cousin, Harriet Grove, and just getting well steeped in one for Miss Hitchener, a school-teacher. What might happen to Harriet Westbrook before the letter-writing was ended, did not enter his mind. Yet an older person could have made a good guess at it, for in person Shelley was as beautiful as an angel, he was frank, sweet, winning, unassuming, and so rich in unselfishnesses, generosities, and magnanimities that he made his whole generation seem poor in these great qualities by comparison. Besides, he was in distress. His college had expelled him for writing an atheistical pamphlet and afflicting the reverend heads of the university with it, his rich father and grandfather had closed their purses against him, his friends were cold. Necessarily, Harriet fell in love with him ; and so deeply, indeed, that there was no way for Shelley to save her from suicide but to marry her. He believed himself to blame for this state of things, so the marriage took place. He was pretty fairly in love with Harriet, although he loved Miss Hitchener better. He wrote and explained the case to Miss Hitchener after the wedding, and he could not have been franker or more *naïve* and less stirred up about the circumstance if the matter in issue had been a commercial transaction involving thirty-five dollars.

Shelley was nineteen. He was not a youth, but a man. He had never had any youth. He was an erratic and fantastic child during eighteen years, then he stepped into manhood, as one

steps over a doorsill. He was curiously mature at nineteen in his ability to do independent thinking on the deep questions of life and to arrive at sharply definite decisions regarding them, and stick to them—stick to them and stand by them at cost of bread, friendships, esteem, respect and approbation.

For the sake of his opinions he was willing to sacrifice all these valuable things, and did sacrifice them; and went on doing it, too, when he could at any moment have made himself rich and supplied himself with friends and esteem by compromising with his father, at the moderate expense of throwing overboard one or two indifferent details of his cargo of principles.

He and Harriet eloped to Scotland and got married. They took lodgings in Edinburgh of a sort answerable to their purse, which was about empty, and there their life was a happy one and grew daily more so. They had only themselves for company, but they needed no additions to it. They were as cosey and contented as birds in a nest. Harriet sang evenings or read aloud; also she studied and tried to improve her mind, her husband instructing her in Latin. She was very beautiful, she was modest, quiet, genuine, and, according to her husband's testimony, she had no fine lady airs or aspirations about her. In Matthew Arnold's judgment, she was "a pleasing figure."

The pair remained five weeks in Edinburgh, and then took lodgings in York, where Shelley's college mate, Hogg, lived. Shelley presently ran down to London, and Hogg took this opportunity to make love to the young wife. She repulsed him, and reported the fact to her husband when he got back. It seems a pity that Shelley did not copy this creditable conduct of hers some time or other when under temptation, so that we might have seen the author of his biography hang the miracle in the skies and squirt rainbows at it.

At the end of the first year of marriage—the most trying year for any young couple, for then the mutual failings are coming one by one to light, and the necessary adjustments are being made in pain and tribulation—Shelley was able to recognize that his marriage venture had been a safe one. As we have seen, his love for his wife had begun in a rather shallow way and with not much force, but now it was become deep and strong, which entitles his wife to a broad credit mark, one may admit. He

addresses a long and loving poem to her, in which both passion and worship appear:

Exhibit A.

O thou
Whose dear love gleamed upon the gloomy path
Which this lone spirit traveled.

. . . . . .

. . . wilt thou not turn
Those spirit-beaming eyes and look on me,
Until I be assured that Earth is Heaven
And Heaven is Earth?

. . . . . .

Harriet! let death all mortal ties dissolve,
But ours shall not be mortal.

Shelley also wrote a sonnet to her in August of this same year in celebration of her birthday:

Exhibit B.

Ever as now with Love and Virtue's glow
May thy unwithering soul not cease to burn,
Still may thine heart with those pure thoughts o'erflow
Which force from mine such quick and warm return.

Was the girl of seventeen glad and proud and happy? We may conjecture that she was.

That was the year 1812. Another year passed—still happily, still successfully—a child was born in June, 1813, and in September, three months later, Shelley addresses a poem to this child, Ianthe, in which he points out just when the little creature is most particularly dear to him:

Exhibit C.

Dearest when most thy tender traits express
The image of thy mother's loveliness.

Up to this point the fabulist counsel for Shelley and prosecutor of his young wife has had easy sailing, but now his trouble begins, for Shelley is getting ready to make some unpleasant history for himself, and it will be necessary to put the blame of it on the wife.

Shelley had made the acquaintance of a charming gray-haired, young-hearted Mrs. Boinville, whose face "retained a certain youthful beauty"; she lived at Bracknell, and had a young daughter named Cornelia Turner, who was equipped with many fascinations. Apparently these people were sufficiently sentimental. Hogg says of Mrs. Boinville:

"The greater part of her associates were odious. I generally found

there two or three sentimental young butchers, an eminently philosophical tinker, and several very unsophisticated medical practitioners or medical students, all of low origin and vulgar and offensive manners. They sighed, turned up their eyes, retailed philosophy, such as it was," etc.

Shelley moved to Bracknell, July 27 (this is still 1813), purposely to be near this unwholesome prairie-dogs' nest. The fabulist says: "It was the entrance into a world more amiable and exquisite than he had yet known."

"In this acquaintance the attraction was mutual"—and presently it grew to be very mutual indeed, between Shelley and Cornelia Turner, when they got to studying the Italian poets together. Shelley, "responding like a tremulous instrument to every breath of passion or of sentiment," had his chance here. It took only four days for Cornelia's attractions to begin to dim Harriet's. Shelley arrived on the 27th of July; on the 31st he wrote a sonnet to Harriet in which "one detects already the little rift in the lover's lute which had seemed to be healed or never to have gaped at all, when the later and happier sonnet to Ianthe was written"—in September, we remember:

Exhibit D.

EVENING. TO HARRIET.

O thou bright Sun! Beneath the dark blue line
Of western distance that sublime descendest,
And, gleaming lovelier as thy beams decline,
Thy million hues to every vapor lendest,
And over cobweb, lawn, and grove, and stream
Sheddest the liquid magic of thy light,
Till calm Earth, with the parting splendor bright,
Shows like the vision of a beauteous dream;
What gazer now with astronomic eye
Could coldly count the spots within thy sphere?
Such were thy lover, Harriet, could he fly
The thoughts of all that makes his passion dear,
And turning senseless from thy warm caress
Pick flaws in our close-woven happiness.

I cannot find the "rift"; still it may be there. What the poem *seems* to say, is, that a person would be coldly ungrateful who could consent to count and consider little spots and flaws in such a warm, great, satisfying sun as Harriet is. It is a "little rift which had seemed to be healed, *or* never to have gaped at all." That is, "one *detects*" a little rift which perhaps had never existed. How does one do that? How does one see the invisible? It is the fabulist's secret; he knows how to detect what does not

exist, he knows how to see what is not seeable ; it is his gift, and he works it many a time to poor dead Harriet Shelley's deep damage.

"As yet, however, if there was a speck upon Shelley's happiness it was no more than a speck"—meaning the one which one detects where "it may never have gaped at all"—"nor had Harriet cause for discontent."

Shelley's Latin instructions to his wife had ceased. "From a teacher he had now become a pupil." Mrs. Boinville and her young married daughter Cornelia were teaching him Italian poetry ; a fact which warns one to receive with some caution that other statement that Harriet had no "cause for discontent."

Shelley had stopped instructing Harriet in Latin, as before mentioned. The biographer thinks that the busy life in London some time back, and the intrusion of the baby, account for this. These were hindrances, but were there no others? He is always overlooking a detail here and there that might be valuable in helping us understand a situation. For instance, when a man has been hard at work at the Italian poets with a pretty woman, hour after hour, and responding like a tremulous instrument to every breath of passion or of sentiment in the meantime, that man is dog-tired when he gets home, and he *can't* teach his wife Latin ; it would be unreasonable to expect it.

Up to this time we have submitted to having Mrs. Boinville pushed upon us as ostensibly concerned in these Italian lessons, but the biographer drops her now, of his own accord. Cornelia "perhaps" is sole teacher. Hogg says she was a prey to a kind of sweet melancholy, arising from causes purely imaginary ; she required consolation, and found it in Petrarch. He also says, "Bysshe entered at once fully into her views and caught the soft infection, breathing the tenderest and sweetest melancholy, as every true poet ought."

Then the author of the book interlards a most stately and fine compliment to Cornelia, furnished by a man of approved judgment who knew her well "in later years." It is a very good compliment indeed, and she no doubt deserved it in her "later years," when she had for generations ceased to be sentimental and lackadaisical, and was no longer engaged in enchanting young husbands and sowing sorrow for young wives. But why is that compliment to that old gentlewoman intruded there? Is it

to make the reader believe she was well-chosen and safe society for a young, sentimental husband? The biographer's device was not well planned. That old person was not present—it was her other self that was there, her young, sentimental, melancholy, warm-blooded self, in those early sweet times before antiquity had cooled her off and mossed her back.

"In choosing for friends such women as Mrs. Newton, Mrs. Boinville and Cornelia Turner, Shelley gave good proof of his insight and discrimination." That is the fabulist's opinion—Harriet Shelley's is not reported.

Early in August, Shelley was in London trying to raise money. In September he wrote the poem to the baby, already quoted from. In the first week of October Shelley and family went to Warwick, then to Edinburgh, arriving there about the middle of the month.

"Harriet was happy." Why? The author furnishes a reason, but hides from us whether it is history or conjecture; it is because "*the babe had borne the journey well.*" It has all the aspect of one of his artful devices—flung in in his favorite casual way—the way he has when he wants to draw one's attention away from an obvious thing and amuse it with some trifle that is less obvious but more useful—in a history like this. The obvious thing is, that Harriet was happy because there was much territory between her husband and Cornelia Turner now; and because the perilous Italian lessons were taking a rest; and because, if there chanced to be any respondings like a tremulous instrument to every breath of passion or of sentiment in stock in these days, she might hope to get a share of them herself; and because, with her husband liberated, now, from the fetid fascinations of that sentimental retreat so pitilessly described by Hogg, who also dubbed it "Shelley's paradise" later, she might hope to persuade him to stay away from it permanently; and because she might also hope that his brain would cool, now, and his heart become healthy, and both brain and heart consider the situation and resolve that it would be a right and manly thing to stand by this girl-wife and her child and see that they were honorably dealt with, and cherished and protected and loved by the man that had promised these things, and so be made happy and kept so. And because, also—may we conjecture this?—we may hope for the privilege of taking up our cozy Latin lessons again, that used to

be so pleasant and brought us so near together—so near, indeed, that often our heads touched, just as heads do over Italian lessons; and our hands met in casual and unintentional, but still most delicious and thrilling little contacts and momentary clasps, just as they inevitably do over Italian lessons. Suppose one should say to any young wife: "I find that your husband is poring over the Italian poets and being instructed in the beautiful Italian language by the lovely Cornelia Robinson"—would that cozy picture fail to rise before her mind? would its possibilities fail to suggest themselves to her? would there be a pang in her heart and a blush on her face? or, on the contrary, would the remark give her pleasure, make her joyous and gay? Why, one needs only to make the experiment—the result will not be uncertain.

However, we learn—by authority of deeply-reasoned and searching conjecture—that the baby bore the journey well, and that that was why the young wife was happy. That accounts for two per cent. of the happiness, but it was not right to imply that it accounted for the other ninety-eight also.

Peacock, a scholar, poet, and friend of the Shelleys, was of their party when they went away. He used to laugh at the Boinville menagerie and "was not a favorite." One of the Boinville group, writing to Hogg, said, "The Shelleys have made an addition to their party in the person of a cold scholar, who, I think, has neither taste nor feeling. This, Shelley will perceive sooner or later, for his warm nature craves sympathy." True, and Shelley will fight his way back there to get it—there will be no way to head him off.

Toward the end of November it was necessary for Shelley to pay a business visit to London, and he conceived the project of leaving Harriet and the baby in Edinburgh with Harriet's sister, Eliza Westbrook, a sensible, practical maiden lady about thirty years old, who had spent a great part of her time with the family since the marriage. She was an estimable woman, and Shelley had had reason to like her, and did like her; but along about this time his feeling toward her changed. Part of Shelley's plan, as he wrote Hogg, was to spend his London evenings with the Newtons—members of the Boinville Hysterical Society. But, alas, when he arrived early in December, that pleasant game was partially blocked, for Eliza and the family

arrived *with* him. We are left destitute of conjectures at this point by the biographer, and it is my duty to supply one. I chance the conjecture that it was Eliza who interfered with that game. I think she tried to do what she could toward modifying the Boinville connection, in the interest of her young sister's peace and honor.

If it was she who blocked that game, she was not strong enough to block the next one. Before the month and year were out—no date given, let us call it Christmas—Shelley and family were nested in a furnished house in Windsor, "at no great distance from the Boinvilles"—these decoys still residing at Bracknell.

What we need, now, is a misleading conjecture. We get it with characteristic promptness and depravity:

"But Prince Athanase found not the aged Zonoras, the friend of his boyhood, in any wanderings to Windsor. Dr. Lind had died a year since, and with his death Windsor must have lost, for Shelley, its chief attraction."

Still, not to mention Shelley's wife, there was Bracknell, at any rate. While Bracknell remains, all solace is not lost. Shelley is represented by this biographer as doing a great many careless things, but to my mind this hiring a furnished house for three months in order to be with a man who has been dead a year, is the carelessest of them all. One feels for him—that is but natural, and does us honor besides—yet one is vexed, for all that. He could have written and asked about the aged Zonoras before taking the house. He may not have had the address, but that is nothing—any postman would know the aged Zonoras; a dead postman would remember a name like that.

And yet, why throw a rag like this to us ravening wolves? Is it seriously supposable that we will stop to chew it and let our prey escape? No, we are getting to expect this kind of device, and to give it merely a sniff for certainty's sake and then walk around it and leave it lying. Shelley was not after the aged Zonoras; he was pointed for Cornelia and the Italian lessons, for his warm nature was craving sympathy.

MARK TWAIN.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE PROSPECTS OF MEXICO.

It will not surprise observers of Mexican affairs to find that Agustin de Iturbide, the adopted heir of the ill-fated Maximilian, complains of the "evil that has accrued to the Latin republics of America from the frenzy of their radical politicians for blind imitation of the institutions of the United States." This statement which he makes in the June number of this REVIEW, is entirely consistent with the narrow, retrograde policy of the followers of the first Iturbide, who, perhaps, knowing no better, tried to found an empire in the country which he had served to rescue from Spanish misrule. Fortunately the Liberator failed in that attempt, else the freedom for which Hidalgo and Morelos died might have profited little to the Mexican people. It is noteworthy that reactionary parties hide their sinister purpose by assailing liberal constitutions. In France, Boulanger concealed his Orleanist designs by demands for revision of the constitution. The extreme French radicals who would overturn the conservative republic of Thiers and Carnot are likewise ardent advocates of revision, while in Spain the name of Don Carlos is associated with rank toryism, utterly in conflict with the liberal principles engrafted on the constitution. The Mexican people love and reverence the constitution of 1857. It insures peaceful progress so far as any constitution can do so. So long as it is the supreme law no emperor, king, or dictator in the guise of president can exercise authority in Mexico. It represents the collective wisdom of the Mexican people, sharpened by long years of strife against domestic foes and foreign invasion. The constitution of 1857 has stood the test of thirty-seven years, during which the country has seen the rise and fall of dictatorships, imperial and otherwise, as well as a period of peace, that allowed the people to scrutinize the merits of the supreme law. Under it the republic has waxed strong and enjoyed liberty and prosperity. That the Mexican people cherish the republic and the supreme law which serves as its foundation was seen in their heroic resistance to the base attempt which Napoleon III., aided by Mexican traitors, made to establish an empire on the ruins of national liberty. The Mexicans contested bravely every inch of ground with the invaders and did not desist until they forced the tricolor, blazoned anew, as it was, with the victories of Sebastopol and Solferino, to retire before the indignation of an outraged people.

Prince Iturbide assails openly and by implication the administration of President Diaz. The merits of that administration can be estimated best by recalling the condition of the republic in 1876, when the victor of Puebla assumed the reins of power. Mexico was then the Ishmael of nations;

diplomatic intercourse was denied the republic by European powers, that had shown indecent haste in recognizing the empire which Napoleon III. had promoted to increase the prestige of the French army and check the influence of the United States on this continent. Even Secretary Evarts withheld the hearty, prompt recognition to which the new President was fairly entitled. The warm regard of General Diaz for this country, and his expressed desire to be on the most friendly terms with its government and people, were met with chilling indifference by the Hayes administration, which pressed its demands with a persistency that might have rendered Shylock green with envy. The financial as well as the industrial condition of the country was deplorable. The republic was without credit at home or abroad; there were no incorporated banks except the one London concern; silver was the only currency; no bills or notes were in circulation; the rates of domestic exchange were excessive. There was no railroad in this country of 763,000 square miles except that which connected the City of Mexico with the port of Vera Cruz, a distance of 263 miles. At the capital and throughout the interior crime was rampant, paralyzing industry and repelling the investment of foreign capital. In brief, Mexico was drifting towards absolute anarchy as fast as the most vicious anarchist could desire.

How different is now the condition of the sister republic! Mexico is on friendly terms with all the European powers. Her ministers are treated, with distinction at London and Paris, as well as at Berlin and Madrid. The misunderstandings with this country have given place to the friendliest intercourse, as might be seen by the splendid display of Mexican products at the World's Fair. The public credit has been restored, and the national finances have been put in good order. At the capital are the National Bank with an authorized capital of $20,000,000 ($8,000,000 paid up); the London Bank, whose capital is $5,000,000 ($3,000,000 paid up); and the International and Mortgage Bank, with like capital ($3,500,000 paid up). Banknotes redeemable in coin are in general use, facilitating trade and reducing the burdensome rates of domestic exchange. Two trunk railroads connect the capital with the Rio Grande, where they meet the American system, rendering it possible to make the journey from the City of Mexico to New York in 115 hours, and to Chicago in 94 hours. In addition to these trunk lines is another, which connects Durango with the Texan frontier at Eagle Pass. Branch lines from the Mexican Central to Guadalajara and Tampico open up extensive regions of both arable and mineral land, and provide the interior with ready access to an important port, much nearer to the United States seaboard than Vera Cruz. This remarkable progress in railroad building, fraught with great benefits to mining, agriculture, and manufactures, has been supplemented by the completion of another railroad from Vera Cruz to the capital, as well as by the construction of the railroad that extends from Puebla to Oaxaca, a line that may yet form part of the continental system that will extend from Hudson's Bay to Patagonia.

This material advancement has been attended with social and industrial progress. Order reigns throughout the republic. The Rio Grande border has ceased to be associated with disorder. American and European capital has been invested freely in mines and manufactures. Public schools have been established in large number, while hearty encouragement has been given to all researches calculated to benefit mining and agriculture.

As the result of the gratifying progress in railroad building and public improvements, the domestic and foreign trade of the republic has increased

considerably. Despite the depressing influence of the unstable price of silver, the annual exports and imports in recent years are largely in excess of those in the years that preceded the Diaz *régime*, affording assurance that when a reciprocity treaty is negotiated the commerce of Mexico with this country will expand rapidly. This mere outline of what has been done since General Diaz became president must satisfy impartial observers that the wish is father to the thought, when Prince Iturbide declares that "a general feeling of impending collapse is noticeable throughout the country." In the presence of such growth no "collapse" is possible.

The general effect of the Diaz *régime* has been to demonstrate the blessings of peace and to exorcise that malign spirit which would gloat over a "collapse," and seek redress of grievances, real or imaginary, by conspiracy and armed force. Such revolutionists raised in that school as remain are now old in years and have lost the potent influence which they exercised formerly in state and national affairs. In their place has grown up a generation of young men, educated in the public schools and trained to live by honest labor. These young men are the hope of Mexico. They possess the martial spirit of their race, but they are firm supporters of law and order. More than the authority of any executive they will serve to keep Mexico in the paths of peace and establish a healthy state of public opinion.

Prince Iturbide sees fit to denounce the financial policy of the present Mexican Government. There was a time when the Mexican finances were as puzzling as the Schleswig-Holstein question. They are no longer involved in what seemed inextricable confusion. During his first term President Diaz, aided by mercantile concerns, conducted the government without severe financial stress. The reforms that he made in the military and civil service sufficed to make the receipts and expenses measurably correspond. The average annual revenue from 1867 to 1877 had been only $16,000,000, owing to the inability of the government to collect more, as well as to the depressed condition of the country. But when the blunders and wastefulness of the Gonzalez administration (1880–84), combined with the railroad subsidies, had depleted the treasury, the financial situation created the gloomiest forebodings. President Diaz, who had been re-elected in 1884, met the emergency with his customary resolution. With the full concurrence of Congress he consolidated the public debt and effected an agreement with the British bondholders whereby the payment of interest was resumed on the securities held by them, amounting to about $65,000,000. This heroic act of national honesty was politic as well as just. It placed Mexico on good terms with the financial world. It opened to her, especially, the exchanges of London, Paris, and Berlin. It is said that even Prince Bismarck lent the sanction of his sound judgment to the financial aid which the German bankers gave Mexico. Mexican enterprises were no longer banned by European financiers. Foreign capital was invested freely in Mexican companies. Important public improvements of a productive character were initiated. The public credit improved so much that the treasury was able to make a satisfactory arrangement for temporary loans with the National Bank, as well as to effect abroad a loan whereby it paid off the railroad subsidies that formed a vexatious lien on the revenue from import duties. This financial revival was attended by the development of the banking system, which has provided the country with a sound paper currency, redeemable in silver coin by the banks themselves. Prince Iturbide asserts that President Diaz has "burdened Mexico with a debt of

$200,000,000." In the light of the foregoing facts the value of that delusive statement may be estimated.

These financial reforms, of course, rendered it imperative to increase the public revenne. This was an arduous task, owing to the comparative poverty of the people, and to the stubborn resistance which wealthy landowners have offered to all forms of direct taxation. It was difficult also to derive more revenue from the customs without crippling the foreign trade or retarding tariff reforms, designed to promote home industry without impairing the protection which it received. The Mexican Government, assisted by a patriotic Congress, proved equal to the emergency. In the year 1878–79 the public revenue was $17,811,125 (silver), whereof $10,464,677 was derived from customs, and $7,346,448 from internal taxation. Eight years later, in 1886–87, the revenue was $32,126,000, whereof customs yielded $17,268,000, and internal taxation $14,858,000. Thus did Mexico bravely undertake to meet her public engagements. By the exercise of rigid economy the treasury defrayed the government expenses and paid the interest on the public debt, with a sum much less than the public expenditures of the city of New York, which were, in 1892, $32,389,389.23 in gold coin.

There is no warrant for the assumption which Prince Iturbide makes so glibly that President Diaz has established a dictatorship. His retirement from office at the close of his first term will satisfy most people that his heart was not set on arbitrary power. He respects rigidly the national constitution. He has not encroached on the authority of Congress nor on the independence of the judiciary. His cabinet ministers have included statesmen of high character, such as Romero, Mariscal, Romero Rubio, and Limantour. Such men could not be parties to a dictatorship. They belong by training and reputation to a different school. That President Diaz is now serving a fourth term in no way implies danger to the republican institutions of his country. Under like circumstances Washington or Lincoln might have deemed it a patriotic duty to remain in office.

The general stability of Mexico is secure. The discovery of coalfields in the north, the growth of the ore traffic with the United States, the establishment of extensive reduction works at San Luis Potosi, the application of American methods and capital to mining, the increase in the production of sugar, coffee, and tobacco—all these, combined with the steady accumulation of wealth, impart strength to the commonwealth and inspire confidence in its advancement. The decline in the value of silver, of course, causes some concern at the national treasury and among foreign traders, but it does not affect so seriously the large volume of domestic commerce which is carried on with little regard to the fluctations in the price of the white metal. The prospects of the country are also rendered brighter by the undoubted capacity of its soil to raise the sugar, coffee, fruits, and other tropical products for which this country disburses over $100,000,000 annually. Nor can the time be remote, when in this "irrigation age," it will be found that the exhaustless supplies of water beneath the Mexican soil are really a greater source of wealth than her mines of gold and silver, which yielded over $3,000,000,000 in the period from 1537 to 1880.

The actual figures render more striking the foregoing details concerning the general development of Mexico. In the year 1888–89 the revenue was $34,374,783; the expenditures, $75,823,310. In the current fiscal year, which will end June 30, 1895, the revenue is estimated at $43,074,053, while the expenditure is not expected to exceed $43,054,371. The total debt, June 30,

1892, was $174,449,510, most of which was incurred long before General Diaz came into power. In 1893 Mexico had 6,900 miles of railway, the gross earnings being $23,000,000. The capital invested up to 1891 in these railroads by English companies was £14,601,380 sterling, and by American companies $254,126,249 (United States coin). The registered capital of companies formed in London (railway, land, and mining) for operations wholly or in part in Mexico amounted in the years 1886-92 to the large sum of £53,214,827 sterling. The coinage of the Mexican mints for the ten years—1882-83 to 1891-92—was $259,405,695, an annual average of nearly $26,000,000. This coinage was mostly silver. The resources of the three banks already named amounted in 1893 to $81,354,571. The foreign commerce grew with the general growth of the country, the imports for the year 1889-90 having been $52,018,659; the exports $62,499,388. The bulk of this trade was with the United States, the new railroads having turned the commercial current strongly in this direction. In 1873 the imports were only $28,000,000; the exports only $25,500,000.

WALTER MEADE O'DWYER.

THE DANGERS OF VACCINATION.

A NEW HAMPSHIRE farmer took an orphan boy to bring up; the boy told the neighbors that he was regularly whipped without being accused of wrongdoing. One of them made cautious inquiries. The old farmer said: "John is as good a boy as I ever saw." "But he says you whip him. Is that so?" "Yes," said the old man, "I whip him for fear he will be ugly."

Thus, for fear we may get sick if exposed to the contagion of smallpox, the old and the young, the weak and the strong, those who never take any disease and those of impure life and blood—all are compelled to be made sick. Compelling general vaccination because a few cases of smallpox have occurred in any community is as absurd as punishing children for fear they will do wrong. If this method of prevention is so successful, why not empower the physicians to bleed and physic the community spring and fall to ward off other diseases? This custom was certainly in vogue in Jenner's time. But let us inquire: Is vaccination a protection? Does it really modify smallpox, or is the disease naturally milder in some cases than in others, as is the case in other contagious diseases? To what extent does it aid in suppressing the disease?

Is it our sole reliance in stamping out smallpox? or are sanitary measures as potent in this as in other diseases tending to become epidemic? Has the great progress of this century in medical science and sanitary knowledge *no* influence in controlling and modifying its results? Is not vaccination credited with all these influences in making up statistics? Does an array of statistics *pro* and *con* settle so vital a question? During our civil war the writer had charge of an inclosure where there were 1,500 men and the smallpox among them; every person within the inclosure who could be persuaded to submit to the operation was vaccinated, and a careful record was kept of each case; many of those vaccinated, where all the requirements of "Jenner" were fulfilled, had the confluent smallpox, while several, who had never been vaccinated, had the lightest kind of so-called varioloid. Though educated to believe in vaccination, the nine months' experience caused me to doubt its efficacy, and subsequent investigation and personal experience have produced a well-grounded belief that

vaccination is the best perfected and most dangerous humbug the world ever saw.

Vaccination originated in the idea that kinepox bears the same relation to the animal that smallpox does to man, though the former only affects the female, while the latter is no respecter of sex. As kinepox never shows itself upon the male animal, the disease is not taken into the system by the food or drink of the cow, else it would affect male and female alike. Dr. Jenner traced the disease in the cow to the hands of milkmen, who milked the cows after working over horses that had the grease or scratches, but the record does not show whether it was the diseased horses or the remedies used to cure the scratches that caused the kinepox.

Kinepox is extremely rare now, for everybody knows enough to wash his hands after handling diseased animals. Had Dr. Jenner's milkmen known the importance of washing their hands before milking the cows, what an immense amount of suffering their knowledge would have saved the human family. Is it surprising under such circumstances that it was difficult to get the proper virus? Then, as now, it is only known by its results. If vaccinated and you escape having smallpox, "the virus was good." If you had the disease lightly, "the virus was good." If you had smallpox after recent vaccination, "the virus was not good." If not vaccinated recently, "it had run out." If you suffer unusually after vaccination, you have the satisfaction of knowing it must have been "impure virus." If smallpox became epidemic, "it was for want of general vaccination or the use of poor virus." If it decreased, "it was the result of vaccination." The *doubt* as to getting the proper virus has really been the *strongest* element in maintaining Jenner's system of vaccination, for it furnished an ever-ready explanation of all its failures as well as apparent success. We have shown that the whole system was born of ignorance, doubt, and uncertainty, and we propose to show that it is continued without any positive knowledge as to what its results will be; that it is opposed to reason and common-sense and unsupported by medical science or hygiene; that those who ought to direct public opinion on the subject have a *strong* incentive to favor its continuance; that no fair estimate of the ill results of vaccination can be made so long as—for obvious reasons—they are suppressed by those best qualified to speak of them; that what physicians *know* about vaccination is but "a drop in the bucket" in comparison to what they *do not* know. No one knows whether the virus is good or bad, except by its results. No one knows whether the virus will be taken into the system or thrown off, and if absorbed no one is wise enough to foretell what its results will be, because no one knows anything of the individual's susceptibility to poison or contagion.

No man is wise enough to divine the result of putting any animal poison into the system of anybody by vaccination; it may be harmless, or it may be like a spark to the magazine, setting in motion unseen or dormant forces which shall injure health or result in death.

To illustrate: A woman, who had not had occasion to call a physician for more than twenty years, was compelled to be vaccinated. Her arm became fearfully swollen, the disease extended, and she died after six weeks of intense suffering. The physician vaccinated others the same day with the same virus, and half of them experienced the usual results; in the rest it did not take. No one could say she would have had the smallpox if exposed, she preferred to take the risk, and should have been allowed to die a

natural death, instead of suffering by law tenfold more than the vilest criminal. Such is the modifying influence of age, constitution, and habits of life that no physician will admit that he treats all his patients alike, though they have the same disease; yet people are vaccinated indiscriminately, made sick lest they should have a disease that no person on earth is wise enough to say they would have, even if exposed. Physicians will acknowledge that what they do *not know* about the individual need of vaccination and its *modus operandi* greatly exceeds their *positive* knowledge, and the reason lies in the fact that the whole system is at variance with the rules that govern them in the control of other diseases of contagious character. Instead of making people *sick* at the approach of other forms of contagion, they enjoin the most careful living and avoidance of everything that tends to make people ill.

Our knowledge of other means of preventing and modifying smallpox has a solid basis of common-sense, well sustained by science and experience, and equally adapted to all forms of contagious diseases; which, though vigorously applied, and effectively, the results are all credited to vaccination. All diseases resulting from contagion and liable to become epidemic have a period of incubation, development, and decline, while each follows its own law, the infection of measles never producing any disease but measles, and so of each form, and the variation as to mildness or severity is due to its environment. Contagion is like a plant in that it must find a soil suited to its growth, or it is of no effect—harmless; hence it is that one person in a family may have smallpox and all the rest escape, as in the following instance. The writer found a returned soldier in the second stage of smallpox, surrounded by parents and a large family of children, who had never been vaccinated. The soldier was sent to the pest-house, the family out of doors and vaccinated, while the house was thoroughly fumigated; result, no one had the smallpox, nor did the vaccination take in any case. Of those in whom the contagion does find a lodgment, the resulting disease is more or less severe, according to the general health and condition of the individual.

The fundamental facts, upon which all authorities agree, experience corroborating them, are that careful living and good health do not only ward off contagious disease but greatly modify it; that the severity of contagious disease depends upon the condition of the blood. It must therefore logically follow that good health, or a pure condition of the blood, will protect from and modify smallpox in the *same* ratio as it does in measles, scarlet fever, or other forms of contagious disease. If such is the case—and who will deny it?—there are no claims made for vaccination that this well-established principle does not fully explain and account for; they are simply the result of well known and established principles, eqally applicable to all forms of disease.

Can it be that He "who spake as never man spake" did not anticipate the wisdom of "Jenner" and his followers when he said, "They that are whole have no need of the physician"? He comes *now* without being called, with lancet and lymph, to make the healthy infant and the octogenarian sick.

Is it not better to destroy contagion by the use of disinfectants than to try to control it and modify its results by polluting the "crimson stream of life" with an animal poison of doubtful origin, the consequences of which no person can foretell?

Like every other evil that infests society, vaccination has its pecuniary incentives. Every smallpox scare in our large cities changes upwards of $100,000 from the citizens' pockets to those of the physicians, which, it is natural to suppose, inclines them to indorse "the popular whim," and makes it so difficult to get an unbiased record of the disastrous consequences of vaccination. How often has the writer heard physicians say, "I do not believe in Jenner's system of vaccination, but as long as people do, and want to be vaccinated, I shall gratify them"!

We believe those quoted represent so large a class that, were physicians required to perform the service gratuitously, the system would not be continued a decade. To compel old and young, the strong and the weak, the healthy and those enfeebled by disease, to submit to vaccination, under existing circumstances, is certainly a dangerous expedient, not warranted by reason or our knowledge of its results.

WILLIAM B. HIDDEN, M. D.

IS COUNTRY LIFE LONELY?

IT is often solitary, retired, to a certain degree; but does a secluded life in the country necessarily breed a feeling of lonesomeness, irksome discontent, and a homesickness for the city? This is a question that must interest any who contemplate a change from city to country. One will say the answer depends on the person who makes that change, and the answer has much truth. Another will say that it depends on the location of the country home, and that, too, has an important bearing. A house situated in a low, narrow valley, with no other habitation in sight, surrounded by woods and swamps, with scarce a lovely object in view, would indeed be lonely. It ought to be lonely, and it ought to breed such discontent as to drive the owner to seek a more cheerful location. I will add to these two important answers this third one: That one's lonesomeness in the country depends largely upon one's will, one's attitude toward the country. If you begin country life feeling that you are a foreigner to it, and never intend to be naturalized, then you doom yourself to dislike it. Nature will never adopt you into her larger liberties unless you will be adopted, and the shy denizens of bush and brake will never greet you as a fellow-citizen. But if you drop this alien spirit and resolve to conquer the country life by openly surrendering to its charms, then you will win a gratifying success.

A young couple hired a pretty farm cottage near the writer last year. They were people of the sanguine sort. They took a three-years lease of it, with the intent of buying. The man was not without conceit. He thought he knew all about the country, all about farming. He asked no advice and took none. He hired a man at high wages to run the farm. The house was newly painted and the rooms were decorated, so as to resemble a gaudy city apartment-house. The man had to be in the city long hours every day but Sunday. He gave orders to his farmer, and the farmer tried his best to carry them out. The newcomer's ideas of farming were fearfully and wonderfully made. Of course the young husband was a loving spouse, and the pair had no end of pretty little names that they called each other before the country folk. Otherwise they would never have stayed the summer through. But long before autumn the young amateur farmer had quarreled with his hired man, and both had to consult lawyers. Another

fine quarrel began with the landlord. The young wife—she was very young with a young child—got unutterably homesick. Early in the fall they compromised the lease, sacrificed their new tools and implements, abandoned fruits and crops and the glorious air and tinted leaves of autumn, and fled back to a "nice little flat in the city."

Did they like the country? No, if one may judge from their reports in the city! "It was the most lonesome place, and everything was so disagreeable!" Did they know how to enjoy the country? That is the more pertinent question. Eyes had they, but they saw not. They never were seen to walk through woods or fields. They never called on a neighbor. They were so "lonesome" that they stayed in that little, newly decorated room as if it had been their prison, or indeed a flat on a twelfth floor. They cultivated no plant or flower with their own hands, nor personally cared for any animals, pets or poultry. They did go driving in a stiff, sedate fashion, with a boy driver. Tennis, rowing, fishing, swimming, croquet, sketching, botanizing, baseball, cricket, lawn parties? No, they were not for them! They were too "lonesome." Straw-rides by the light of the moon? The idea would have given them a shock.

Of course these people deserved their fate. But there are many sensible, cultivated, open-air sort of people who will get lonesome and homesick on the average country farm, for instance. It is true. Let us confess, we have been lonely ourselves. But let us not forget that it may be a good thing to be lonely sometimes. To paraphrase an old proverb, in loneliness there is strength. The lone tree is the broad tree, rugged, storm-defiant. "'Tis a good thing sometimes to be alone," wrote a wise poet. There are times when the spirit in man urges to seclusion. When a man is lonely, the eternal Verities speak to him, as they may not speak in a crowd.

A man need not be unhappy because he is solitary. Ask the spirit of Robinson Crusoe—unreal creation that outlives realities—if he did not more greatly enjoy his life on the desert island than any experiences in the haunts of civilized man. Every little farm, or country cottage, or artist's box in the woods, may be a Crusoe's island to any one with the adventurous, appreciative spirit of Defoe's hero. We follow "Leatherstocking" through the forest, and are charmed with his intimacy with nature, a reverent familiarity that leads him, step by step, "through nature up to nature's God." Yet any one may be educated by the forest if he goes there, as to another university, intending to learn. We are not to imitate "Hawkeye," nor imitate anything, but to listen, and to welcome the awful loneliness of the woods until we get a message from it, remembering that often the lonely lives have been the great lives, and that the true lover speaks only when there is no third party present. There is a plant in the hotbed or greenhouse. It is crowded, growing tall, indeed, but spindling. If you leave it there it may possibly blossom, but will bear little if any fruit. Transplant it to a free, broad space in the open air; ah, it wilts! It is "lonely." The sun strikes it down, and storms beat it into the dust. But care for it, watch it, and soon it begins a broad, sturdy growth, blossoms, fruits, and becomes what it never would have been in the hotbed.

C. H. CRANDALL.

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THE RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH.

BY THE HON. HOKE SMITH, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

If you wish to interest the people of the South to-day, talk to them of the resources and development of their section. Once they enjoyed more the eloquent words of the political orator, but now the plain business presentation of questions connected with material growth finds the most attentive listeners.

The manner in which the Southern States have stood the financial trials of the past eighteen months has directed to them general attention. It has caused careful consideration of the conditions of the section, both by the press and by investors. What progress will the South make in the near future upon the lines of material growth? This question is one which interests all portions of the Union. Careful investigation will cause the answer to be most encouraging to those now already dwelling in that section, and most advantageous to people outside of it.

To properly understand the possibilities of the South, its past, as well as its present, must be considered. Nature has favored it with a climate pleasant in winter, and not oppressive in summer; with a vast expanse of territory suited to every variety of agricultural pursuit; with limitless undeveloped wealth, with ample iron, coal, and lumber, alongside of cotton-fields. It is true that other sections have outstripped it heretofore in

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the acquirement of wealth, but this has been due to conditions no longer existing; and now for the first time the whole resources of the South are to assert themselves, freed from any hindering influences.

Experience has taught that the highest progress can only be made when the individual strength of every citizen is developed to its greatest capacity. The producers of wealth are the masses of the people controlled by wise, judicious direction. Any system which takes from the laboring people hope and aspiration lessens proportionately the creative power of the section where they dwell.

The institution of slavery divided the South into three classes; the wealthy slave-owner, cultivated, generous, and brave, but, as a rule, with an income ample for his wants, devoting his time rather to the ornamental than to the practical; the poor whites, competing with slave labor, and with scarcely any opportunity to improve their condition; the slaves themselves, compelled to give to work every hour suited to labor, with no inducement to devise means for increasing results from the application of their energies. What mattered it with them? Increased results would not lessen the hours of their labor or benefit them. They labored for what they ate and what they wore. They received that without regard to what they did. They could not increase it. They were obliged to have it. The work they accomplished was forced from them.

Had it not been for the institution of slavery, checking white immigration and hindering development, the South, with natural resources in its favor in 1860, would have been the greatest manufacturing and mining, as well as agricultural, section of the Union.

In spite of this drawback it is surprising to see what had been accomplished in this section by 1860. At that time the value of the farms of the whole country was $6,000,638,000, of which the farms of the South were valued at $2,300,000,000, they having increased from 1850 to 1860 $1,300,000,000. The agricultural product of the South did not consist of cotton alone, but was of infinite variety. The following table gives a few items from the Census of 1860:

Yield.	In South.	In remainder of the country.
Corn	358,153,000 bushels	472,297,000 bushels
Wheat	44,800,000 "	125,200,000 "
Value animals slaughtered	$34,447,000	$128,424,000

The total assessed value of property in the United States in 1860 was $12,000,000,000. Of this the South had $5,200,000,000, nearly one-half. At this time also thirty per cent. of the entire banking capital of the country was in the South.

For four years the armies fought upon Southern soil. The struggle was desperate and the destruction of personal property almost complete. At the close of the war the South had lost many of her best men. Her labor, owing to the change from slavery to freedom, was entirely demoralized. It had been accustomed to idleness except where work was required by the order of the owner. Freed from enforced labor, the first impulse of the negroes was to follow no occupation, but to enjoy the privilege of entire leisure.

Another grievous burden fell upon this section. The negro became at once the tool of designing men who moved South, not for the purpose of finding homes, but to use the freedman as a political tool in obtaining possession of the offices, and to consume by unjust taxation and by official thievery the little which the war had left.

To control the negroes it was necessary to claim their allegiance by reason of the great service rendered in setting them free. It was necessary to fill their minds with distrust and hatred of their former owners, to play upon their prejudices, and to blind them to their best interests. For a number of years this condition existed. The negroes were restless of control and impatient at the thought of labor. Even those who were unable to read aspired to political leadership. But in time some of the men who came South for political control turned their attention to business, and developed into good citizens. The negroes, also, began to realize that they were simply being used as tools, and distrusted their white political leaders.

The negro race had lived for several generations in slavery. During that time great confidence, as a rule, existed between the negro and his master. Many instances could be given of the strong affection felt by the one for the other. It is no reflection upon the race that the circumstances under which they were freed produced a temporary feeling of hostility on the part of the negro towards his former master, but as the hold of the carpet-bagger began to lessen, friction rapidly ceased between the white man and the colored man in the South.

Good government had been restored in nearly every portion of the South by 1880, and for the first time the section could be fairly said to have adjusted itself to the new condition of affairs, and to be in a position for the first time to use its resources to the best practical effect.

To appreciate the terrible loss that the South had endured during these twenty years, it is necessary to remember that the total wealth of the section had depreciated, from 1860 to 1880, by $2,400,000,000, the depreciation having continued during practically the entire time, $300,000,000 of the amount being properly chargeable to the period from 1870 to 1880.

The broad acres of land, however, remained. The mineral resources were still to be developed, and the groundwork from which wealth could be created had been but little injured.

The progress of the South from that time forward may be considered the beginning not of growth by the South, but of growth by the South with free labor, and under the changed conditions which the war produced. The capacity of the white people for endurance, their fortitude and nerve power, had been shown in a manner beyond question. Content to leave the past a memory of pain and pride, again permitted to live free, with hope renewed by honest local government, they regained influence with the colored race, and both sought to develop the section which both recognized as a permanent home. The negroes consider as ridiculous all suggestions for their removal, and, with few exceptions, the whites realize the benefit to the section from the work of this kind and hardy race.

But what has been accomplished since 1880? Referring to all those States classified as Southern in the figures before presented, the Census Reports of 1890 show an increase in assessed value during the preceding ten years of $1,815,000,000, while the increase in true value was $3,893,000,000. In ten years the value of the products of the South increased from $1,200,000,000 to $2,000,000,000.

Omitting, however, some of those States commonly termed Southern, and confining the inquiry to those to which the conditions under consideration most fully applied, the favorable indications from 1880 to 1890 are even proportionately greater.

The following table from data now in the Census Bureau gives for the States named the percentages of increase in true

valuation of real and personal property, expenditures for public schools, value of manufactured product, value of farm lands and improvements, and value of farm products.

INCREASE PER CENT., 1880-1890.

	True valuation of real and personal property.	Expenditures of public schools.	Value of manufactured products.	Value of farm lands and improvements.	Value of farm products.
Virginia	21.97	77.26	70.65	17.80	7.61
West Virginia	25.42	78.23	69.25	14.07	5.57
North Carolina	26.71	87.18	100.93	35.48	3.21
South Carolina	24.51	25.32	90.74	44.30	24.89
Georgia	40.66	48.07	89.12	35.83	24.38
Florida	224.57	304.76	228.55	258.49	62.46
Kentucky	29.96	74.26	67.88	15.72	3.29
Tennessee	25.95	65.42	95.16	17.39	A. 11.09
Alabama	45.51	27.38	277.62	40.65	16 47
Mississippi	28.32	61.58	148.80	37.24	15.13
Louisiana	29.66	54.60	138.82	41.74	26.72
Texas	155.22	305.39	239.93	134.63	71.31
Arkansas	59.14	166.33	235.39	59.70	21 31
Aver. percentage	50.76	96.53	108.50	40.68	17.23

(A) Decrease.

The study of these figures indicates the general growth and healthy development not of an old, but of a new country. The development of the South prior to 1860 had been swept away by war, and by the subsequent conditions heretofore described. Its resources were in 1880, and still are, scarcely touched, while those of the Eastern and Middle States are comparatively in use.

The following table, also from the Census Bureau, shows for the states named in it, percentages similar to those considered in connection with the Southern States.

INCREASE PER CENT., 1880-1890.

	True valuation of real and personal property.	Expenditures of public schools.	Value of manufactured products.	Value of farm lands and improvements.	Value of farm products.
Maine	A. 4.28	12.47	19.87	A. 3.70	.47
New Hampshire	A. 10.43	43.35	15,94	A. 12.75	2.13
Vermont	A. 12.06	52.40	22,28	A. 26.45	A. 7.78
Massachusetts	6.89	75 52	40.72	A. 12.76	16 19
Rhode Island	26.04	73.15	36.80	A. 15.49	14.94
Connecticut	7 20	59.06	33.73	A. 21.53	A. .48
New York	35.97	75.03	58.38	A. 8.34	A. 9.23
New Jersey	10.75	69.49	38 84	A. 16.57	A. 2.20
Pennsylvania	25.27	75.57	78.77	A. 5.48	A. 6.50
Ohio	22 03	39.54	84.24	A. 6.87	A. 15.02
Indiana	24.64	30.99	53.25	18.82	A. 17.39
Illinois	57.84	49.78	119.02	25.09	A. 9.42
Aver. percentage	26.83	5.87	62.85	A. 10.06	A. 9.30

(A) Decrease.

Perhaps one of the most noticeable indications of progress is the fact that in ten years the public schools of the South increased expenditures 96.53 per cent. All the people of a section must be free and all educated to insure progress. The South is determined that illiteracy in its section shall cease, that every child shall receive a fair education. The percentages taken to-day would be even more striking, but the exact figures cannot be obtained. The one State of Georgia has in the last three years increased her appropriation for public schools more than 100 per cent.

The Southern States show a percentage of increase, during the time considered, in true value of real and personal property, and in value of manufactured product, nearly twice as great as that of the Eastern and Middle States named.

The Eastern and Middle States show percentages of loss in value of farm lands and improvements amounting to 10.06 per cent., and of farm products amounting to 9.30 per cent., while the Southern States increased in value of farm lands and improvements 40.68 per cent., and in farm products 17.23 per cent.

The total acreage in the Southern States named is 500,000,000, the amount in cultivation is 100,000,000. Three-fourths of the uncultivated land is suited for farm purposes. The gross product from agriculture in the South for 1890 was 24.1 per cent. on the value of investment. In the other States of the Union it was 13.1 per cent. What an opportunity this section offers to home-seekers! They will find land cheap, and the people ready to receive them with hospitality. Political affiliations no longer affect social relations in the South.

The land is most varied in its uses. The lofty elevation of the Piedmont region furnishes a climate similar to New England, while the low lands of the Gulf States are suited to semi-tropical products. Between these two can be found every character of soil, and the farmer can choose the locality and raise what he pleases. Locations can be found in which wheat, corn, cotton, and fruit can be successfully cultivated in the same field. The truck farms furnish great results, and from Norfolk alone is shipped annually over $6,000,000 worth of vegetables and fruits. While the South produces over 60 per cent. of the world's cotton, its grain crops are now nearly equal to its cotton crops.

It was claimed that, in 1865, the cotton industry must go

with slavery, yet the cotton crop of 1892 was about twice that of 1860.

The Philadelphia *Times* has said:

"The fact that the Southern States have made such a remarkably good showing since the financial pressure commenced has begun to attract the attention of investors from the North and West. A good deal of capital has already been placed by shrewd operators like Gould, Vanderbilt, Corbin, and others in Alabama, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, and other Southern States, and many colonies of intelligent wage-earners have been planted in localities where it is believed beneficent emolument will follow."

The standing timber of the South is equal in value to that of the balance of the Union, and the annual output of the saw and planing mills grew in the period from 1880 to 1892 from $38,000,000 to $117,000,000.

The iron ore is without limit, and a statement of the comparative cost in the Southern district and the Northern district, prepared by Hon. Carroll D. Wright in 1891, shows an advantage of $3 per ton in favor of the South. The increase in the production of iron by this section since 1880 has been 500 per cent.

The coalfields of the Southern States cover over 60,000 miles, which, as Mr. George W. Armstead states in *The Tradesman*, is seven times as much as in Great Britain, and more than in Russia, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium combined. The coke is excellently adapted to use in manufactures. Since 1880 the production of coal has increased from 3,000,000 of bushels to 25,000,000 bushels.

But the manufacture of cotton in the South offers the most inviting field for industrial growth. The South produces over 60 per cent. of the cotton of the world. Only about one third of our cotton is manufactured in the United States. The balance goes to Europe, where its value is increased threefold, creating thereby $600,000,000 each year which properly belongs to this country.

Every advantage is offered for the manufacture where the cotton grows. The climate permits uninterrupted operation for factories, every month of the year. The raw material is at hand with cheap coal for steam, or ample water power to be obtained at reasonable prices. Labor can live with less expense than in New or old England. While no discontent exists among the laboring classes in the South, still a large portion of the service required in cotton factories can be there obtained at a low figure. If England is to

continue our chief competitor in the manufacture of cotton goods, surely much negro labor can be found in the South to compete with English white labor in the cotton mills.

Perhaps the negro is intended as the laborer to manufacture cotton as well as to hoe it. There are reasons to believe that eventually the yellow race of the East will prove a formidable competitor in this line of business. If so, it may be necessary to overcome them by the use of the black labor in the South. It is certainly true that all indications point to the manufacture in the South of the cotton there grown. It would change the value of the crop annually from $300,000,000 to about $1,000,000.000.

The manufacture of cotton has increased in the South since 1880 from 342,048 to 2,171,147 spindles, and the value of the annual product from $16,350,000 to $54,200,000.

The remarkable experience of the Southern mills during 1893, scarcely any of them quitting work, and nearly all of them paying good dividends, furnishes conclusive evidence that the South is the best locality for the business.

Mr. Richard H. Edmunds in the *Manufacturers' Record* has well said:

> "The lumber business has enriched a large part of the Northwest; cotton manufacturing has added hundreds of millions to the wealth of New England; coal and iron is the basis of most of Pennsylvania's enormous industrial activity. The South combines these four—lumber, cotton, iron, and coal. They can be utilized at a lower cost than in any other section, and they will add to the South the fourfold wealth that they have created elsewhere."

Judge Kelley may not have been right when he said, "The South is the coming El Dorado of American adventure," but he dealt with simple truth when saying, "It is a country upon which the Almighty has with most lavish hand bestowed his richest material gifts."

HOKE SMITH.

SEA POWER OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY CHARLES H. CRAMP.

THE discussion of the elements and effects of sea power evoked by Captain Mahan's books has been fruitful of suggestion as to the aggregate of navies and the political consequences of superiority at sea, but little has been said of the individuality of ships. This, of course, is from the point of view of the statesman and the diplomatist, but the share which the designer and builder of ships has in the production of sea power remains to be examined.

Primarily it is worth while to remark that Captain Mahan's theme is by no means new, the real merit of his books resting in the fact that he has given a new force to old and well-known facts. Long ago the wisdom and foresight of Englishmen discerned the value of sea power before they possessed it, and Lord Bacon made it the subject of an essay as luminous as it was prophetic. This essay occurs in his work on the "True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates," and the following pithy extract serves to exhibit the train of thought:

"To be master of the sea is an abridgement of a monarchy. We see the great effects of battles by sea; the Battle of Actium decided the Empire of the World; the Battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea fights have been final to the War. . . . This much is certain, that he who commands the sea is at great liberty and may take as much or as little of the war as he will, whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely at this day with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the doweries of this Kingdom of Great Britain) is great, because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass, and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the Seas."

The phrase here is indeed Baconian, but the thought is as fresh now as it was then, and in the concluding sentence one may find

a prophecy of the British conquest of India, and the necessity of keeping open the sea road. Captain Mahan's work, however, loses none of its merit from the fact that Bacon "blazed the way" for him; on the contrary he is rather to be congratulated on having so distinguished a predecessor.

Leaving the diplomatists and the strategists to pursue their generalizations, I will try to point out the office of the naval architect and builder in the creation and maintenance of sea power.

In a recent interview published in a British journal, Captain Mahan with much pith and force described the basis of maritime supremacy by saying that the battleship is to fleets what infantry is to an army; but when pressed by the reporter to particularize the type which he considered most effective, the captain declined to offer an opinion. This abstention was creditable both to his sound judgment and good taste. There are many types of battleships, each one with ardent partisans, and had Captain Mahan expressed a predilection for one type it would have been taken as a challenge by the adherents of all the others. This exhibits good judgment; while on the point of good taste he is quite properly content to leave questions of design and construction to naval architects and builders.

There are some considerations affecting type and size of battleships which are of general interest and sufficiently non-technical to be easily comprehended by the average reader. I shall confine my observations to this class of subjects, because the purely technical questions involved in planning and constructing ships could be made neither interesting nor instructive to the readers of a popular magazine.

Necessarily in conformity to prevailing ideas and practice the employment of battleships for the enforcement of sea power involves their operation in fleets or squadrons. The experience of war may and probably will modify prevailing ideas and set a limit to the number of battleships that can be safely or effectively manœuvred in squadron. It is more than probable that at a very early stage of action the commanding officer of a modern battleship will find it necessary to signal for every captain to do the best he can. Possibly fleet or squadron tactics as now received and understood will be found to impede or even destroy the efficiency of modern battleships.

No action having occurred between fleets of modern battleships, the tactical conditions must be somewhat conjectural or at least theoretical; but the experience of peace drills and manœuvres has demonstrated that the elements of difficulty and danger due to modern appliances as compared with the conditions of the great sea-fights of history have been multiplied many fold. For example, at Trafalgar the "Victory," "Teméraire," and "Redoubtable" were foul of each other for a considerable period, and some historians say that the "Bucentaure," Admiral Villeneuve's flagship, was also foul of the bunch at one time. None of these ships of the line sustained any injury worth mentioning from the fouling alone.

I presume no one imagines that three or four modern battleships could be foul of each other for many minutes before some of them would begin to sink from the effects of contact alone, and irrespective of any execution done by their batteries or torpedoes. This ever present danger is equally great from friend and from foe, and the fact that it must be vastly increased by the circumstances of action will devolve upon the commander of the fleet and upon each one of his captains responsibilities which Rodney and Nelson and their captains never dreamed of.

These facts suggest a wide range of problems embracing not only tactics, which is outside of my province, but design, structure, manœuvring appliances—in short, everything that pertains to handiness, controllability under various conditions, and ultimate safety after a maximum of injury. The fate of the "Victoria" demonstrated that subdivision into water-tight compartments is useless if communication between any number of them is left free, and that water-tight doors, at least as arranged in that ship, cannot be closed against much head of in-rushing water. It also demonstrated the fact that the tactical diameters of ships, as ascertained by trial singly in smooth water, and under the most favorable conditions, cannot be depended on in fleet manœuvres at sea.

Above all it demonstrated that captains differ in capacity and in promptness, and that such difference operating in the brief time allotted to a single manœuvre may easily be fatal to a ship or, in action, to a fleet. This is a case of the personal equation; the operation of the human factor, which is always unequal to an immeasurable degree if we consider the possible extremes of capacity and incapacity—but at best always subject to error, and hence

calculated to defeat or mar in greater or less degree the efficiency of the most skilfully designed and most perfectly constructed mechanical devices. This is a fundamental fact, having its origin in the organic weaknesses of human nature, and hence unavoidable. At best its consequences can only be mitigated.

Last November in a paper read before the American Society of Naval Architects, discussing the practicable size of ships, I used the following language :

"There is another limitation to practicable size which has not been mentioned—the ship may become too large for the captain. It is the fact that while we may increase the dimensions of ships the size of man is a fixed quantity. I mean this in the physical as well as the mental sense. A ship is not like an army which can be divided in sections, each capable of independent action. She must be commanded and manœuvred in one piece and by one man.

"I have during many years of observation and experience in my profession seen so much of the human factor under such circumstances (circumstances placing the lives of so many men in a ship at the mercy of one man), that the elimination of it in every possible direction has become almost a passion with me. In any ship design it is the first principle with me to provide as many absolute and unchangeable qualities of performance and safety as possible and to place them beyond manipulation."

For the reasons that I have already stated these observations originally made with reference to trans-Atlantic passenger vessels apply with ten-fold force to battleships. As the speed of any fleet is that of its slowest ship, so will its manœuvring power be limited by the capacity of its poorest captain. As it might easily happen that the slowest or least handy ship and the poorest captain would be joined, the quality of the other ships and the ability of the other officers would go for nothing.

In view of the complex character of the ships themselves and the difficulty and danger of manœuvring them under the most favorable conditions, as pointed out, the experience of the first general action will demonstrate the necessity of having all the battleships in a fleet as nearly alike as possible in size, type, and capacity of performance. Such provision would not equalize the personal factor of different commanding officers, but it would at least give them all an equal chance at the start. For this reason I have always considered it unwise to multiply types or to seriously modify those which the best judgment we are now able to form approves. The practice of the English, French, Russians, and Germans has been contrary to this idea.

Each new administration of their navies has brought in new types, until their navy lists present an almost bewildering variety. For example the present Mediterranean fleet of England includes ten battleships, comprising six different types, and ranging in speed from the old "Dreadnaught" of 12 knots to the "Hood" of 16½. Of these six types four are singly represented, namely: the "Dreadnaught," old-fashioned double-turreted monitor; the "Sanspareil," sister-ship to the late "Victoria"; the "Ramillies," modern barbette battleship, and the "Hood" modern double-turret battle-ship. Another type has two representatives, the "Nile" and "Trafalgar," double-turret battleships, 2,000 tons smaller than the "Hood"; while the sixth type has four representatives, the "Anson," "Camperdown," "Collingwood," and "Howe," barbette battleships, of the Admiral class, from 3,500 to 4,500 tons smaller than the "Ramillies." The testimony in the "Victoria" Court of Inquiry showed not only the difference in the capacity of captains already referred to, but also considerable difference between the several types of ships themselves as to handiness, even at a manœuvring speed of eight knots, which was dictated by the easy natural draught speed of the slowest ship, the "Dreadnaught." It is not easy to imagine what the consequences of such discrepancy in the ability and promptness of officers or in the power and handiness of the different ships would be under the vastly altered conditions of action. Of course the English have been accumulating different types during many years of active construction under different and disagreeing admiralties, and having the ships on hand must use them, no matter how motley the resulting fleet.

These observations bring us to a survey of the comparative situation of the United States in this respect. Our navy has not accumulated an assortment of battleship types, and hence is free to pursue the desirable policy of uniformity. Our very first attempt at battleship design produced a type which I consider the fairest compromise of all divergent qualities and necessities yet reached anywhere. The resulting ship carries on a displacement of 10,400 tons armor and armament superior to British ships of 14,150 tons, is equal to them in manœuvring speed, and much quicker and handier under helm.

Our second effort produced a ship which is in some respects a modification of the first. The changes are mainly in the direc-

tion of greater free-board and a knot more of speed, involving 1,000 tons more displacement, by which the all-around sea-going efficiency is expected to be increased; but as a fighting ship pure and simple I think no one contends that the "Iowa" is an improvement upon the "Indiana" class. Without going into detail of the differences between the two ships, I will say generally that the "Indiana" class is able to combat any first-rate battleship afloat as to armor and armament; she has as much speed as will ever be needed for manœuvring purposes, and her coal capacity is sufficient for any cruise that the policy of the United States will ever require in war.

When to these offensive and defensive qualities is added the fact that the "Indiana" developed on her preliminary trial a readiness of response and fidelity of direction under helm little short of marvellous in view of her dimensions and weight, she becomes by great odds the handiest first-rate battleship afloat. In the language of her navigating officer on that occasion, "she steered like a pilot boat." I submit that it does not require the training of a naval tactician to see that a fleet of ten "Indianas," compact, handy ships, alike in all leading qualities, would have the ten diverse and unequal battleships of the British Mediterranean fleet at an initial disadvantage of tremendous effect, and this without taking account of individual superiority.

These considerations seem conclusive against multiplication of types and in favor of adhering to one which so plainly meets the requirements of our national situation and policy.

The composition of a battleship fleet under such conditions would minimize the tactical dangers and difficulties referred to earlier, but these would still remain very great, and nothing can mitigate them except frequent and arduous drill in squadron of evolution, so that our captains may become familiar with their weapons before being called upon to use them in actual battle. There will be scant opportunity to drill a battleship squadron after the outbreak of war. From this point of view it is to be regretted that Secretary Tracy's programme of 1890, contemplating eight battleships, was cut down to three, and sound policy dictates its early revival.

Passing now to another branch of the subject, I think it a matter of regret that some of the most distinguished advocates of the battleship policy have deemed it a part of the argument to

depreciate the value of cruisers and commerce destroyers as an element of sea power. Captain Mahan does this by inference, rather than expressly; but the Secretary of the Navy in his admirable report for 1893 (pp. 37, 38), pointedly questions the military value of unarmored vessels. He says:

"The military value of a commerce-destroying fleet is easily overrated. Cruisers directed against an enemy's wealth afloat are capable of doing great damage; . . . but unsupported by ships of the line their operations are never decisive of a war. During the twenty years from 1792 to 1812 French cruisers and privateers captured many thousands of British vessels and cargoes, but these captures operated more to provoke a spirit of determined hostility among the British people than to create such distress or alarm as would put an end to hostilities. English line-of-battle ships instead of scattering to convoy merchant vessels, hunted and destroyed the French vessels of war at the Nile, at Cape St. Vincent, and Trafalgar. In the mean time, in spite of her losses of merchant ships and their cargoes, England continued to grow rich by her commerce. . . .

"Our own Civil War furnishes a more recent and familiar proof of my statement. The cruises of the Alabama and her sister-ships were uncommonly successful. Semmes rivalled the exploits of Jean Bar and Du Guay-Trouin. His success delighted the Confederates, but it did not benefit their cause. . . . In the mean time in spite of depredations American commerce flourished. Commerce destroying was irritating, but it accomplished nothing. It would have been ineffectual even if the Confederates had possessed ten times as many cruisers, unsupported as they were by line-of-battle-ships."

Secretary Herbert's argument of facts here is ingeniously deployed, but his point of view seems limited to the special conditions which he has in mind. In both cases he cites—England's contest with Napoleon, and our Civil War—the struggle was for life. Napoleon's success as he had planned it would have relegated England to the status of Denmark or Holland; while the consequences that would have attended the success of the Confederacy cannot be measured. In the one case it was England or nothing, in the other case the Union or nothing. In either case the superior naval power could afford to let its commerce go by the board if necessary in order to employ its fleets in strategic operations bearing directly upon the fortunes of the struggle. It is true that French cruisers and privateers captured many English merchant ships and cargoes. But in turn the English cruisers captured so many French ships of their class that by the end of the Napoleonic era a great many, perhaps a majority, of the British frigates in commission were of French build, or new ships rebuilt on captured French models; so there was some

compensation, and as for French commerce the English cruisers simply swept the sea clean of it. Nor am I prepared to agree with Secretary Herbert's light estimate of the effects produced by the "Alabama" and her consorts. It is true that they did not decide the struggle, but they made it infinitely more difficult, costly, and painful. If they did not materially benefit the Confederacy they did help England to an amazing extent. Coming just as they did, at a turning point where new materials of construction and new devices were becoming factors in the contest for commercial supremacy, the Confederate cruisers cleared the seas of our old merchant marine, and, before we could recover from the blow, England had occupied the ground.

In view of this far-reaching result, the operations of the Confederate cruisers cannot be fairly estimated on the basis of their immediate devastations. The Geneva Tribunal awarded $15,500,000 in settlement of the direct damage they did to the United States aided and abetted by England. The question of consequential damage, which far surpassed the other in importance, was ruled out of court. We got the mess of pottage; England got the birthright. That has been the case with every treaty we have negotiated with England except the treaty of Independence.

Viewed in the light of these notorious historical facts, it is clear that no theory can be sound that leaves the Confederate cruisers out of the category of sea power. The fact that their operations inured to the benefit of England rather than of the Confederacy was not accidental. On the contrary it was with deliberate purpose to that end that they were built in English yards, armed with English cannon, coaled with English coal, and manned by English seamen. The Confederate flag that they flew, so far as it pretended to represent the practical object of their existence, was a fraud. Their destruction of our commerce may not have helped the Confederate cause, but it operated beyond measure to promote England's dominion of the sea.

It is worth while to pursue this survey of the value of cruisers as an element of sea power by recalling briefly some incidents of a gratifying period in our own naval history.

In 1812 we had three frigates of forty-four guns, three of thirty-six guns, and two of thirty-two guns, together with nine sloops and brigs ranging from the "Hornet" of eighteen guns

to the "Enterprise" of twelve. There was no ship of the line. Yet this little fleet took the offensive in the face of England's sea power at its zenith, and, aided by a swarm of privateers, not only ravaged her commerce, but shocked the British sense as it had never been shocked before by repeated victories in duels between cruisers of equal rate. Commodore Porter did what all the cruisers of France had not been able to do, when he destroyed the British whale fishery in the Pacific. He lost his ship in battle against a superior force, it is true, but not until no more British whaleships were left for him to destroy. Johnston Blakeley, in the "New Wasp" of eighteen guns, cruised right in the chops of the Channel, often in sight of the English shore, and sunk two British men-of-war of his own class, besides destroying many merchantmen and sending at least one valuable prize home. Warrington in the "Peacock," and Biddle in the "Hornet," eighteen-gun sloops, made similar cruises in the East Indies and off the African coast.

I do not think there can be any question that the operations of our cruisers in that war materially aided to prepare the British public mind for the peace of 1815. Apart, however, from these historical facts there is an element in the peculiar political and geographical situation of the United States which imparts to the terms sea power a meaning different from that contemplated by any other nation. England employs sea power to keep open the roads of her colossal commerce, to maintain touch with her outlying possessions and dependencies and to enforce her status as a first-rate power in the European system, which her army alone could not do. France and Russia desire sea power as a counterbalance to England and in furtherance of ulterior designs which await only opportunity or pretext for development. There are signs which indicate that this pretext or opportunity may not be long deferred.

In no such probable or possible complications can the United States be involved. If she ever fights again it will be to assert the dignity of her flag, to vindicate existing rights against aggression, or to enforce the principles of international law. From this point of view but two nations can be our foes within any reasonable range of probability. These are Spain and England. In a war with Spain our strategy would necessarily be offensive, with territorial operations confined to the West Indies and our

cruising fleet directed against the commerce of the Philippines. In a war with England our battleships would be required for coast defence, and to break blockades, while our cruisers would find employment on every sea within their radius of action. There can never be invasion of the United States on any scale sufficient to make our territory the theatre of considerable military operations. An enterprising enemy possessed of commanding sea power would confine his activity to forays upon unprotected seaboard towns and communities, and to blockades of our more important commercial ports. Hence except for manning shore batteries or in repelling descents upon the coast our army, regular and volunteer, would be without occupation so far as defence is concerned. The bulk of the responsibility, and with it the laurels of success, would fall to the share of the navy.

This fact is well understood by our possible enemies. Hence their attitude toward the United States and their bearing in any controversy with us will be exactly regulated by our capacity for naval defence and reprisal. The meaning of sea power to the United States, therefore, is mainly of deterrent significance. That is to say, the possession of a fairly powerful and quickly mobile naval force by the United States, so constituted that part of it would be instantly available for vigorous defence against the attacks of hostile battleships, and the other part for swift and summary reprisals upon the enemy's commerce, would materially affect the tenor of diplomacy and avert war. On the contrary the absence or insufficiency of such equipment would invite war.

The view which the British Admiralty takes of the value of cruisers and commerce-destroyers as elements of sea power is strikingly embodied in their latest designs of that class, the "Powerful" and "Terrible." These are to be cruising ships pure and simple, lightly armed and wholly unarmored, and yet they are of 14,200 tons displacement, which is a trifle larger than the "Royal Sovereign" type of battleship. They are intended to be "destroyers of commerce-destroyers," and the logic of their existence is simply that of an answer to the "Columbia" and "Minneapolis." They would, of course, prey upon the commerce of an enemy, but that object in their design is rather incidental. Their primary mission will be to protect the British merchant marine by hunting down and destroying hostile cruisers at sea to prey upon commerce. Doubtless two more "Columbias" on our side would

be answered by another pair of "Powerfuls." If asked to offer an opinion as to the "Powerful" class, I should probably say that they seem overgrown. Their designed speed will not enable them to catch the "Minneapolis," while their first cost and cruising expense must be considerably greater.

With all due respect to the judgment of Secretary Herbert, who during his legislative career had more to do with the authorization and financial provision for the new navy than any other one statesman of the period, I emphatically dissent from his views as to the value of unarmored cruisers in the sum-total of sea power; and such dissent, as I have tried to show, has much broader foundation in logic for the United States than for any other nation. When I speak of cruisers in this sense I mean commerce destroyers proper, of the "Columbia" and "Minneapolis" class, and armored vessels of high speed and great endurance, like the "New York" and "Brooklyn," which, though not quite as fast as the "Columbia" and "Minneapolis," have speed and endurance enough to overhaul any commercial ship afloat, except a very few of the latest trans-Atlantic greyhounds. And I would by all means include in a subordinate but still important capacity the "Baltimore" class.

As for vessels ranging from the gunboat classes up, excepting the class of the "Baltimore," possibly we have enough of them. When the "Raleigh" and "Cincinnati" and the new gunboats are finished, and the "Chicago" is provided with modern engines, the navy will have one cruiser of 5,500 tons, six of from 4,000 to 4,500 tons, four of about 3,000 tons, three of 2,000 tons, three gunboats of 1,700 tons, and six of from 870 to 1,200 tons, available for general sea police duty. All the old ships will have disappeared three years from now, so that the main burden of peace cruising or sea police duty will fall upon the 23 vessels I have enumerated. It will probably be the policy of future administrations to keep most of the larger cruisers, both armored and unarmored, in readiness for service, rather than actively employed in ordinary times, and the same will be true of our battleships except as they may be from time to time engaged in squadrons of drill and evolution.

Events of the past three or four years have kept our available force of smaller cruisers and gunboats busy in all parts of the world, and it is a question whether the 23 vessels of the classes

referred to can do the work of the future with sufficient margin for necessary overhaul and repair, because it is well known that ships, like men, run down rapidly with overwork. Be that as it may, I will not contend that the cruisers and gunboats of the smaller classes constitute a very important element of sea power for war purposes or as a deterrent force. But I maintain that the larger protected cruisers of the "Baltimore" class, the commerce destroyers proper, and the armored cruisers do constitute such an element of the first importance, and that sound national policy dictates a considerable increase in their number concurrently with the development of an effective fleet of battleships.

Returning to Captain Mahan, it seems but just to say that the chief value of his books—as, indeed, it was apparently his principal object in writing them—lies in the stimulus they have given to universal public opinion as to the absolute necessity of adequate naval strength to every maritime power which aspires to commercial rank and profit. He has demonstrated with the force of a syllogism that one cannot exist without the other. This is a great public service, and though his theme was of necessity mainly based upon European history, Captain Mahan's deductions and conclusions are none the less valuable as a guide to the naval policy of the United States.

Opinions naturally differ as to what the details of that policy should be so far as the programme of construction is concerned, but men qualified to judge are practically unanimous in the conclusion that we should proceed much further before calling a halt. There is also a consensus of opinion that in the "Indiana" class we have struck the type of battleship, in the "New York" or "Brooklyn" the type of armored cruiser, and in the "Columbia" and "Minneapolis" the type of commerce destroyer respectively best suited to our national needs.

Question as to the advisability of multiplying purely harbor defence ships of the "Monitor" or "Monterey" types, or of building a considerable fleet of torpedo boats and torpedo cruisers, though important, are subordinate to the topic of battleships, armored cruisers, and commerce destroyers. That the number of all three of these latter types should be increased hardly requires argument. For my own part I have not advised and would not advise the adoption of a fixed shipbuilding programme calculated to cover future operations for any considerable period. But I would

and do advise adherence within conservative limits to types which have not only proved satisfactory to our own naval authorities on trial or in service, but which have repeatedly been pronounced by the most competent foreign judges who have personally examined them to be superior to anything of similar class abroad.

We have made great and rapid progress during eight years of naval reconstruction, but we have not yet rebuilt our navy. In fact about all we can reasonably say is that we have conclusively demonstrated our domestic capacity to rebuild it.

This grand and growing development of the shipbuilding art, with the enormous impetus it has given to cognate and contributory industries in every part of the realm of usefulness, is the contribution of the naval architect and the marine engineer to the sea power of the United States.

To the brave men who make up the *personnel* of our navy may safely be left the task of using whenever duty calls the tremendous weapons we have made for them to enforce that sea power.

CHARLES H. CRAMP.

CIVIL WARS IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE ARGENTINE MINISTER AT WASHINGTON, ESTANISLAO S. ZEBALLOS.

THE prominent men of South America are always eager to know more about the United States, to study the development of its civilization, which has unfolded so rapidly and assumed such extraordinary proportions, and they have always been anxious to assist in its constitutional growth. Much of this has been the necessary sequence of their political education, and the interest felt has naturally been greatest in those republics where the federal system of government has been adopted, a method created by American constituencies. The experience gained and questions solved by the United States; the words of wisdom which have fallen from the lips of its great statesmen, such as Hamilton, Madison, and Jay; the profound learning evinced by such jurists as Marshall, Story, and Cooley; the discourses of Clay and Webster, and the messages and speeches of its great Presidents, became the fountains of political knowledge at which the South American nations drank deeply; this knowledge they had to analyze; and its results, for want of traditions of their own, they followed in the building of their own free institutions.

When a South American lands at the port of New York or San Francisco for the first time, he comes with his mind filled with pleasing illusions, like a man who approaches a dear old homestead, around the hearthstone of which his ancestors gathered. He feels that there really exists a strong political and social tie between this great Republic and those of Spanish America, amounting to a sort of political relationship. The Congresses and Pan-American gatherings during the past ten years have also contributed in a great degree to strengthen this sentiment and the natural impressions of such a traveller. From the

very beginning of his residence in this country he in fact tastes the pleasure and enjoys the pleasing impressions which a cordial welcome by the press and a warm social reception unite in producing. It is this feeling, arising from the spontaneous hospitality and frankness shown toward strangers and the social facilities extended to distinguished persons in the United States, which is such a delightful peculiarity of the national character, that carries away the European and enchants the Spanish American.

It may, however, be remarked that these demonstrations grow more out of a desire to get nearer to the Spanish-American peoples and to know them better than out of any just appreciation of their economic, political, or social conditions. It is always a source of great surprise to the traveller in the United States to find that the other nations of the New World are not so well known there as they are in Europe. The press is somewhat better informed than the community at large, but the exigencies of modern journalism are such that whatever it may publish daily is necessarily of the briefest and most cursory nature, being confined to occasional accounts of sensational and extraordinary occurrences. The social and political circles are not so well acquainted with their neighbors. Some of these groups scarcely know the very names of a few of the Spanish-American countries, and their ideas about them are as vague and confused as if they concerned regions hardly yet settled or even explored, hidden in the depths of trackless forests or beyond distant seas.

I have experienced these impressions. Now and then I have met in this country ladies and gentlemen who could discuss the Argentine Republic with the same well-informed exactness with which they spoke of affairs in the States of New York or Illinois; but these are rather cases indicating unusual curiosity on the part of individuals. My country is certainly not one of the least interesting upon the immense Southern Continent, and yet the greater part of my good friends in the United States have honored me with numberless inquiries about its political and physical geography and concerning its habits and customs. Sometimes articles have appeared in reviews and magazines, and even books have been published, with some pretence of furnishing new and correct information, but they have generally been so filled with mistakes and such a jumble of the real facts as to do injustice to these republics in South America. All this shows the meagre results that

have thus far been accomplished in the political, social, or literary circles of this country by the various Pan-American congresses that have been held, the numerous celebrations and reciprocal official courtesies exchanged, as well as by the work of the "Bureau of the American Republics." But such results have been attained in other circles and sometimes of the most satisfactory character. The merchants have eagerly seized the offered advantages, and their commercial intercourse with the countries of the New World has increased from month to month to much mutual profit.

The reasons for this lack of information in these political, social, and literary circles, concerning the sister countries of the three Americas having a Latin origin, appear to me to spring largely from three facts. One of these is the deficient teaching of Spanish-American geography in the schools of this country.

In the Argentine Republic, a child coming from a graded school can give a clear and full idea, not only of the United States as a nation, but also of its various States. There is probably not a similar American school where the like would be found to exist in reference to the Latin Republics. Still the fact that, in comparison with the Northern Colossus of the present epoch, they are but small nations, does not diminish the interest that should be felt in studying them ; and this sentiment should be greater among the people of the United States because they are vitally interested in opening for the products of their industries the rich markets, capable of an enormous consumption, which the commerce of Europe has hitherto monopolized and spent so much to retain.

The second reason that occurs to me is the lack of good, rapid, and cheap means of communication, so that the thousands of American travelers are not attracted southward, but, eager for instruction and diversion, rush to the numerous resorts in the central and western regions of their own country, and swarm across the Atlantic to the Old World in increasing numbers yearly. The very few, however, who have visited these southern lands have come back enchanted with their experiences.

The third reason may be laid at the door of these very Spanish-American countries, for they have scarcely done anything to make themselves better known, and the result is that even to this time it is almost impossible to find in the English language any

sensible general information about them, except possibly some monotonous and humdrum literature, not always complete or likely to induce immigration. No matter therefore how eagerly the information might be sought, there has been very little wherewith to satisfy the craving. My experience in this special matter has been a very trying one and very complete in its way, for the Legation under my charge has been daily besought by intelligent inquiries for interesting information regarding the literature, science, and social economics of the Argentine Republic, as well as the more commonplace data for mere business purposes.

The approach to each other of the different sections of the New World proceeds but slowly. The Spanish-American countries have no marine, nor have they sufficient capital to cultivate more intimate relations with foreign peoples. In the United States the shipping interests have been allowed to decay, while capital and energy have been concentrated upon domestic enterprises and internal improvements, leaving the business enterprises of Europe and its commercial marine to almost entirely control the fertile fields of Spanish-America. This singular insulation has seemed to me worthy of special notice on my part at this time; it is a condition of things that will soon disappear when all the countries of the New World, having easy and frequent communication, will be bound by neighborly ties; because when understood it will dispel the mistaken ideas concerning South American revolutions which are held in the United States, and correct the sentiments of compassion, not unfrequently mingled with contempt, with which the citizens of this republic regard those countries most agitated by domestic disturbances.

The civil wars which have occurred in South America cannot be understood in the United States, nor the causes leading to them be explained, except by an intimate acquaintance with the social structure and conditions of each particular country. Nor is the surprise unnatural which is occasioned here by the prolonged condition of anarchy resulting from some of those internecine struggles, but it is explained by the forgetfulness of the organic conditions under which those republics were formed. These revolutions are not the work of one man, although they always follow a personal leadership. The despots and the revolutionists are equally the product of an organic internal condition.

The States of the American Union were founded by enlightened people, comprising among their number many religious enthusiasts and missionaries, versed in matters of government. They brought with them as the basis of their colonies a moral capacity, habits of esteem and obedience for the regulations laid down for the government of civil society, as well as the traditional regard for justice and respect for law upon which rests the civilization of England. From such seeds there sprang a like country. The United States, comparatively near to Europe, thus received from its most advanced centres the basis of its population, which exterminated the native Indian, or isolated him in the western solitudes, without any admixture of blood except in very rare instances. The Spanish-American countries, on the other hand, were founded by military men of the Middle Ages, who came from southern Europe when the feudal system was imperative, and at a time when ideas were neither clear nor well-settled concerning the civil and political principles which served for the government of all civilized lands. Besides, the soldier element, everywhere and at all times imprudent and venturesome, did not receive the support of European emigration.

The enormous distances and the barbarism of the new regions impeded the natural current of settlers which began to flow from the Old World, reducing the colonizing expeditions mainly to soldiers and camp followers. One of the most numerous of these, which started for the immense region lying below the tenth degree of south latitude on the continent of South America, did not exceed two thousand persons. These troops soon succumbed to the unaccustomed climate, perished with want and by the hands of their savage enemies, so that the early European colonies, the nuclei around which settlements and civilization gathered, were constantly decreasing in numbers.

In order to maintain the conquest and continue the spread of civilization, the Sovereigns of Spain and of Portugal initiated a new and wise policy, which had for its purpose the peaceful subjection of the indigenous element and its mixture with the colonists coming from Europe. Thus there was provided, as a basis upon which the national structures were to be erected, proceeding from these colonies, a new race of creoles in which the native element preponderated by the number of its individuals and families and even in the proportion of blood.

The native traditions of either unconditional submission and obedience to the Chief, or of implacable rebellion against him in case of a revolt, were the only rules of hereditary political science which the new social communities had for their guidance. An infusion of the blood of the warrior element of European feudalism, sometimes rebellious against its king and at others patient unto death, instead of ameliorating, only accentuated the effects of the law of social heredity in Spanish America. These new social organisms had therefore as the basic principle of their political government this fatal formula:—*despotism*, that is to say, absolute submission to the chief in power, or *revolution* by those who resisted the tyranny of the despot either because they were eager to substitute something else for it or because they could no longer endure its burden.

The brutal and ignorant masses were thus divided into two parties. Both depended upon force, by habit and tradition, and the results arrived at were in truth not likely to be solutions based upon right principles, order, or justice. These ignorant and passionate masses needed to be directed, and thus there arose among them certain leaders and commanders. Like the caciques, or chieftains among the Indians, they founded their authority upon force, upon their cunning and the terror which they inspired, or else they secured adherents by their generosity and by the shelter of the weak; thus in various ways satisfying the savage or timid instincts that swayed the passions of the uncivilized hordes of which the body politic was mainly composed. The sociologic evolution, from the tragic rebellions against Pizarro in Peru down to the recent revolution in Brazil, furnishes us with materials to formulate this law —that public order in Latin America is secure in direct ratio to the progress of education among the masses, and the extent of the European immigration, which counterbalances them.

The Brazilian revolution, in fact, began some three years ago by uprisings among the "cowboys" along the Rio Grande. The "cowboys" are a headstrong and a warlike class, whose ideas of right are sometimes confused by their confidence in the arms they always carry and influenced by stout hearts constantly habituated to danger. Their enthusiastic temperaments are naturally susceptible of being inflamed by that one among their leaders who seems most inclined to respect their arrogant and selfish life, and they are disposed to rebel against laws passed at a remote capital,

when such laws molest or interfere with their freedom or caprices. They started a revolt, but in the more advanced portion of Brazil, through the central regions where San Pablo is the metropolis and where the benefits of a university have been felt, as well as along the Southern littoral having Rio de Janeiro as a focal point, and in the North, where Bahia and Pernambuco take the lead, there was no response to the movement. The revolt of the naval squadron, which carried into the ranks of the insurgents some very prominent and respectable officers and followers, was accidental and does not conflict with the principle suggested. A bitter rivalry had broken out between the naval forces and the army, and there was much passionate folly, which the Brazilian capital contemplated coldly and with some contempt, refusing to take the part of the former.

In other South American countries public order is more solidly established, and much more so than is generally believed in the United States. Of this Chile is an example. Its terrible revolution in 1891 was an abnormal and extraordinary uprising, which assumed the form of an organic question, that of a conflict between the Congress and the executive power, complicated by bitter social antagonisms of traditional character. Now all is serene, and if the government of Chile continues to pursue the policy of prudence and toleration, which has permitted many places in the Congress to be filled by those who were defeated in the field of battle, conquerors now through the ballot, the most remote fears of disturbance will disappear and Chile will be able to continue its wise and patriotic evolution, educating its masses, extending its governing class, traditionally limited, with the best elements rising from the ranks of the people, under the redemptive influence of the schools and the universities.

The periods of peace which have been enjoyed by the other South American countries have been each time of longer duration, and these intervals have permitted the growth of a conservative sentiment as well as the culture of the body of the people. If the political situation of all of these nations does not allow the exercise of that freedom which could be wished, it is because the number of competent electors is less than the number of those who are unprepared to exercise the privilege which the law of universal suffrage has bestowed upon them, and who are dragged along by

fear, by gratitude, or by the influence of money, those efficacious means of dealing with the vote and even the life of the Indian and the ignoramus. But the time has come when, even in those countries least regularly governed, those abominable tyrannies no longer exist which have been the shame of the New World.

On the other hand, it is not always that the events which transpire in Spanish America are appreciated at their real value. It constantly happens that mere police affrays or electoral disputes are described abroad as "revolutions." This word has been used and abused until it has become meaningless. In the Argentine Republic, for example, the time for revolutions has gone by. We have too much wheat and corn to plant and harvest, for revolutionists to prosper. Nevertheless, my native land has the reputation in Europe, and even here in this country, of being a republic in revolt and incapable of self-government. The statistics of its moral and material prosperity prove the contrary. From 1869 to 1893 its population had increased from 1,800,000 inhabitants to 5,120,000. The amount of European capital invested in it, principally English, French, German, and Italian, always foresighted and well informed, exceeded eight hundred and thirty-six millions of dollars, in gold. Its common public schools, established and conducted like those of Massachusetts, with many teachers from that State and from Michigan, for thirty years past, have buildings which are actually palaces, and some of them cannot be rivalled by those of any other country in the world. Eighty photographs of these schools full of scholars were exhibited recently in Washington to many distinguished people, and they were greeted with expressions of astonishment and admiration. "They are royal palaces," they said to me; and yet in them we are now educating under compulsory laws more than three hundred thousand children of both sexes, who will form part of the sovereign people of our future.

Our national revenues increased in 1893 to $124,000,000 currency, and all the contracts affecting our foreign debt of $400,000,000 were fully complied with.

Such evidences of progress and such proofs of vitality certainly do not correspond with reports that my country is ungovernable and in a condition of anarchy. We have not yet attained the height of perfection. In a country organized under the federal system there is always more or less disturbance of the moral

equilibrium, for all the States have not reached the same advancement in their political education, or do not possess the same united governing class moved by disinterested and patriotic motives. In some of our States the number of unfit electors still predominates, while in others, more advanced, the irreconcilable ambitions of the ruling and cultured classes keep them so divided that they have lost their power, and are defeated by disciplined minorities though less competent for the exercise of the power of government. These anomalies, complicated by the ardent character of the people, result in electoral campaigns of the most excited character and in party strifes which are described as "revolutions," without reason and to the great damage of the country.

It is true that the Argentine people, originally composed of warlike and heroic herders of cattle, have wasted torrents of blood in revolutions and national wars; but they are now an industrious, active, and hardworking people, providing, after the United States, the favorite field for European investments and emigration. They have a capital of 600,000 cultivated inhabitants; a rich and most advanced system of public instruction; and a policy of conciliation in the conduct of their domestic affairs and of peace by means of arbitration in international matters; they afford conclusive proofs of an assured progress. The transformation has been as complete as it has been rapid.

Such are the fruits of forty years of constant and energetic labor for the instruction of the masses. Popular education has been the safeguard of the Argentine nationality, and it is to-day the immutable basis of its independence. This teaching has permitted the reception of the honest immigrant like a brother and European capital as a benefaction, our people being unmindful of ancient racial hatreds, disregarding religious antagonisms, and without jealousies or native superstitions. Education, European immigration, and the wealth gathered by a combination of capital with the strong arms of a people upon their fertile soil, will save and vindicate the name of South America when all the States that struggle for this end, and endeavor to correct the evils of the past, shall have secured the transformation in their organic structures which is energetically being accomplished by the ArgentineRepublic.

ESTANISLAO S. ZEBALLOS.

HOW TO PURIFY NATIONAL LEGISLATION.

BY SENATOR WILLIAM VINCENT ALLEN, OF NEBRASKA.

Is IT consistent with sound public policy that members of either House of Congress be deemed, during their terms of office, free to deal in stocks and bonds the value of which is liable to be increased as a direct consequence of Congressional legislation? I have never at any time believed that it was consistent either with good policy or good morals. The question, however, had never pressed itself specially upon my attention until the occasion of the debate in the Senate, during the extraordinary session of 1893, on the bill to repeal the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman law. The point was then raised by one of the Senators from Nevada who offered a resolution looking to the appointment of a committee to inquire whether any Senator was an owner of stock in any National bank. The purpose of the resolution manifestly was to discover whether Senators who might vote for the repeal had a direct personal interest in such repeal—an interest greater than that of the general public. This interest, it was assumed, would attach by reason of the fact that should the government cease the issuance of Treasury notes the function of supplying money to the people of the United States would, in an increasing measure, devolve on the national banks, and would be a source of greater profit accruing to them by reason of the passage of the proposed measure to repeal the silver-purchase clause.

Many Senators did not deem the resolution quite germane to the subject under consideration. Whatever opinion may be entertained with reference to that point, there can be no doubt that the general question involved is one that must sooner or later receive the serious attention either of Congress itself or of the people. During the discussion upon that resolution it was broadly asserted in the Senate that a member of either House of Congress

had an unquestionable right—moral as well as legal—to be pecuniarily interested in stocks and bonds whose value might be dependent upon his official action. The scope of the contention may be gathered from a remark made by one of the Senators from New York. "Senators have a right," said he, "if they are fortunate enough to be able to do so, to hold stock in national banks or State banks, or in any other institutions. They have a right to be interested in matters of finance, directly or indirectly; and any vote which they may give indirectly upon this subject, namely, with reference to great public measures, will not be affected by any pecuniary interest they may have."

I confess that this language was a surprise to me. Up to that moment I had not conceived it possible that any one would be bold enough to justify the holding, by members of either House, of stocks and bonds whose value might be increased by their own votes.

In discussing the question in the Senate I took occasion to say:

"I think I am within the bounds of truth when I say there are a great many—hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people in this nation who believe that much of the legislation that comes from Congress is influenced by the personal interests of members of Congress. If they are mistaken in their belief, then it is due to the members of this body and the other House that they [the people] be fully informed and enlightened upon the subject, for a widespread suspicion is sometimes almost as detrimental in its effect upon the public as a revelation of the truth."

With a view to bringing the matter formally to the attention of the Senate at some time when it could be discussed on its merits, unaffected by particular measures, I introduced, on June 6th last, a bill of which the following is a copy:

A BILL

TO PRESERVE THE PURITY OF NATIONAL LEGISLATION, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful for any Senator or Representative of the United States, during his term of office, to own or be concerned directly or indirectly in owning, buying, or selling, or in any manner dealing in speculative stocks, the value of which may, in any manner, depend upon a vote of Congress; nor shall any such Senator or Representative, during the term of his said office, be a member of, or in any manner pecuniarily interested in, any board of trade, stock exchange, national bank, or other organization in which speculative stocks are bought or sold.

SEC. 2. That any such United States Senator or Representative who shall be found guilty of violating any of the provisions of this Act shall forfeit his office, and, upon proper resolution, shall be expelled from the branch of Congress to which he belongs, and, in addition thereto, he shall be subject to indictment, prosecution, and conviction for such offence in any United States circuit court within the district in which such offence is or may be committed.

SEC. 3. That hereafter, before any such Senator or Representative in Congress is admitted to his seat therein, he shall be required, in addition to the oath now required of him by law, to take and subscribe the following oath:

"And I furthermore solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will not, during my term of office, buy or sell or be in any manner concerned in buying, selling, or owning any speculative stocks, or become a member of any board of trade, stock exchange, national bank, or other organization in which speculative stocks are bought or sold."

When the bill is reached in its order for debate I shall move to amend it by prescribing a penalty, in addition to expulsion, for a violation of its provisions.

Is there a necessity for the enactmont and enforcement of a law of this character? Within the limits of the present article it would be practicable barely to indicate very few of the reasons which I conceive to be controlling on this question.

The law has condensed the wisdom of the ages into the maxim "No man can be a judge in his own case." All human experience has demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that it would be putting human nature to a test altogether too severe to expect a wholly impartial exposition of law from a judge who was himself pecuniarily interested in the result of a suit tried before him. Hence in this country it has become an undeviating rule for judges not to sit in cases in which they are personally concerned. Should they do so, the rule is equally well settled that their judgments would be absolutely void and of no effect. The moment it should appear of record that the judge was pecuniarily interested in the result of a litigation tried before him, he would become *ipso facto* deprived of jurisdiction. This is upon the broad ground of public policy—upon the ground that to permit judges to act in such cases would be to encourage corrupt practices on the part of the judiciary, and would lead to gross injustice.

It is well known that the judiciary of this country is of the very highest character for probity and integrity. Yet the law, with a merciful regard for human feelings, declines to permit any judge to sit in his own case. Why should not this beneficent rule be applied to the legislative as well as the judicial branch of

the Government? If, in the case of an *interpreter* of laws—and such, in the last analysis, a judge must be said to be—it is too much to expect that he will observe the strictest impartiality in a case in which he is himself pecuniarily interested, what divinity should hedge a *maker* of laws to shield him from the operation of the same principle? What disparagement of his character can be involved in a law which would have the effect of removing from him even the suspicion of wrongdoing?

Congress possesses exclusive legislative jurisdiction over all matters national in character. Whether for good or ill its laws operate with full and direct force upon all citizens within the confines of the Republic. Why should not its members, charged with such grave responsibilities, and executing for the entire nation so delicate and far-reaching a trust, be compelled to observe the same degree of propriety that the laws require to be observed by members of the judicial branch of the Government? Why should they not be required to refrain from practices that would constitute a serious offence in a judge of the most obscure local court? If it would be too much to expect that one class of public officials, and those acknowledged to be of the highest integrity and probity, can act impartially in a case in which their private pecuniary interests conflict with an impartial performance of their public duties, what good reason can be urged for exempting from the operation of the same wholesome principle another class of public servants of necessarily no higher—inasmuch as there can be no higher—degree of integrity and probity?

Doubtless some critics will say that my reasoning would lead to the exclusion of Senators and Representatives from engaging in any honorable private occupation during their terms of office, or investing in any property which, as an incident of the general prosperity induced by beneficial legislation, might be increased in value. But my language will not bear this interpretation. I seek by the proposed bill merely to restrain Senators and Representatives during their terms of office from owning, or being concerned, directly or indirectly, in owning, buying, selling, or dealing in speculative stocks, "*the value of which may in any manner depend upon a vote of Congress.*" I am sure the country demands this of them, just as a private employer would demand of one whose services he had engaged that he should refrain during his term of service from entering into any business that might con-

flict with the interests of the employer intrusted to the care of the person employed. The line of demarcation is clear. In order that the prohibition may take effect, the stocks and bonds must be of a character to be directly affected by a vote of the Senator or Representative. No man of ordinary observation or experience of life could have the slightest difficulty in distinguishing such stocks and bonds from those in which investment would not be prohibited. The distinction is plain, and capable of ready enforcement. In my judgment every man who enters the public service agrees, at least impliedly, that he will not engage during his term of office in any private service, or be concerned in any private business, that might conflict with his public duty.

The topic would admit of wide expansion, but I will not pursue it. I will simply say that in my judgment the perpetuity of the Republic depends in a very large measure upon a higher patriotism, a more exalted conception of public duty, and a more rigid fidelity to the common welfare than is consistent with the theory that members of the national Legislature may be engaged in speculating in stocks and bonds whose value may be affected by their own votes.

The statement has been made, and dwelt upon with emphasis, that there is no statute making such speculation a crime or prescribing a punishment for it. That must be conceded. It is for this reason that I have proposed the bill to which I have referred. I think a grievous necessity exists for the enactment of a statute that will effectually put a stop to the pernicious practice. Should that bill, or one containing similar provisions, become a law, the offending member should not only be expelled in dishonor, but should be subject, in due form, to indictment, prosecution, and conviction, as he would be for the commission of any other crime, or as would be the case with any ordinary criminal. The higher and more delicate the duty imposed upon men, the more rigidly should they be required to refrain from doing aught that would bring into question the purity of their purposes.

Hence, to the oath which, by the Constitution, is required to be taken by a member of the national Legislature before being permitted to occupy his seat, I would add a provision by which he would swear that, during his term of office, he would not be concerned in buying, selling, or dealing in speculative stocks, or become a member of any board of trade, stock exchange, National

bank, or other organization "*in which speculative stocks are bought or sold.*" These safeguards, rigidly enforced, and supplemented by an enlightened critical public sentiment, would accomplish a purpose which every patriot must desire to see accomplished. It would place the country upon a sounder basis of public and private morality. Some degree of political corruption will always be suspected so long as public sentiment tolerates a dabbling by members of Congress in speculative stocks. There will always be more or less newspaper criticism of the motives of legislators, and constant suggestions of the wisdom of inquisitorial investigation into the private affairs of Senators and Representatives.

I admit that an ideally perfect republic is out of the question. "Times change, and men change with them." The perfect work of to-day may, a few years hence, be demonstrated to be anything but perfect. But this is no reason why the people should not require of their public servants the same degree of fidelity to duty that private employers would require of those whom they take into their service.

Recent investigations into the method of transacting the public business have convinced me—I say it with all due respect—that a higher ideal of public service than that which at present prevails is of the utmost importance to the country. While legislation must always be in some degree imperfect, as men are imperfect, yet it should be framed by men of high ideals, inspired by such patriotism and love of country as will always subordinate the mere personal interests of the legislator to the vastly greater interests of his country.

W. V. ALLEN.

MY CONTEMPORARIES.

SOUVENIRS OF SOME CELEBRATED PEOPLE OF THE TIMES.

BY JULES CLARETIE.

I THINK there is nothing sweeter in the world, after the joy of living with those whom one loves, than the remembrance of those whom one has loved. Age which brings many disillusions also has its consolations. It allows one to claim from the past whatever, either affecting or remarkable, it may contain.

In looking backward at those one has known in former times one lives one's life over again, but without the trouble of it, finding even in the disappointments of the past a certain melancholy not entirely without charm, just as after one has recovered from sickness one finds in convalescence something indescribably delightful. I do not in any sense mean to say by this that life is a morbid thing, for which the remedy would be repose. No, nothing so avails as the human struggle to strengthen the moral and mental forces; but after the contest, what is more charming than to recall it?

It has been my lot to know celebrated people—nearly all those who have made our times illustrious. I have either seen them in their glorious and sometimes sovereign old age, like Victor Hugo, or at their *débuts*, obscure and poor, but dreaming of glory and fortune, like Émile Zola. I have associated with Michelet, whose ardent words made me enthusiastic at twenty. I have, though very young then, been treated as a friend by Sainte-Beuve. I still hear the voice of Alexandre Dumas the elder, recounting to me in his boasting tones his remembrances of Naples and of his collaboration with Garibaldi. Émile Augier, to whom Paris will soon erect a statue, formed one

of the affections of my young life. I recollect Alphonse Daudet at twenty years of age, handsome as a Hindoo god, but sick, so that, as he was starting for Algeria, we said, "The poor fellow, we shall see him no more!" He was then known only as the author of the delicious poem of the *Double Conversion*, and of the romance of the *Chaperon Rouge*. Since then he has become one of the masters of contemporary fiction and of the French language, and, thank God, we have seen him again, and we see him every day.

Our sons are now making their appearance, and Léon Daudet continues his father's glorious name. Recently in visiting the salon of the *Société Nationale des Beaux Arts* in the Champ de Mars, I stopped before two pictures numbered 577 and 578; one represented "*Old Vessels*," the other the armed vessel "*Devastation*." The two marine pictures are signed "G. Hugo," and "G. Hugo" is Georges Hugo, the grandson of the great poet. He had learned to work in crayon before he became a sailor. He was at sea for some years and while on board continued to paint in addition to his other labors. He is now an artist and exhibitor. Well I see it all again—he quite small and I drawing figures, soldiers, and zouaves for him during the siege of Paris, while his father, Charles, and his white-bearded grandfather, Victor Hugo, watched my pen forming figures on the paper. How time passes! Victor Hugo is dead, dead also and (before him) is my friend his son Charles. And the small child of whom the poet then sang in "*L'Art d'être Grand-père*" now handles the brush.

"Go on! Another zouave!" he would say long ago when I stopped. And Victor Hugo smiling would remark: "Obey, I admit but one tyranny; indeed I am not satisfied with admitting it, I proclaim it. It is the tyranny of children."

At that time I had a project for publishing a book—a sort of protest of liberal youth against the Empire—under the title, *Mémoire d'un Homme de Trente Ans*. I wished to bring forth in it all the grievances which with our republican aspirations we had against the Imperial *régime*. I waited till I was exactly thirty years of age to commence that book. When the time came, we had something else to think of than writing! Did we even know if we would ever write again? It was in December, 1870, and the enemy was at our gates. I put off the *Mémoire d'un Homme*

de Trente Ans to the last moment, and then put on a soldier's cloak. To-day as I think of that projected book which will never be published, I give it a different title and form in my mind. Man spends his life in building castles in the future. As I waited in those days to be thirty before writing the first line of the *Mémoire d'un Homme de Trente Ans* (which was never penned) I am waiting to-day for the end of the present century to publish, at the earliest dawn of the twentieth century, a volume of my recollections and impressions, which I shall call *Souvenirs du Siècle dernier*. But, of course, to realize this new dream God must, as we say, lend me life. To all his plans Victor Hugo always added "*Deo volente.*" It is perhaps well, therefore, to make haste and not to defer the accomplishment of any work whatever to a date fixed by ourselves, which fate may not always permit us to reach. Do we know, indeed, whether or not we shall finish the page that we have begun?

The Memoir that I wish to preserve of celebrated men I have known—writers, politicians, painters, comedians, soldiers—will help me to compose my *Souvenirs du Siècle dernier*, when the nineteenth century shall have given place to the twentieth. Perhaps at that time the fame of many who are eminent as I write may have suffered damage. Every new generation is severe enough upon those who have preceded it, and our young people, who found a new literary or artistic school every fifteen days, willingly class their elders among the "*Invalides.*"

It seems to me that we were less anxious to scalp those who went before us. Admiration for the masters was one of the virtues of our youth. I recall that one night at the first representation of *Le Lac de Glenaston*, a weak French adaptation of one of Dion Boucicault's plays, at the Ambigu, I saw, from the top of the second gallery where I had had difficulty in securing a place, two young men enter. They took seats in the orchestra, the one smiling, lively, restless, fair, and noisy—the other already stout, quiet, and almost shy. They were Edmond About, then in full vogue, and Francisque Sarcey, who was serving, but already with brilliant success, his first campaign as dramatic critic in the *Opinion Nationale*. The sight of those two young masters in journalism put me in such a state that I listened no longer to the play. I believe that I did not miss much. I watched Edmond About; I watched Sarcey.

They were saluted by all. The actresses smiled on them. "Ah!" I thought to myself, "Shall I ever be able to follow their footsteps?"

To-day I am persuaded that not only if poor About, who is dead, but my friend Sarcey, who is strong and in good condition, entered a theatre the young people would not say to themselves, "Would that I might some day be like him!" but rather, "I wish I could wring his neck this very day!" It is progress; Sarcey knows it well, and laughs at it often.

We edited at that time a small literary paper which appeared every week, and which was called *Diogène*. This journal, satirical like all young publications, carried in front a picture of Diogenes, with a lantern in his hand, looking for a man among the great men of Paris. The great men at that time were after Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas or rather the two Dumas, Théophile Gautier, Jules Janin, Sainte-Beuve, Jules Sandeau, Arsène Houssaye, and many others; and among dramatic artists Frédéric Lemaitre, Mélingue, Samson, Regnier, Provost, Mme. Plessy, Augustine Brohan (or rather the Brohans, Augustine and Madeleine). Rachel was dead. I had seen the funeral leave the house in which she lived in the Place Royale not far from the residence of Victor Hugo, on a January morning, and I recollect the enormous head of Alexandre Dumas (*père*), like the forehead of a good giant, towering above the crowd that had gathered to take a last farewell of the *tragédienne*.

The day after the funeral, Granier de Cassagnac wrote in his journal, *Le Réveil*, "Tragedy is forever shrouded in the tragédienne's coffin." Granier de Cassagnac did not foresee Sarah Bernhardt.

We sought therefore with Diogenes' lantern for great men, and when we found them we gave them the respectful salutation of our twenty years. But we looked above all for *young* men, and I remember having seen one night at M. Paul Meurice's, in the Avenue Frochot, a thin young man, with very fair, nearly golden, hair, and with peculiar dreamy and fixed eyes, who had just published a first volume of verses. There was a little piece of his being performed at the Théâtre de l'Odéon.

"And the title of your piece is?" we asked the young poet.

"Its name is *Le Passant*."

It was Francois Coppée.

I had been struck by the resemblance of the author, soon to be celebrated, to Victorien Sardou. And I had also seen Sardou, some years before in the humble compiling office of the *Diogène* in the Passage Sauliner, to which he had come to thank us for an article that had treated of one of his first pieces, his first success, *Les Pattes de Mouche.* My first article for *Diogène* had appeared in the same number with a wretched portrait representing Victorien Sardou coming out of an egg—a thin, emaciated Sardou, the profile sharp, his long hair falling in stiff rings close to his hollow cheeks, a Sardou who resembled Bonaparte in Italy much more than Francois Coppée did Victorien Sardou.

I did not know the author of the *Pattes de Mouche* other than from this distorted picture, until one morning I saw a thin young man squeezed into a black surtout, his high well-modelled forehead surmounted by thick black hair, enter the office of our little paper. Bright eyes lit up his face, which was of an extraordinary fineness, but what struck me most about his expression was the smile, slightly ironical, though amiable, which gave his profile the aspect of that of Erasure. At that time (I speak of thirty years ago) M. Sardou had above all the Cæsarean visage of the young Conqueror of Toulon, and he had also taken Toulon, I mean to say that he had gained there his first victory and the most difficult one,—that which opens the gates of the future and decides a whole existence. He was thirty-two years old and, at once, in one night, he had thrown from him, like a too heavy cloak, all the years of that noble misery which he had conquered. I do not know of any young man engaged in the struggle for life in Paris whose career was more dignified and courageous than his had been. It ought to serve as an example to all artists who dream of fame, and who despair because she does not come to them at their first call. Before his reputation was established, or more correctly before achieving his first success, Victorien Sardou had worked strenuously, manfully, to gain before the millions of the future a commanding place. Quite young, having already written a tragedy which he destined for Rachel, *La Reine Ulfra,* and one *Bernard Palissy,* Victorien Sardou thought he had won his place when he produced a comedy in verse at the Odéon entitled *La Taverne des Étudiants,* which was outrageously hissed. It represented some German students who were drinking beer, after the fashion of German stu-

dents, and the students of Paris thought that in presenting these drinking-scenes the author of the new play insulted the college youths. And how they protested! I do not know whether the piece was finished, but at all events it was brought to an end in the midst of an indescribable tumult. The poor *Taverne des Étudiants* had also very bad luck. In the middle of an important love scene, on which Victorien Sardou had counted much, the gas suddenly went out, and for fully a quarter of an hour the whole theatre was plunged, like Orestes, in profound darkness. The audience availed themselves of this opportunity to make a deafening uproar, while the unfortunate author, broken-hearted at the shipwreck of his hopes, helped behind the scenes.

But Sardou was not one of those who allow themselves to be beaten. "I have never been unsuccessful," he said to me one day, "that the failure has not rebounded and conducted me to greater success." He was cast down by that tempestuous *début*. He said he would lift himself up again. But he had to live and, as Émile de Girardin has said, the great thing in this world is to *endure*. In order to endure, that is to say exist, Victorien Sardou worked at all the honest trades that a poor scholar could find. He wrote historical studies at one sou a line for Firmin Didot's *Biographie Universelle*, every line of which cost him two or three hours of research and labor. He showed me an essay on Erasure written at that period, a marvel of rare learning. The *Biographie* of Didot contained a life of Jerôme Cardan, by him, which showed an amount of erudition which was extraordinary. It was also saturated with the spirit of the sixteenth century, which Meyerbeer's *Huguenots* and Michelet's writings have brought so conspicuously forward, and of which he later on made such a thrilling episode in his fine drama of *Patrie*. In order that he might not fall the next time he should try his work at the theatre, he divided his time between two occupations—his biographical work and his *métier* of dramatic author—and the means which he employed to learn were both simple and very heroic. When he went to the theatre he listened with passionate attention, noted the good points and the faults, and returning to his home he would reconstruct and rewrite his play entirely, labor which others would have found unnecessary, but which enabled him to acquire the touch of a master. He has besides, much later in life, utilized in his work these fragments and exercises of his youth.

All this work, however, served merely to provide a bare living for him, but did nothing in the way of assuring comfort. Being married he wished to give a little luxury to his wife. Then he loved his books. He often found himself in intimate conversation with a young man, a poet, named Edmond Roche, who also dreamed of glory and who, while waiting, filled a very modest position at the Paris Custom House. Roche and Sardou exchanged their dreams and the accounts of their experiences. "Bah!" said Roche, "You will achieve your aim, you are tempered for the struggle, but I will never have the time." Nevertheless glory smiled first on Edmond Roche. Through the glass doors he saw one day coming into the little office which he occupied in the Custom House a man then very little known in Paris, who had come from Germany to seek applause from the Parisians. "Monsieur," said he to Roche, "they tell me that you speak German well and also that you know my works; I need a translator to present them to the French public. Will you collaborate with me in this translation? I am Richard Wagner." It seemed to Roche as if it was the Messiah in person who entered the Custom House. He translated *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, and the *Flying Dutchman*, and Sardou assisted in perfecting the work. After all, Roche had guessed correctly—he had not time to wait. Consumption carried him off, and Sardou wrote a preface to his posthumous poems.

Victorien Sardou himself was losing patience, and at the time that M. Montiguy, the director of the Gymnase, accepted his *Pattes de Mouche*, the future author of such famous works was pondering as to whether he should leave France for the New World. He had even made inquiries as to the next boat leaving for America, as he wished to seek his fortune in New York, when M. Montiguy wrote to him, "Come; your play is accepted."

"Also," Sardou told me, "I am a little superstitious and I have always had confidence in my star. For instance, one day when I was profoundly melancholy I stopped by a post at the side of a door, which I can still see, to allow a large wagon filled with enormous building stones to pass down a street to my right. Suddenly, without any reason, I left the place where I was and moved a short distance away. Scarcely had I quitted the post where I had been a few seconds previously when one of the large stones slipped from the wagon and crushed—yes, literally crushed

—a poor devil of a water-carrier who had stepped into the place which I had just quitted, and which I always look at in passing along that street; and I said to myself as I watched them carry the corpse to a drug store: 'It is you who ought to have died if fate had so willed. Fate protects you. It's a good sign —Forward; and courage!'"

This incident which I have told, among the many that I know of Sardou, has always struck me most forcibly. When he came to see us at the office of *Diogène* he had already emerged triumphantly from that period of dark sorrow. He had encountered on his way a good fairy in the person of the *comédienne* Virginie Déjazet, who played *Les Premières Armes de Figaro* for him, a smart and juvenile piece which revived the spirit of Beaumarchais. He was soon going to bring out *Nos Intimes*, a brilliant success at the Vaudeville Theatre then situated in the Place de la Bourse, (where afterwards I saw Charles Dickens on the night of the first representation of *L'Abûne*) and Victorien Sardou glowed under the first kisses of glory.

He fascinated me from our first interview, and he asked me to visit him in the Place de la Bourse. He gave me tickets for his next play, *Nos Intimes*; and as he had guessed me to be a bibliophile, he showed me his old books, of which some were precious, and which he had picked up at the stands on the quays for two and five sous.

I remember that first visit. Victorien Sardou lived in the corner of the Place and the Rue Notre Dame des Victoires, in a small apartment under the slated roof. In fact, it resembled a little the garret of Bonaparte, lieutenant of artillery, on the quays. Sardou worked there at a table or on a shelf; everywhere one saw books, books stitched, books in old bindings, manuscripts and heaps of papers. When he was writing, his head was always covered with a velvet cap, and on that day he was dressed in a red flannel coat like the shirts worn by the followers of Garibaldi. It was from that visit that our thirty years' friendship dated, a sentiment whose strength and depth I have experienced more especially in certain hours of trial.

Who would have said that I should one day take part, in the first theatre in France, in one of this young debutant's plays? Nothing could have led me to think that I would be the Director of the *Comédie Francaise* and I little dreamed of it. I

have seen Sardou at home in the Château de Marly, which he had filled with princely rarities; I have seen him chatting in the woods, walking briskly; and we have searched for the traces of the fugitive André Chenier in the environs of his dwelling. I have seen him happy amidst his own, between his charming wife and his children, who are his life. I have seen him on the stage directing the rehearsal of his work, instilling the sacred fire into the actors, the musicians, the supernumeraries—every one. For me he has remained the ideal of life, a man better equipped for the literary battle than any I have encountered: enthusiastic above all, interested in everything, attracted by every work of art, by every question, and by every problem; knowing everything, reading everything, understanding everything. He pours forth in a discussion on literature or in the defence of the interests of the Society of Dramatic Authors, or in the directions given to the scene painter or to the architect, a wealth of entrancing eloquence. He would have made a wonderful journalist, a unique debater. And how scrupulous he is! After the suspension of his drama, *Thermidor*, he resolved to transpose the play into a novel. He was to have called the book *La Terreur*, but will this work ever see the light of day? Sardou has it in the shape of memorandums and notes, and these already make a formidable mass.

"When will you compile the book, dear friend?"

"When I have all my notes: but it will be a world of trouble to revise all that dramatic epoch."

One day Sardou would go to visit the dormitories of the *Lycée Louis le Grand* to refind there the traces of the dungeons of the terror; the next he would have the doors of what remained of Robespierre's house in the Rue St. Honore opened, and he would say to me, "You know the house is not demolished, as they say, and I found it, even to the room where Maximilian slept; I will show it to you. I've worked that all out from the plans—when shall we go and see it?"

He is now busied with the restitution of Athens, the Athens of the Renaissance, for a drama which he intends for Sarah Bernhardt. He knows the smallest turns, the stones of Acropolis, as well as he was acquainted with the subterranean passages of Byzantium, at the time when he wrote *Theodora*. When we were putting *Thermidor* on the stage it was a pleasure to see him carrying the properties one by one, like an ant in an ant-hill, now

with a plate bearing a revolutionary inscription, and again with a tri-colored flag which had figured of old in the tumultuous ranks of the sections. And placards of the period, and its newspapers, and busts of Lepelletier, Saint-Fargean, or of Marat. One day he was quite pleased when I said to him: "Do you know whom I will give you to play a small role? A relation of Danton's!"

"What! A relation of Danton's?"

"Yes, my dear friend, a little niece of the Ministre de la Justice; on the 10th of August Mademoiselle Danton will come. She is a model to the painter Cain when she is not dressmaking. It will be curious enough that a relation of Danton's should figure in a drama in which you represent Robespierre's fall."

"Yes, it would be curious. Where is she, this niece of Danton's?"

The next day I had the young girl brought to the theatre, and her face, though very agreeable, had something of the tragic cast of the tribune about it.

"Yes, yes," said Sardou, "she resembles him."

But it was much more striking when I put a powdered wig, such as Danton wore, on that young head. Then, as though called by a sort of sudden summons, we thought we saw the man of the revolution, he who bears in the sight of history the burden of a dismal period, but of whom Roger Collard said that he was magnanimous. The vision was complete and that child represented to us Danton in his youth: Danton at twenty years of age, Danton before the eruption of '89 and the thunder of '92.

It was this Mlle. Danton who figured at the breakfast where Labussière told Marshal and Mlle. Leconteux how he took away the file of papers from the Comité de Salut Public. Mlle. Danton found it quite natural to play for the first time on the stage of the Comédie Française, between M. Coquelin and Mlle. Bartet. She did not play there long. *Thermidor* was suppressed on the second representation, and Mlle. Danton retired into the shade. I do not know what became of her.

Victorien Sardou amused himself with those details which pleased his artistic nature. That practical spirit that left nothing to chance as he surveyed a rehearsal was at the same time a sensitive soul whose feelings were easily touched. I remember seeing him suddenly burst into tears when I told him that Émile Augier was prostrated by a mortal illness. "Oh, poor

Augier!" The day of the death of Victor Hugo I went, as I did daily, to the little house where the poet lay in agony. As I was about to enter I met Victorien Sardou, his eyes red. "It is all over," he said to me, and he wept again for the great man who had been the admiration of his youth. But even in that emotion the dramatic author did not lose his accuracy.

"You saw him die?" I asked him.

"No, but this is how I knew it was over. I was awaiting in the little room below that in which Victor Hugo was lying. I heard nothing above me, no movement, no sound. I said to myself: This silence is that of supreme expectation! All at once above me I heard precipitous and rapid steps, the noise of chairs pushed about, giving one to imagine the excitement near the deathbed, the abrupt movements of grief. One cannot mistake such sounds, and I said to myself, 'Victor Hugo is dead!'"

This was really the dramatic author imagining, divining, seeing the scene and picturing it by a sort of special magnetism. Any man who has not the sense of movement and of life might be a superior poet or a profound philosopher; he could never express the truth on the theatre.

As Sardou was paying to M. Thiers, then President of the Republic, the customary visit of a candidate for the Academy, he astonished the historian of the Consulate and of Europe by speaking to him of the transformation of the modern theatre through the spirit which the new writers have infused into it by the correctness and wealth of details.

"I have stopped at the comedies of M. Scribe," said M. Thiers.

"Monsieur le Président, have you stopped at the furniture of the time of Louis Philippe?" replied Sardou.

"No," and he looked around him.

"Have you stopped at the classic grouping of furniture round the chimney-piece, as in the time of Madame Récamier? No! There are arm-chairs in the middle of your room, some near the fire-place, some little stools, a sort of very pretty ordered disorder, which permits of conversation springing up in all the corners, giving an animation to the room which it had not when the older arrangement of furniture gave it a classic aspect. And what variety in the draperies! That Japanese silk beside the Louis XV. table, that Chinese screen before the white Marie Antoinette chair, copied from the model of Trianon! Diversity

is the aim of the modern furnisher. One does not want rigidity any more, but contrast; and our furniture, like our actions, is always significant. In that respect our comedians of to-day differ from those of the time of M. Scribe. M. Scribe put a sofa at each end of the stage and invariably a table in the centre. We put stands in all the corners, small furniture everywhere, and the table where it suits us."

M. Thiers was singularly interested with this little lecture given with all kinds of picturesque gestures.

He smiled and said to Victorien Sardou: "I understand now, my dear *confrère*, why Molière was so good an author. He had been an upholsterer."

Those words "My dear *confrère*" were in effect a promise that the statesman's vote would be given to Sardou. M. Thiers, in fact, voted for him.

In this attractive question of stage furniture it is strange enough that another theatrical manager, Alexandre Dumas (*fils*), belonged to a school totally opposed to that of Sardou. Alexandre Dumas, (*fils*) cares but little for details. In the laying out of the action of his pieces he only gives summary indications. First Act: *A Salon*; Third Act: *Same as first act.* Such were the instructions for most of his comedies. The stage-manager arranged the stage as picturesquely as he could from these vague directions.

Not that Alexandre Dumas does not indicate to his artists with perfect art the intonations which he desires, the exact expression that he wants. He knows very well what he wishes and he has it executed as he intends it should be. Nearly all dramatists, besides, *indicate* well, as they say in a theatre. Octave Feuillet read his works admirably. Edouard Pailleron is a reader, and I would say a very superior actor. He speaks with the utmost precision; he shows the exact gesture that must be made. I am absolutely of the opinion of Mr. Got, the oldest member of the staff of the *Comèdie*, who voluntarily said that "An author who reads his work indifferently makes it better understood than an actor who reads it very well. He has a more correct idea of it and its movements." The comedian acts better but does not read so well.

But if, like Sardou, like Feuillet, Alexandre Dumas reads extremely well and indicates to the performers the very intonations

they must employ, he troubles himself less than Sardou about the setting, the frame of his work. When he was producing his works at the Théâtre du Gymnase, *Le Demi-Monde, Diane de Lys, La Femme de Claude,* he brought the manuscript of his work to the director, Mr. Montiguy, and allowed the play to be rehearsed without the slightest assistance from him. It was not till the end that he came, took a seat in front of the stage, and criticised the performance from the point of view of the audience.

Montiguy was an incomparable director, it is true, after having been (strange to say) an inferior dramatic author and a mediocre comedian. These singularities are not rare in artistic life. One might say that Montiguy, the author of that melodrama *La Découverte du Quinquina,* which vastly amused Jules Janin, revolutionized and modernized theatrical scenery. It was he (the circumstance seems to have no importance, but the reform dates from it)—it was he who first got actors to lay down their hats while playing. This appears insignificant, but it is characteristic. They had always before held their hats in their hands on the stage like the marquises of Molière or Regnard, who always put their plumed caps under their arms. Montiguy came and said, "Put down your hat," and it made a regular revolution. It was the entrance of life and of truth into the realm of convention. And my friend Francisque Sarcey said: "Yes, the theatre is a convention, but a convention to which the greatest possible appearance of truth must be given to make the illusion successful."

Alexandre Dumas thinks a little more than he used to do of the staging of his plays, but, like the classics, the complications or the luxury of splendid scenery are indifferent to him. "My pieces," the author of *Demi-Monde* once said to me, "do not need to be well furnished."

He troubles himself more about what those personages say and think than about what they do. In listening to Alexandre Dumas' characters I cannot help thinking that I hear Dumas speaking himself. He loves glory, but he would have, above all, in the theatre, action, the influence which the theatre gives. It would never be he who would proclaim the theory of "Art for Art's sake." Dumas (*père*) could have taken *Scribitur ad narrandum* for his motto. Dumas (*fils*) would only say *Ad probandum.* I recollect the way in which he explained this

desire to me—the desire for battle, for the sake of battle, and not for victory and its triumphs.

Do you know what would be my dream? It would be to give, without signing it and in mid-summer, when Paris is empty, and is sojourning at the sea-shore or watering places, a piece which I should have written without even thinking of the public in the fullness of my idea—let it be paradoxical or irritating. The critic would not be influenced by the author's name, the reporters would give no account in advance of the coming work. It would be as when a case is tried with closed doors and M. *X.* or M. *Y.* would freely disclose his opinion. The question of receipts would not exist. The first night would not attract those eternal loungers who go to the theatre as they do to the races, and who finish by making a sport of art. If the piece were good, it would succeed all the same before this very limited public, and in any case I should have had the joy of setting forth truths in their entirety, without being obliged to mutilate them so that they might be acceptable to the crowd. An artist's dream, easy to realize in imagination, difficult in reality! They would soon guess the name of M. *X.* or of M. *Y.* The style of Dumas *fils* is not of a sort to remain long unrecognized. When he gave, in collaboration with Armand Durantin, or rather under the pseudonym of Armand Durantin, that lively and entrancing drama, *Héloïse Paranquet*, produced at first without the name of any author appearing on the bill, Francisque Sarcey cried out on the first night, "The author of that piece is Dumas *fils* or the devil!"

And Dumas experienced a special sensation of pleasure at seeing his work, under another's name, make its way in the world. He has lately told this story in the preface to a new volume which he calls *Le Théâtre des Autres*. The habit which he has of putting a preface at the head of his works in re-editing them, has become a necessity for him. For that is a trait which he has in common with his father. He writes much and he writes quickly. If one was to publish his voluminous and interesting correspondence, one would arrive at a total of volumes which would eclipse that of the works of the author of *Trois Mousquetaires*, only Dumas (*fils*) has remarked that the public regard fertility, that virtue of strong pens, as a fault. Rapid in the execution of his works, by a rare and inherited gift, he is condemned to act

contrary to his own nature. And to write as much as pleases him without publishing more than is wanted of him, he writes prefaces which are models of discussion, and literary recollections and letters, the compilation of which will, by and by, form a collection of rare value.

When I think that they once took him for an author who wrote with difficulty, incapable of remodeling a scene once he had finished it. I have seen him in my office remake in half an hour the *denouement* of his comedy *Francillon*, after a rehearsal which he thought doubtful. "But it is excellent," I said to him; "there is nothing to change." "No, no, I know my trade," he answered; "that might be better;" and in a few moments it was better. He wrote *Danicheff* in a few days, *Héloïse Paranquet* nearly in a few hours. "Yes, in the carriage, with a pencil, my dear friend; my fingers were tired with it; those were feats of strength that I would not do again to-day."

He would do it again if it were necessary. I was looking at him the other day. He is robust, his head held high and firmly planted on an athletic body. I even think he is perfecting a play at Marly, near his neighbor, Sardou, which the public will be admitted to pass upon, but not that rare and anonymous summer public, of which he dreams for an ideal work, but the great public, *Le Herr Omnes*, which has always hailed him with applause since the *Dame aux Camélias*.

I have drawn here in my turn only rough and rapid sketches. But these notes, if they seem curious, can serve as *portraits en vied* of those I have known and, I can say, in speaking of the men of to-day, of those whom I have loved.

JULES CLARETIE.

THE LESSON OF THE RECENT STRIKES.

BY GEN. NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.; THE HON. WADE HAMPTON, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS; HARRY P. ROBINSON, EDITOR OF THE "RAILWAY AGE"; AND SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

GENERAL MILES:

THE present status of labor, and especially the recent strike known as the American Railway Union strike which extended through the great producing zone of the country from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Ocean, embracing the territory that yields the great staple products upon which our people generally depend, is so grave a question that it should be considered with the greatest impartiality, candor, and fairness,—outside entirely of any political, religious, or personal interests and prejudices. So far as I am concerned I believe I can sincerely say that my sympathies have been from boyhood to the present time entirely with the man who labors in any honest and honorable occupation. Reared upon a New England farm—the best life and health-giving experience a boy could possibly have—I was fully acquainted with every kind of labor required of a farmer's boy, as were my ancestors before me for more than 250 years, or from the time when western Massachusetts was the frontier of civilization. My early manhood was spent in mercantile pursuits, requiring the strictest economy as well as rigid industry. For four years I was engaged in a terrible war the result of which determined the vital question of labor and the condition of the men who labored in this country; one result of it being that in a large section of our country the man who labored was raised from the condition of a slave to that of manhood and citizenship. For twenty-five

years I have been largely engaged in what has not been inaptly described as "the war of civilization,"—protecting the laborer engaged in the construction of the great trans-continental railways, the miners' camps, the home builders, and the settlers of the Western Territories and States. I have travelled very many times back and forth across the continent, and visited every State and Territory of our country; and there is no class of laboring men who have my sympathy and earnest consideration to a greater degree than the brave men who encounter all the risks and hardships incident to their duties upon the great transportation lines of our country, exposed to the severities of the varying seasons and all the vicissitudes of their hazardous occupation.

The condition of labor is attracting the attention of the thoughtful men, not only of this, but of all other countries. During the period of some 250 years of development since the original settlement of this country, the condition of the laborer has changed entirely. Up to within the last few decades every community had to its westward a boundless territory of rich fields where the man who labored could at any time locate and establish in a few years an estate amply sufficient for his family or relations and of great and permanent value. All this is now changed. For the last few decades the tendency has been to the congregating of the people in large cities and towns; and a feeling of discontent, unrest, and disaffection has become almost universal; until the feeling between the man who labors and his employer is at present surely not satisfactory. The employer has too little confidence in his employee, too little consideration and sympathy for his condition, and too little interest in his welfare; while, on the other hand, the employee has a feeling of hostility and prejudice, in many instances amounting to almost actual hatred of his employer. To what extent this feeling has been engendered and promoted by the demagogues, the professional agitators, the men of the press, the forum, the pulpit, and the stage, we leave them to answer. The conditions of our country have been such as to create and promote great corporations, trusts, and combinations of capital; while labor, on the other hand, has kept equal pace in combinations, confederations, labor unions, and secret organizations which control thousands, if not millions, of men, extending over every section of the country. The former have been and can be all controlled by judicious

legislation and plain, positive law. The principal weapons of the labor organizations have been the strike and the boycott—the strike to paralyze industries, effect the suspension of business and the increase of wages, and the boycott to prevent men who do not desire to be controlled by the labor unions from obtaining work, in many cases subjecting them to serious physical and pecuniary injury. It is a singular fact that strikes have been most violent and serious in the mining communities and among men connected with railways.

The most serious part of the question is the extent to which our seventy millions of people are affected by such a combination as the recent strike of the American Railway Union. Consider, for instance, the most recent strikes of this character; and before considering them in their other phases it will be well to look at the conditions of the business interests in our country. For many years inflation has been the prevailing tendency, the extravagant exaggeration of values, doing business on borrowed capital, paying a high rate of interest, branching out into all kinds of schemes and speculations. To a great extent, the construction of railways in our country has been overdone. The percentage of railways that are not earning enough to pay the interest on their bonds and stock is very large, especially the great trans-continental lines. A few years ago a single through line, consisting of the Union and Central Pacific roads, was doing the entire business across the continent. Now we have the Southern Pacific; the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; the Denver & Rio Grande and Oregon Short Line; the Union & Central Pacific; the Northern Pacific; the Great Northern; and the rival to all these, the Canadian Pacific,—practically seven great trans-continental systems. I believe it is a fair statement that none of these roads is now earning enough to pay the interest on its bonds, to say nothing of the interest on its stock. The same may be asserted of a large number of roads east of the great Missouri. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, a few weeks ago the employees on the Great Northern went out on a strike, and that property was seized and held entirely beyond the control of its owners. There were thousands of men in the country who would have been very glad to take the places of the strikers, could they have done so with safety. Almost the same condition existed upon the Northern Pacific when that road was scarcely earning its running expenses.

The next strike of importance was of the operatives of the mines in the central part of the country between Colorado and Pennsylvania, in which very many millions of property was seized and held by the miners for the purpose of forcing an increase of wages. Following this was a strike of the employees of a manufacturing company in a single village and county in the State of Illinois, and after that a strike on all railway lines between the Alleghanies and Pacific Ocean. And next a strike is threatened by all labor organizations extending over the entire country. Now, suppose this should occur, and the five hundred thousand, or million, or even two million union labor men, if there should be so many in the United States, should stop labor, strike, and resort to the depredations recently committed in the city of Chicago, what would the other ten millions of able-bodied men in the United States, all subject to the legislative and executive departments of the Government, be doing in such a crisis ? If this strike of the operatives of the lines of the railways were followed out it would practically mean the seizing of much more than a thousand million dollars' worth of property and the holding of it for an indefinite time, regardless of the rights or desires of the owners, the absolute paralysis of the business of the country, and immeasurable injury to seventy millions of people, to say nothing of the incalculable loss and suffering that must necessarily follow.

There is scarcely a family that is not in some way interested in the peaceful and uninterrupted communication of the railways of the United States. All producers, farmers, manufacturers, mechanics, and men in all positions in life, are interested in the daily communication, in the peaceful and certain operation, of the great lines of commerce of this country. Millions of people are dependent upon them for their daily food; and if the lines should be blocked and paralyzed, famine, pestilence, and death would overshadow thousands of villages and cities that are now enjoying life and prosperity. It would be like the cutting of the great arteries between the heart and the brain of the physical system. In Illinois, the home of Lincoln, Grant, and Douglas, the dying admonition of the latter of whom to his sons was to "maintain the constitution and obey the laws of the country"— and here in the city of Chicago—the result is best illustrated. It is the commercial centre of the richest territory on the earth, the valley of

the Mississippi, or that region stretching all the way between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains. The products of this valley largely centre at Chicago. The supplies and necessities of the population occupying that region are distributed from the city of Chicago. This great prosperity and business enterprise have resulted in a great demand for cheap labor. It is safe to say that this city contains more than a million of people who if not born in a foreign land were born of foreign-born citizens, who are gathered here by the success of its great enterprises and industries. There are twenty-three trunk lines of railway centring in this city. The recent so-called strike so far paralyzed the industries of this city as to absolutely block the transportation of freight, passenger, and mail trains on thirteen of the trunk lines, and on ten the business was partially paralyzed, although there were tens of thousands of men in this city and region out of employment, and who would be very glad to take the places of the men who have abandoned their positions, but did not dare to do so on account of the reign of terror that was instigated by the so-called strikers and their sympathizers.

The papers of the city state that during the strike more than a thousand freight cars were set on fire and burned. Forty-five trains were stoned and fired upon by the mobs along the line of the railways. Buildings, station-houses, and railroad property were set on fire and burned. Innocent people travelling in the cars were injured by rocks and pieces of iron and bullets thrown through the windows of the cars. Locomotives were started on the tracks and sent wild along the roads, endangering lives of hundreds of people. On July 5 a mob of ten thousand people gathered in one part of the city and moved nearly three miles along through a dense part of the city, destroying and burning property, and the universal cry of that mob was "To hell with the government!" How near this comes to the carrying out of the declaration of the anarchists of Pennsylvania, who proclaimed that they were "opposed to all private property, and, as the state is the bulwark of property, they were opposed to all government," I need not stop to inquire.

The district where the greatest amount of depredation and most fiendish atrocities were committed was occupied by a class of strikers and their sympathizers who wore the colors or emblems of allegiance to their dictator, Eugene V. Debs, and his as-

sociates, a white ribbon or piece of cloth on the left lapel of the coat; and, in fact, hundreds of men were forced to wear it among the mob by the so-called strikers and their sympathizers.

Another important feature of this usurpation of power is that the great food-producing centre is in this district. The farmers' chief products, meat and bread, are concentrated here and then distributed to all sections of this and other countries. The stock-yards were practically seized and held by the mob under threats to burn the yards if any attempt was made to move the trains bringing in or distributing this great food supply. The same is to some extent true in regard to all food and fuel supplies. The seizing and holding of the avenues which moved the food gathered and distributed at Chicago means suffering and hunger to millions of people in many parts of the United States, and it is safe to say that this condition of affairs would still continue had it not been for the action of the Federal, State, and municipal governments in execution of the laws of the land.

What is said or the amount of language used in any case is not altogether significant except when it is considered by whom said and the circumstances under which expression is given to the thought. He who said "Let us have peace" was in a position to give those four words great significance. So was the General of the Army in 1881 when, in addressing the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, he said, "Beware of the men who make war necessary." The declaration of President Cleveland when he said, "It is the plain duty of the local authorities to maintain peace in that city"; and again, "In this hour of danger and public distress discussion may well give way to active effort on the part of all in authority to restore obedience to law and to protect life and property," is one of lasting significance. Such is the case also when the Chicago *Times* says, editorially, as it did on the morning of July 7th:

> "Such riotous outbreaks as occurred last night on the tracks of the Belt Line, the Alton road, and other railways cannot for a moment be tolerated by the people. They merit the condemnation of every man, be he striker or other citizen, but most of all if he be a striker. More than that, any repetition of them should be averted with powder and ball and cold steel if necessary. Let there be no mistake about that. This nation, this State, this city, will not tolerate vandalism, incendiarism, ruffianism."

This condition of affairs reached such a stage of insurrection that the Mayor of the city found it necessary to appeal to

the Governor of the State for five regiments of State troops, the appeal being immediately responded to by an order of the Governor placing the entire brigade at the disposition of the municipal executive.

Now the people can judge whether the acts which drew forth these expressions are in the interest of organized labor, or whether it is red-hot anarchy, insurrectionary and revolutionary! We assert that our government, established by our fathers, and which we have maintained, is the best government for mankind that has ever existed on the face of the globe. Possibly the condition of our citizens is better to-day than it ever will be in the future, but it is the best system of government not only for the rich man but for the poor and the humble. It is the poor man's home and his glory; and the beauty of it all is that our citizens have a peaceful method provided for redressing all wrongs and of improving their condition. The one great *glory* of our system of government, and what our fathers proclaimed it to be, was the independence and absolute security of life, property, and the pursuit of happiness.

The great question now at issue before the American people is not a local one; the question whether one manufacturing concern in one village, or county, or State shall pay its employees more or less, whether it is doing business at a profit or loss, is not the vital issue now. That question may be settled in any way to-day and a similar one arise to-morrow in any other village, on any railroad or in any factory. The question is, Shall life, personal independence, and the rights of property be respected in this country whether belonging to one or many individuals?

If the property of a corporation or company in which the laboring men, the capitalists, the widows and orphans, the savings banks, properties in which any or all our people are interested, cannot be respected and protected, then the cottage, the hamlet, and the little personal property of the humblest citizen is in jeopardy, liable at any moment to be confiscated, seized, or destroyed by any travelling band of tramps. Then any combination or any body of men that threaten the peace, the prosperity, the personal liberty, the life and property of our citizens must be regarded as revolutionary and dangerous, and it is a misfortune that the laboring men employed in railroad transportation have been misled by the harangues of professional agitators into an attitude of

this character. The insurrection must be met and overcome in one of two ways : first by the strong arm of the municipal, State, and Federal governments enforcing the guarantee to all the people, from the humblest to the most exalted, of perfect security in life and property. Otherwise our government would be a rope of sand. The other method of meeting the crisis is for American manhood to assert its principles. Men must take sides either for anarchy, secret conclaves, unwritten law, mob violence, and universal chaos under the red or white flag of socialism on the one hand ; or on the side of established government, the supremacy of law, the maintenance of good order, universal peace, absolute security of life and property, the rights of personal liberty, all under the shadow and folds of "Old Glory," on the other. The red, white, and blue of our national colors are the emblem of law, independence, security, and peace; and when the crisis comes I have the utmost confidence in the intelligence, the manhood and patriotism, of the great mass of our citizens north, south, east, and west, and believe they will manifest their allegiance to our existing government and to the maintenance of law and good order.

While the millions of our people living in tranquillity and happiness feel so lightly the power of the Government as to scarcely realize its existence, yet the Constitution was framed by our fathers with such consummate wisdom that the authority of law and the supremacy of the government to meet any emergency, insurrection, or rebellion are ample and unquestionable.

Washington suppressed the first serious insurrection by concentrating a large body of troops at Pittsburg, Pa. Lincoln and other Presidents have followed his example. President Hayes did the same thing in 1877 in Pennsylvania and other States. To-day the President not only has the authority to use all the land and naval forces of the United States and of the different States, amounting to nearly a hundred and fifty thousand armed men, but every patriotic and law-abiding citizen among the twelve millions of able-bodied men in this country will heartily support him and the State governors in the maintenance of law and order.

Now would it not be far better for the laboring men as well as all thoughtful citizens to turn their attention to improving the condition of our people in other and more peaceful methods ?

There has been too much concentration in the cities. More of our people should get out into the country, into the pure air and among the birds, flowers, and green fields, where they may cultivate the ground; for really all wealth comes from the ground, directly or indirectly. There is ample opportunity for the occupation of millions of men in addition to those now engaged in such pursuits. As the importation of the vast hordes of cheap labor from China has been stopped on the Pacific Coast, is it to the interest of every intelligent laboring man to stop the importation of the vast hordes of cheap and degraded labor unloaded on our Atlantic coast? We have no use for and should not receive any more than what can readily assimilate with our intelligent, self-respecting, industrious population. Then let us turn our attention to the improvement of our vast unproductive arid lands which by judicious, systematic irrigation are capable of supporting millions of people through the methods of improvement so successfully pursued in India and other countries. Let us pay more attention to commerce, to the end that our ships, built and manned with American labor, and transporting our products to every port on the face of the globe, may give additional occupation to our resolute, enterprising men who are now overcrowding villages, towns, and cities, many of whom are engaged in semi-manly pursuits, and in numerous other ways and methods improve our condition.

In brief, let us not blow down the beautiful arch of our sovereignty—the hope of humanity, the citadel of liberty, independence, the temple of happiness for all mankind. Rather let us follow the avenues of peace, intelligence, and true manhood for the improvement of our condition as a nation and a people; upholding, supporting, and maintaining the supremacy of law and civil government, and cherishing and protecting in all its grandeur and beneficence the blessed inheritance vouchsafed to us by the Fathers.

NELSON A. MILES.

COMMISSIONER HAMPTON:

ALL thoughtful and patriotic citizens not only deplore the condition of affairs brought about by the disgraceful and dangerous strike recently inaugurated by designing demagogues, but they are anxiously considering what remedy can be found to cure the present evil and at the same time to prevent a recurrence of a similar one. The conservative and law-abiding people of the

country naturally look to Congress to avert the danger threatening every private and public interest in the country, for the sole authority to do so lies in that body. If our present laws are neither strong enough nor stringent enough to protect the vested rights of our citizens from mob law and communistic combinations, there surely must be patriotism and wisdom sufficient in the law-making department of the Government to frame such laws as will guarantee protection to every citizen, while, at the same time, inflicting condign punishment on those who trample on the rights of their fellow-citizens. No one denies the right of every laboring man to seek remunerative wages for his work, and he is at perfect liberty to quit that work when he thinks his labor is not adequately compensated, but his rights stop there. He has no semblance of right, in law or morals, to prevent another from taking the place he has given up. When employees, from some real or fancied injustice done them, give up the positions they hold, they exercise a clear right; but when by threats and violence they force others to join in unlawful combinations to invade the vested rights of their fellow-citizens, they become law-breakers, and should be treated as criminals.

If these views are correct, then the instigators and originators of the recent strike have been guilty of a grave misdemeanor. For the men who through ignorance or fear have been led into this unlawful procedure I have great sympathy, for many of them are ignorant, and evil advice has carried them to evil courses; but for those leaders who, safe from personal danger, have incited this communistic movement, no reprobation can be too strong, no punishment too severe, and in the interests of law and order it is to be hoped that they may meet their deserts. It is time that the strong arm of the Government should be stretched forth to maintain the supremacy of law, to protect those who are innocent sufferers, to punish those who are guilty, and to repress, with a strong hand if necessary, the anarchy and communism which now bring disgrace on our boasted civilization.

The public press has stated a very significant fact in connection with some of the recent riots, and it is one pregnant with grave and far-reaching considerations. It was announced that in some instances the mob of rioters who committed gross outrages was composed entirely of foreigners, none of whom could speak our language. There has been of late a strong conviction grow-

ing up among thinking men of both of the great political parties in the country that our immigration and naturalization laws were too lax, and that the United States were becoming the dumping-ground of the worst elements of foreign population. While this feeling is quite widely entertained by many of all shades of political opinion, neither party has had the courage to grapple with this question nor to take action to avert the danger which threatens our institutions by the unrestricted influx of peoples ignorant of our system of government, entertaining in many cases hostility to all forms of government, and who, driven from their native lands, come hither as communists and anarchists. Immigrants of this class have proved a most pernicious contribution to our citizenship, and they have been in many, if not in most, cases responsible for the riotous outbreaks which have inflicted such incalculable injury on the country. Of course no reflection is meant on those honest immigrants who have linked their destiny with ours and who by their labor and their character have done so much to promote the best interests of the country; but it seems to me that our land should no longer be the refuge of the scum of all Europe, and that every man who makes this his home, whatever his nationality may be, should, while holding his fatherland in tender memory, become at heart an American citizen, with all his hopes, all his aspirations, all his patriotism, centred in the land of his adoption. Our country will then be peopled and governed by true and loyal American citizens, native and adopted, and a homogeneous people will work in harmony to build up, to guard, and to honor the land of their choice. No nobler incentive to ardent patriotism than this can be conceived, no object worthier of attainment. If every American citizen, native and adopted, could be actuated by these motives, communists and anarchists could no longer be allowed to band themselves together to break the laws of the land, to destroy public and private property, or to inaugurate a crusade marked, as this present strike has been, by robbery, arson, and murder.

There can be no possible excuse for conduct such as that which has characterized the acts of the lawless mobs, who, in defiance of all laws, divine and human, blindly and madly struck at the very foundation of all organized society, seemingly only intent on involving the whole country in common ruin. There can be no palliation for outrages such as they have com-

mitted, and their conduct has been as senseless as it is inexcusable, for if in their mad rage they bring about a war of labor against capital, there can be but one result to it—a disastrous one to the originators. Should such a fearful conflict occur, the misguided men, who, under the influence of evil counsels, seek to remedy their grievances by unlawful means, would inevitably be the severest sufferers, for not only would all their means of livelihood be swept away, but hundreds, perhaps thousands, of them would lose their lives.

I have said that this strike was inexcusable. The ostensible reason given for it by the strikers is that Mr. Pullman did not pay his employees sufficient wages. In answer to this charge, Mr. Pullman says that he cannot pay more for the manufacture of a car than the price he can obtain for it from the railroads. Every business man must admit that this answer is conclusive and logical. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that his employees were right in their contention, does that justify a resort on their part, not only against him and his property, but against all property, private as well as public? What justification can be offered for the order of the leaders of all the labor organizations in the country, connected in any manner with the railroads, that each member should at once throw up his position as evidence of sympathy with the Pullman employees?

And above all other inexplicable questions suggested by the action of the Pullman employees, what semblance of right had these men, who had voluntarily left their employment, to combine unlawfully with men whose object was the destruction of the railroads and of property of all other descriptions? The workmen of the Pullman company were not connected with railroads in any manner; their sole business was in the construction of sleeping cars, and yet, when they threw up their position, they joined in the work of wrecking the roads, obstructing travel, stopping the mails, and defying the laws of the land. Another strange feature in this matter is the action taken by A. R. U., an organization in no wise connected with the Pullman company, but, notwithstanding this fact, this body of railroad employees decreed that no railroad should use Pullman cars! The railroads, many of which were under contract to use these cars, naturally and properly paid no respect to this order emanating as it did from an irresponsible source, whereupon these sympathetic strikers of the A. R. U.

became enemies of the public peace, and resorted to violence, robbery, and bloodshed, to enforce their lawless demands. And these things are done on our own soil, where it has been the proud boast that the laws were supreme, guaranteeing to every citizen equal rights! But it seems that the new doctrine announced by the A. R. U. puts the railroads of the country outside of the pale of the law, leaving the vast interests of these corporations, as well as those of their bondholders, at the mercy of any mob of ignorant or vicious men. To our shame, too, there are men in high position who uphold these careless proceedings and who defend the perpetrators. We have surely fallen on strange and evil times, and conservative men of all sections and of all parties should devote all efforts to the restoration of order and the maintenance of law. There is not one present vested right of individuals, of corporations, or one of government ownership of property that would be safe if the criminal acts recently committed by riotous mobs in several of the States are permitted to go unpunished. Life itself would no longer be safe, for in more than one instance murder was added to the long list of atrocities which marked the carnival of crime that held mad sway of late in many portions of our country. And the hollow pretence given by those strikers for the outrages they committed is the assertion that they were endeavoring to aid the former workmen of the Pullman company. Every interest of the country is to be sacrificed, every vested right is to be trampled upon, every principle of law and of morals is to be violated, simply because workmen engaged in a particular business cannot obtain the wages they demand. How could these workmen be possibly benefited by the lawless and indiscreet conduct of such misguided sympathizers? No right, no principle, can be established by the commission of a wrong.

For this unholy alliance between unemployed workmen and the disreputable and worst elements of our population to succeed would, indeed, be the consecration of a crime. The President has been criticised, even denounced, because he attempted to prevent the consummation of the crimes contemplated against the peace, the honor, and the welfare of the country; and the ground upon which this attack on him is based is that his action has been in violation of the rights of States. No one upholds whatever of State's rights is left to us more earnestly

than myself, but I can see no force in the charge that the President has, by his course, exceeded the authority conferred on him by the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance of that instrument. Those who hold that the President has, by sending Federal troops to the scenes of disorder, exceeded his power predicate their opinion on Sec. 4, Article 4, of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress to send troops to any State "to protect it against invasion, and, on application of the legislature (or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence." The meaning of this provision is perfectly clear. Congress is authorized to send troops to any State on the call of the legislature, or of the governor, under certain conditions, when the authorities of such State are unable to repel invasion or to repress domestic violence. But those who criticise the acts of the President forget that Congress has enacted laws which confer on the chief magistrate larger and wider powers than those given to Congress by the Constitution. The authority for the exercise of those powers is found in Sections 5298 and 5299 of the Revised Statutes. A reference to these laws will prove that the President not only has absolute power to call on the Federal forces to suppress "any insurrection, violence, unlawful combination or conspiracy" occurring in any State, and indeed it is made "his duty to take such measures, by the employment of the militia, or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means, as he may deem necessary, for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence or combinations." These quotations from Section 5299 are sufficient to show how ample is the authority of the President to deal with such cases as those confronting him now, and it should be a source of heart-felt congratulation to all law-abiding citizens that the executive chair is now filled by one, who, knowing what his duty demanded of him, had the courage to discharge it promptly, fully, and fearlessly. There is another potent reason why the Federal authorities should have been called on to intervene in suppressing the riots which occurred, and why the shield of Federal authority should have been interposed for the protection of property. The government has millions of dollars invested in the trans-continental railroads, secured by mortgages on these roads, and it was the clear duty of the President to use all the means in his power to guard this immense

property from destruction, for the whole country is interested in its preservation. Lawless mobs have not only stopped traffic and travel on these roads, thus cutting off the legitimate revenue due to the Government, but they have in many instances destroyed the roads and burned the bridges on them. If such outrages are permitted to go unpunished, our laws are a farce, for they give protection neither to life nor to property. Every consideration of duty, self-respect, honor, interest, demands that the majesty of the law should be vindicated whatever the cost of doing so may be. Every humane man must feel profound sympathy for all honest toilers where labor does not yield proper remuneration; but no legislation, no government, no earthly power, can rectify the immutable law by which the gifts of fortune are distributed with an unequal hand. It has been so since the beginning of the world and it will probably so continue to the end, or to the millennium, for our Divine Master said, "The poor ye have always with you."

All civilized nations have tried to solve the labor problem, and all have tried in vain. In this country the conditions tending to a solution are more favorable than in any other, for with our boundless and fertile acres now lying waste, every prudent man can acquire a home at a small cost, and a landowner is rarely an anarchist or a socialist. If the vast army of unemployed laborers, or of those whose labor is not adequately compensated, could be settled in their own homes, while they might not accumulate riches, they would be independent, and the fact that their homes were their own would make them conservative, law-abiding citizens. The danger then of such strikes as have recently convulsed the country would be lessened, if not averted. What will follow now that this strike is suppressed, entailing untold suffering and widespread ruin on the misguided men who have taken part in it? is a subject for serious consideration. It is to be hoped that when the normal condition of affairs is reëstablished the railroad authorities will deal gently with all their employees who, confessing their wrongdoing, ask for reinstatement. Many of these men were led astray through ignorance, and others were forced by threats to join their comrades. These men deserve pity, not punishment. For the unscrupulous leaders, who, at a safe distance from danger, exposed their unfortunate dupes to probable death and to certain ruin, no condemnation can be too

emphatic, no punishment too severe. Whatever may be the outcome of the unhappy condition of affairs now prevailing, every patriotic citizen must cherish the fervent hope that, while the supremacy of the laws is maintained, a satisfactory and peaceful adjustment of all differences may be arrived at, and that the country may be spared the dreadful consequences which would follow an armed conflict between labor and capital.

WADE HAMPTON.

MR. ROBINSON:

IT is as old as Plato (and therefore presumably older), that though revolutions break out on trivial occasions, the underlying causes are never trivial. They arise *out of* small things, but *about* great ones.

The grievance of the men at Pullman—the question whether they should receive 25 cents more or less for a day's labor—was not the cause of the strikes and riots which followed. It was only an excuse for precipitating a conflict which had been already decided upon, and which must have come sooner or later.

Those who have been in any measure conversant with the currents of thought in what are known as "labor circles" have seen the clouds that were gathering, not only for months past, but for some years. Had the country not encountered the financial depression of the last twelve months, their breaking might have been delayed for some time yet. But it was a question of time only. The storm could not have been finally averted.

Long before the financial crisis of 1893, the leaders of certain labor organizations talked freely enough of their plans and ambitions, even outside of the lodgerooms. These plans and ambitions, it should be distinctly understood, have contemplated nothing less than a general industrial rebellion, through which, by mere force of numbers, the labor organizations of the country proposed to obtain control of the legislative and administrative machinery of this government. The cardinal tenets of the approved modern labor doctrine are two:

(1) The workingmen,—by which is meant the wage-earners by manual labor,– being the chief producers of the wealth of the country, are entitled to the guiding voice in its government.

(2) The workingmen, when properly organized and under proper leadership, are strong enough to take by force, if necessary, that to which they are entitled.

The chief obstacle which the labor leaders found in the way of acting upon this doctrine was the lack of that proper organization which was confessedly necessary to success. Considering the employees of the railways alone, there were, two years ago, some 850,000 men employed on the railways of the United States in all capacities. Over 700,000 of these were included in the various classes of wage-earners by manual labor. Each of these classes has long had its particular organization. Some have had more than one. But the aggregate membership of all these organizations (unions, orders, brotherhoods, and associations combined) amounted to less than 150,000; so that more than three-fourths of the entire working forces of the railways were "unorganized." Moreover, there existed jealousies between the different orders and brotherhoods, which prevented their co-operating when trouble arose, and more than once it has occurred that railway companies have come victorious out of formidable strikes largely by the assistance of these jealousies, and by the activity displayed by one organization in helping to defeat another.

For many years there have been at intervals attempts made to harmonize the differences existing between the several organizations, either so that they might, while maintaining their individualities as separate orders, unite in alliances of offence and defence, or so that they might become merged in one comprehensive brotherhood. In the last three or four years, the attempts to achieve "federation" of the railway orders have been numerous, and on more than one occasion have held out some promise of success. The practical results attained, however, were insignificant. Then arose the order which has of late become so conspicuous, the American Railway Union. The Union, instead of aiming at the consolidation of existing orders (the constitution of the Union declaring this to be "impracticable") began by soliciting recruits among the 600,000 or so of "unorganized employees," trusting to its ultimate success among these to give it such commanding strength among railway orders that sooner or later the other organizations would be compelled to suffer themselves to be absorbed into it.

This process, which has been going on among the railway

workers, has been dwelt upon at some length because it is typical of what has been done in other lines. As the railway Union has arisen, so, allowing for differences in conditions, there have been created the other Unions, Councils, and Federations. Nor has it been accidental that these movements towards consolidation have gone on concurrently in different fields. Each movement massed a certain number of regiments into a corps; but the leaders have always thoroughly understood and have deliberately intended that these corps should, when the time came, co-operate together, as one grand army—each separate, yet all united, when unity of action is required," in the words of a pronunciamento issued over a year ago. The objects for which this army was to be united have been already explained.

That when the conflict came it should break out first upon the railways was perhaps natural, inasmuch as by striking at the arteries of commerce the vital parts of the social organism could be most quickly reached. None the less, it was in large measure also an accident, an accident growing chiefly out of the hot-headedness of certain of the leaders of the Railway Union. In its essence the disturbance was no more a railway strike than it was a Pullman strike. The men who left their places on the railways had no grievances. They had no more concern with the affairs of the builders of freight cars in the Pullman shops than had the Association of Iron and Steel Workers or any other labor organization. Their only concern was the common one of what is known as the cause of organized labor. This is the essential fact to be borne in mind: that the outbreak was not an outbreak of certain employees of particular companies against whom they conceived themselves to have grievances, but it was a demonstration in behalf of all organized labor against all classes of employers. It was an insurrection of certain sections of the wage-earning class against constituted society. That it was happily confined within comparatively narrow limits is the result simply of the fact that the more experienced leaders of a few organizations regarded the late outbreak as premature, and the season (when so many men are unemployed and ready to take strikers' places) as unpropitious for the final conflict.

The American people are extraordinarily patient and slow to take alarm. It was not until the strikers had openly laughed at the injunctions of the Federal courts—not until the mob was in

actual resistance to the military force of the United States—not until long after that point was passed at which in any other civilized country of the world the trains of the blockaded lines would have been moving again between lines of bayonets—that the general public appeared to awaken to even an approximate understanding of what the crisis signified. Even now, to the public mind, the outbreak chiefly presents itself as a quarrel between certain railway companies and their employees, which, unfortunately but only incidentally, developed later into open lawlessness and an opposition to the Federal authority. The reverse is the truth. The strike was primarily a demonstration of force on behalf of organized labor against the general social conditions of the country. It was only accidental that it occurred on certain railways.

It is noticeable that the first of the public utterances which served to set the public in some measure upon its guard—the first open defiance of the Federal authority—did not come from any railway employee or officer of the Railway Union. It was a leader of the Federation of Labor who first declared that if the government should interfere the members of all labor organizations would be called out from one end of the country to the other. Since it has become evident that the government did propose to interfere, others have become equally frank. The president of the American Railway Union declared that "the first shot fired from a soldier's rifle will be the signal for a revolution, and ninety per cent. of the people of the United States will be found on one side against ten per cent. on the other." The strikers repeatedly laughed at the idea that the United States troops ("a mere handful of twenty-five thousand men") could prevail against "the masses of organized labor."

As has already been stated, the more sagacious of the labor leaders did not approve of the course of the American Railway Union. They considered the time for a general revolt of the labor orders to be ill-chosen, and thought that a *casus belli* more likely to command popular sympathy than the cause of the men at Pullman might have been awaited. The work of federation, moreover, is still far from completed. There are many orders which have not yet given their adhesion to the "sympathetic" idea—the idea of a common cause of all workingmen, by which the grievance of one man against one employer is

the quarrel of all employees against society. Even among the railway organizations, there are such orders as the Order of Railway Conductors and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers which have no comradeship with the Railway Union, and which bore themselves with dignity in the recent crisis. On these grounds, the leaders of some of the other organizations, while entirely in sympathy with the general aim of the American Railway Union, doubted the wisdom of making the insurrection general.

The plans of campaign, which have been so long maturing, will not be abandoned because one premature and ill-advised excursion has miscarried. The writer has no wish to be an alarmist, but it is desirable the people of the United States should understand thoroughly what the "cause of organized labor" means to-day. The leaders of the cause may not consider that the ends which they seek to attain will necessarily have to be attained through bloodshed and by the force of armed rebellion. If it should prove possible through the instrumentality of the Third Party, and by combination with the various miscellaneous elements of discontent which are now abroad in the land, to reach by peaceful and constitutional means that mastery of society and that control of the machinery of government to which they aspire, they would unquestionably prefer it so. But let it not be forgotten that, whatever their preference for peaceful means may be, they fully believe themselves capable in the last resort of having the power to gain their ends by force, and clearly contemplate the possibility of having to use that power.

When Senator C. K. Davis, of Minnesota, warned the members of the American Railway Union of his State, before the government had decided to intervene with its military force, that they were "rapidly approaching the overt act of levying war upon the United States" he only stated a fact which was already entirely familiar to the leaders of the labor orders. They knew that they were embarking upon rebellion. The word had no terror for them, because, as we have seen, they believed themselves to be strong enough to win.

This is the situation which confronts the public. The labor organizations do not include a majority of all the workingmen of the United States, nor all the organizations inspired with the same lawless and desperate spirit. In some organizations, whose leaders are parties to the conspiracy, it is uncertain how far, in the

last resort, the rank and file of the members would give those leaders the support which they count upon. There still remains, however, a sufficient residuum of treason to make the prospect of an united uprising something altogether too serious to be lightly treated. The forces of rebellion have upon their side some members of the United States Senate, more members of the lower House of Congress, and three or four governors of States; though how far these gentlemen have their eyes open to the real meaning of the doctrines which they encourage, they alone perhaps can say. The movement itself is not strictly a movement of anarchy, though it would have all the forces of anarchy upon its side. That it is a conspiracy against the public peace there can be no question.

Forewarned is forearmed; and if the people of the United States are wise it may not in the end be an unfortunate thing that the American Railway Union saw fit to take up the cause of the Pullman strikers. It has given to the country a representation—as it were in dress rehearsal—of the part which organized labor proposes to play in the national drama, and which it *will* play, unless forcibly withheld, when the right time arrives. The issue of the battle which threatens would not remain long in doubt. The Republic is not yet in its dotage, and will know how to cope with rebellion when it comes. But while listening to the pleas of labor agitators and the champions of organized labor—whether in the press or from the platform, in legislative halls or from gubernatorial chairs—it is well that the people should know and remember that it *is* rebellion which these organizations contemplate. It is revolution which they hope to attain—by peaceful means, if may be; by force, if must.

The ear of the country is always ready to hearken to the cry of the workingman. The heart of the country is tender and quick to be touched by the tale of the wage-earner's suffering. But the country cannot afford to be kind or soft-hearted to treason. Let no man flatter himself that these latest strikes are no more, and bear no deeper significance, than other strikes which have gone before. Former disorders have been but sporadic outbreaks, resulting from local causes. This last is the development of a deep-seated malady, a cancerous growth, which has been deliberately implanted in the social system of the country, and has been fostered there till it has struck roots, which will not be torn out

without the rending of tissue and the spilling of blood. Its existence is a menace to the nation.

H. P. ROBINSON.

MR. GOMPERS:

ON Decoration Day, May 30, 1894, Judge Grosscup, of the United States Courts, in his oration commemorative of the day, took occasion to say that "the growth of labor organizations must be checked by law," yet when the sounds of his voice had scarcely died away we had in the midst of us the greatest and most extensive labor struggle that has ever taken place among the wage-workers of America, and possibly of the world.

Thousands of miles of railroads in all directions have been at a standstill, and nearly a hundred thousand workmen in voluntary idleness to secure what they regard as justice to their fellow workmen. It has been questioned whether the boycott or strike was wise or whether it was justifiable. On the first question there may be some difference of opinion. It may sincerely be doubted whether it was wise for an organization such as the American Railway Union, within a year of its formation, to attempt to inaugurate a movement which, in its inception, of necessity, assumed gigantic proportions.

The policy or wisdom of entering into so great a movement without consultation with, or against the advice of, the older railroad and *bona-fide* labor organizations of the country is open, to serious question. Nor will I attempt from the usual standpoint of trade dispute to justify the strike. Sufficient for me are the facts which provoked it and to which I shall allude later; but that the railroadmen deliberately entered a contest which entailed many sacrifices and dangers in an attempt to redress grievances not of their own, but of other workmen, who, having become thoroughly enervated and impoverished, without organization or previous understanding, in sheer desperation threw down their work, is indeed to their credit.

A little more than twenty years ago George M. Pullman conceived the idea of starting, in connection with his car shops, a town—one that should bear his name and hand down to posterity a monument of his enterprise and philanthropy. He built houses for his employees to live in, stores to make their purchases in, and churches to do their praying in. The workers were told their in-

terests and Mr. Pullman's were one and the same, that what would bring him a greater prosperity would redound to their advantage. They were warned that to belong to a trade-union would be inimical to their *joint* enterprise, hence workmen who would purpose forming a union among them would be discharged, regarded as a common enemy, and driven out of town. They were to depend entirely upon Mr. Pullman's generosity and foresight in all things.

The result was that the workers at Pullman were huddled together in the (outwardly) neat houses, for which they were required to pay higher rents than are paid for similar accommodations in Chicago. They were reduced in wages as often as the seasons would recur and opportunities either arose or were made. This was carried on until last February, when a reduction in wages was offered varying from 25 to 33⅓ and in a few instances 50 per cent.

Here are a few figures which may be taken as a fair criterion of the extent of the reduction in wages offered:

	Price per piece, 1893.	Price offered, 1894.
Making trolley roofs.....	$2.25	$1.40
Framework car seat..... ...	1.25	.79
Cutting carpets.....	3.00	1.50
Making mattresses double..	.25	.15
Cutting brussels carpet.....	2.50	1.10
Blacksmith work, platform..	4.00	2.65
Truck setting	.45	.16
Sleeping car bodies.....	180.00	115.50

The workmen being driven to desperation, a meeting was held. Who called it no one knows; how it came about not a vestige of evidence is at hand. It was held and a committee appointed to wait upon Mr. Pullman or a representative of the company, to show that it was absolutely impossible to live on the wages offered; that a middle ground should be sought; that if wages were to be reduced the rents should also come down. Instead of the request of the men being considered by Mr. Pullman, the committee was summarily dismissed and discharged almost instantly. Is it surprising that these men in their rude awakening, finding themselves injured and insulted and their spokesmen discharged and blacklisted, and themselves without an organization to protect or defend them, without the means of properly laying their grievances before organized labor of the country, struck work, declaring that they might as well remain idle and starve as work and slowly meet that fate?

Organized labor of Chicago becoming aware of the unusual commotion at Pullman did not hold against the workers of that town their previous refusals to organize. It was readily appreciated that these men had been wholly misled by false promises and covert threats. Relief committees were at once formed, and it is firmly declared that the average workmen of that town have fared better since they engaged in the contest and fraternized with their fellow-workmen than they have for the past two years while working.

It was during this time, when relief committees from the Pullman strikers were making their visits to organizations, that the American Railway Union was holding its first convention in Chicago, and a committee called upon it for its financial and moral assistance. A committee from the convention was appointed to wait upon the company with the request that the matter in dispute might be submitted to arbitration. The committee was told that there was nothing to arbitrate and that the company refused to discuss the matter at all. Insulted, humiliated by the manner their disinterested efforts at restoring amicable relations between Mr. Pullman and his former servile employees were received, the committee made its report. The convention in a moment reflected the feelings of the committee, and though at first sullen, silent, and indignant they resolved amidst the wildest enthusiasm that unless the Pullman company either adjusted the matter in controversy with their employees or submitted it to arbitration the members of the American Railway Union would not handle Pullman cars and would ask all workmen to act likewise. No heed was given to the request, resolution, or threat (call it what you will), and the great boycott (strike) was on.

I can scarcely bring myself to the belief that the convention imagined that the movement would be as extended as it became into, nor that it would last as long as it did. Be that as it may, we certainly found ourselves in the midst of one of the greatest labor struggles.

Now comes the question repeated : Was the strike wise or justifiable? the answer to which must always depend upon the character and position of the party giving it. As to the wisdom, time only can tell. Since "nothing succeeds so well as success" in all efforts of life, I presume this element will finally set its *quietus* upon this consideration of the subject. But was it

justifiable? From the standpoint of the employer, No. From the standpoint of a labor organization having an agreement with an employer whose provisions a strike would violate, No. From the standpoint of the A. R. U., having no agreement with either of the railroad companies involved, and expressing the inarticulate protest of the masses against the wrongs inflicted upon any of their brothers and their yearning for justice to all mankind, Yes; a thousand times yes.

It is something not yet fully understood how thoroughly organized labor stands as the sturdy pioneer of all the hopes of the masses for justice and humane conditions, of their aspirations for a nobler manhood resultant from an equality of opportunities. It is in consequence of these facts that organized labor feels itself frequently called upon to espouse the cause of those who have neglected their own interests, and who have even antagonized any effort to bring them within the fold of organization. Laboring men feel and know that the wealth producers would certainly avail themselves of their only means of defending and advancing their position in life were it not that they in many instances had their prejudices aroused and their ignorance of actual conditions preyed upon by the instruments of their oppression in the hands of the corporate and employing class. But the men are on strike, the police armed to the teeth are on guard to protect life and property, the militia are called out ostensibly for the same purpose, and the regular army of the United States are marshalled into the fields by order of the President to enforce injunctions, restraining "everybody" from even writing a letter, issued by the Judge who only a few days before expressed the firm conviction that the growth of labor organizations must be checked by law.

Is it not somewhat strange that the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Law, a law passed by Congress in compliance with the demand of the people of our country to protect them against the greed and outrageous discriminations of the railroads, can be distorted to such a degree as to appall its authors and promoters, and should be perverted from its true purpose, and made to do service as an instrument to oppress the parties to whom it was never intended to apply, workingmen engaged in a contest to redress grievances. One may look almost in vain for the restraint the law has put upon the avarice and

injustice practised by the railroad corporations. The reform elements in our country seem to have unconsciously created their own Frankenstein, the breath of life being injected into it by plutocracy in the shape of ill-gotten gains.

There is no desire nor even a tendency on the part of organized labor to have its movement go beyond the limits of the law, but I submit that there is a standpoint from which this great problem should be considered other than a judge's injunction, a policeman's club, or the point of the bayonet. The fact of the matter is that industrial conditions have changed to a wonderful extent within the past thirty years, that wealth has been accumulated as never before, that new forces are at play in the production and transportation of wealth, and that the civil law of our States and country has simply not kept pace in becoming accommodated to the altered conditions. Do what you will, declaim as you may, industrial and commercial development cannot be confined within the limits of laws enacted to fit past decades the theories of which are sought to be applied to modern conditions.

Civilization of the past and present is based upon labor, and yet the laborer has no standing nor protection in the economy of our life. It may well be asked, if the state refuses to deal out some degree of justice and guarantee protection to labor, what interest has the laborer in the state? As a matter of fact the organizations of labor are endeavoring to secure that protection and guaranty to the workingmen which the state has failed to take cognizance of. Without organization the workmen would simply be reduced to a much worse condition than the slaves in ante-bellum days, and all attempts to strain the law, construing the exercise of natural rights to be criminal, will only react upon the heads of the legal prestidigitators.

If in monarchical England, with its old and effete traditions and crusty customs, Parliament can afford to liberalize its laws and legalize the action of workingmen engaged in the maintenance of their organizations and their effort to obtain better conditions, certainly the Republic of these United States should not only keep pace with that spirit, but advance beyond it, and not bring the entire military and civil forces to aid the strong and help crush out the weak.

Labor cannot, and will not if it could, utilize the process of

securing legislation by the use of money; it relies upon the justice of its cause, the nobility of its purposes, the humanizing influences of its efforts.

Mr. Pullman, it is said, is willing to spend millions of dollars if necessary to bring his former employees "to their senses." That is to say, he is willing to spend millions of dollars to bring his workmen to the sense of their utter dependence upon him.

This is evidently his purpose. It is the purpose of many another corporation king. He and a few others may possibly win for the present, but the people of America, when once aroused to a sense of the wrong inflicted upon them, will not be slow in so shaping our laws and industrial conditions as to surprise their most supercilious critics.

We insist upon the right to organize, the right to think, to act; to protect ourselves, our homes, and our liberties, and work out our emancipation. We are confident we shall secure them, and that the world will stand surprised that they were accomplished through the means of an enlightened public opinion and by peaceful means.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

ENGLISH WORKMEN AND THEIR POLITICAL FRIENDS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN E. GORST, M. P.

In every constituency in the United Kingdom the wage-earners and those whose interests are like theirs form the overwhelming majority of the electors. Their political power, if they knew how to use it, would be irresistible: they could confer the government upon whomsoever they would. In the House of Commons, on the contrary, labor questions are thrust into the background; prominence is given to personal squabbles and party manœuvres in which the workers have not the slightest interest; there is no leisure for the discussion of those subjects which directly affect their welfare. What is the explanation of this strange contrast between the omnipotence of the working class in the country and its impotence in Parliament?

At elections the "workingman" is always brought prominently to the fore. The election addresses of candidates are filled with professions of devotion to his welfare. But so soon as the friends of workers have succeeded in persuading them to give a majority to their political party, their zeal for the interests of labor is choked by cares for other matters more important to their ascendancy in Parliament. So far from successive governments making it their first object to supply the wants and gratify the wishes of the class to which they appeal almost exclusively when seeking power, social legislation is without scruple put on one side to make way for measures by which the party in power hopes to consolidate its position, or is compelled to buy the adhesion of its supporters, or for those discussions about the personal conduct of distinguished individuals, in which political people take so much delight. During the two years that

the present government has been in office, its solitary achievement in social legislation is a law for regulating the hours of railway servants on a plan drawn up by a committee of the former House of Commons. A very limited extension of the liability of employers for accidents to their workmen was abandoned, because the Government quarrelled with the House of Lords upon an amendment of no practical importance. The Radical party have tried to hide their failure to legislate, by taking party credit for administrative changes in the Home Office and Board of Trade, which their leaders found in progress when they succeeded to the government. Everybody who has been behind the scenes in a government office knows how little the party color of the Parliamentary head for the time being affects such developments.

The reason why the class so powerful at the polls is so impotent in the House of Commons is not far to seek. It is because it has no policy in which the workers generally are agreed, and no leaders whom the workers generally trust.

The Radical party tries persistently to turn labor questions into party questions, and to represent themselves as the sole friends of the working class. One of these leaders went so far as to declare a short time ago that in reference to labor questions there was more difference between the best Tory and the worst Liberal than there was between the worst Liberal and the best Liberal. But in spite of their indecent zeal, of which the above is a specimen, to arrogate to themselves the leadership of the labor party, they fail for several reasons to gain the confidence of the workers. First, they have no policy, except the extension of franchises and the multiplication of elections. The workers look to America and Australia, where the development of democracy is complete, and perceive there labor troubles worse than our own; their faith in Radicalism is shaken by the spectacle. Next they are committed to important sections of their followers to carry out organic changes. Until they have established Home Rule in Ireland, destroyed the Church in Wales, and carried out other items of the Newcastle programme they will not be allowed to devote the time of Parliament to social legislation. Lastly, they are embarrassed by a large number of rich capitalists among their most valued supporters—the "worst Liberals" for whom an apology has to be made. It is difficult for a rich man with the best intentions to acquire real sympathy for the suffering of

the poor; it is impossible for capitalists, as a class, to prefer the interests of the workers to their own.

It is an established principle of the leaders of the Conservative party to make no declaration of policy in opposition. The maxim is handed down as a tradition of the great Sir Robert Peel, who would say, "When I am called in, I will prescribe." If, therefore, the present leaders of that party have a labor policy, they are not likely to reveal it until the next time they have a majority in parliament. Moreover they have a laudable objection to make promises and raise expectations which they do not clearly see their way to fulfil. They have never imitated the political profligacy of their opponents in arrogating to themselves the title of the sole friends of the workingman. The Conservative party has in relation to labor questions one great advantage, which the people are beginning to realize: it is not pledged to organic change, and has therefore in office more leisure for social legislation. This is the explanation of the undoubted fact that more of the recent laws for the benefit of the workers have been passed under Conservative than under Radical administrations.

No independent Labor party in the House of Commons at present exists. The name is usurped by a section of the supporters of government who take advantage of their position as trades-union leaders to claim the working-class vote for the party to which they belong. They have no definite policy upon which they are all agreed, and they must on critical occasions postpone the interests of labor to those of the government, or the party to which they are attached would cast them out. To make an independent party in Parliament, two conditions are essential: first, a leader whom the members of the party will follow; and secondly, a policy or a principle to which the party is able and willing to sacrifice without remorse the interests of the Conservative and Radical parties alike. Mr. Parnell and the Irish once had such a party. When the labor leaders are in a position to fulfil, as he did, these two conditions, an independent labor party may become a reality.

Though there is comparatively little that changes in the law can do to improve the condition of the workers, yet there are certain measures which have a tendency in this direction and which could be carried without shaking the foundations of society, without altering the laws of property, and without letting in

violent or revolutionary change. But in reference to these, no political leader has any definite plan to recommend, and at present there is no prospect of anything practical being done. The public enthusiasm is wanting which, in our Constitution, is requisite to turn a project into a law, and this want is not likely to be supplied until education has made the workers far better judges of their own interests and necessities. Let us proceed to examine some of these questions now ripe for action, and inquire what are the particular circumstances under which each of them has been brought for the moment to a standstill.

First of all, there is the question, which a Royal Commission has been considering for three years, how to settle trade disputes between employer and employed without a labor war. Every one admits that it is desirable to have some method more rational and less costly than a strike or a lockout. But just as every one admits the folly and wickedness of war, while the peoples of the world continue to convert their youth into soldiers, and to waste their labor in manufacturing instruments of destruction, so, in spite of the acknowledged folly of the system, workers go on striking, employers go on locking out, and the public sentiment in favor of industrial peace remains a mere pious opinion. The capitalist knows the losses which a strike inflicts on his industry ; the workers are aware of the heavy tax, in the shape of contributions to their union, which they have to pay in times of industrial peace, of the loss of wages, the dissipation of their property, the starvation of their wives and children, they have to endure in an industrial war. But each party is contented with fruitless lamentation ; neither stirs itself up to energetic reform.

The Royal Commission of Labor, after three years' consideration, could recommend nothing more practical than the encouragement of voluntary tribunals of conciliation and arbitration, but they pointed out in their own report that such institutions could only succeed in organized trades; and it may be estimated from their report that the unorganized exceed the organized workers in a proportion of at least six to one. In fact it is the weaker party in a trade dispute that calls for conciliation and arbitration. The stronger will not hear of interference. The Homestead strike in Pennsylvania in 1892 would have been averted if the employers who were the stronger had been willing

to negotiate, or if any public authority had existed capable of forcing them to do so.

It was proved, in the investigation of the causes of this strike by the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, that the reductions proposed by the employers were right; that the men were ready and anxious to negotiate; that they would have yielded at an early stage of the conflict before bloodshed had taken place; but that the manager of the employers persistently refused to meet them. The result was that eleven people were killed, a large number maimed and injured, the men lost £200,000 of wages, the company incurred a heavy loss of which the amount has not been stated, and the public were put to an expense of £88,000 in guards, militia, and police. If any public body had been charged with the duty of mediating at the beginning of the trouble, and had possessed authority to bring the parties together, all this would have been averted. And it must be remembered that it is not only these public sensational strikes that have to be taken into account. There are petty local labor disputes going on continually all over the industrial world, which together cause a sum of misery greater than the conspicuous misfortunes of the greater strikes, which alone attract the attention of the public. Where is a political force to be found that will compel the government and legislature to take this matter in hand, and think out a scheme for the rational settlement of trade disputes? The capitalists are interested in preventing the waste of capital which labor wars occasion; but in the case of unorganized labor, with which they chiefly have to deal, they feel their position so strong that they do not desire outside interference; and in organized trades, where they are weak, they doubt whether an award adverse to the workers would be carried out. The labor leaders, who represent organized trades only, rely exclusively on their organization, and they look upon the helplessness of the unorganized as a valuable means of driving them into combination. The nation, it is true, has the strongest moral right to interfere, for it has not only to defray the costs of keeping the ring while the fight goes on, but has its interests and welfare jeopardized in all the ramifications of its complicated industries by the stoppage of any particular branch. But public interests are not supported by the educated opinion of the workers, and are swamped in the House of Commons by those of capitalists and trades-union

members. The five-sixths of the workers, who, being defenceless in a trade dispute, would gain by the establishment of any power to stand between them and an unreasonable employer, are dumb, ignorant, and unrepresented in the House of Commons. There is no force at present to overcome the inertia of government and Parliament; and the establishment of tribunals of conciliation and arbitration is not yet within the sphere of practical politics.

Of all labor questions there is none upon which the workers are more nearly of one mind than the movement for shortening the hours of labor. The desire for more leisure is honorable to the workers. It is begotten, not of idleness, but of an aspiration after higher things. They wish for opportunities of better culture, nobler family life, and occupations fitting them for the position of citizens. In a very large number of industries the shortening of hours would result, as experience has shown, in greater efficiency of labor, increased output, and better workmanship. In unhealthy trades the restriction of the time during which the worker is exposed to danger and disease is called for both in his interest and in that of the community upon which the cost of maintaining disabled workers ultimately falls. In such callings as those of railway and train men, where shortness of time cannot be compensated by increase of efficiency, the restriction of hours might call up some from the army of the unemployed into the ranks of active labor. From every point of view, the end aimed at is desirable. But no practical method by which the aim of the workers can be fulfilled is yet invented. The joint committees of some of the highly organized trades in the north of England have successfully dealt with the question of hours; and, hastily generalizing from this example, the political world declares that the end is best to be attained by trades-union effort. Yes, it possibly could be so attained by the organized workers if they were prepared to run the risk of having to go through the agonies of a strike; but the five-sixths of the workers who are unorganized, and amongst whose industries the worst examples of unduly long hours are to be found, cannot obtain their object by this method. The organization which makes the Northumberland miners or the Cleveland ironworkers so strong is for them an impossibility. They are compelled in any question to yield to the views of their employers, unless some outside authority comes to their support. It has taken many years to induce the manufacturing departments of

government, which are the servants of the people, and profess to be model employers of labor, to follow the example set by the best employers in the private trade. The Eight-Hours Miners' Bill, to which the majority of the members of the House of Commons pledged themselves at the last election, has made slow progress in Parliament. For the general body of workers nothing is being done. The universal Eight-Hours Bill everybody knows to be impracticable. The trades-union congresses pass annually resolutions by overwhelming majorities in its favor; but trades-union leaders have no special knowledge of the case of the unorganized workers, and no mandate to speak on their behalf. If there is to be any authority to which workers generally can appeal for the curtailment of hours of labor, it must be a local authority, which will have to decide the question with regard to local circumstances. No party in the state has yet committed itself to any scheme for the creation of such an authority, and there is no strong public opinion to support it if it did.

The existence in our great cities of masses of unemployed or half-employed workers is admitted to be a national danger, and the question how to deal with them to be the most urgent and difficult political problem of the day. If modern civilization is destined to be swept away, this is the class which is most likely to act the part which the barbarians did towards the Roman Empire. In the organized trades the inevitable want of work in slack times or in the intervals between the close of one job and the beginning of another, is dealt with by the unions. The worker, for the time out of employment, is subsidized out of the common fund; he was formerly helped to find work by being provided with the means to travel about in search of it; now the more rational mode is adopted of indicating to him, by means of information supplied by the branches of the union, the particular place in which work is likely to be found; his distress and difficulty are thus reduced to a minimum. But in the unorganized trades, which I cannot often enough impress upon the reader contain the vast majority of the workers, the malady of want of work rages unchecked. Invention of machinery and changes of fashion are continually swelling the ranks of the "unskilled" with workers whose skill is no longer wanted. Of the men who used to make dressing-cases in London most have left the trade to which they were brought up, and the residue

drag out a miserable existence in it, because dressing-cases have gone out of fashion and dressing-bags have come in. The young laborers from the country leave the tillage of the soil, in which they have no prospect but the workhouse, for the better wages which the town affords. They better their condition by displacing older workers, and when they grow old are themselves displaced in turn. There are season industries in great cities, like dock and warehouse labor, where long periods during which the workers are not required is a regular incident of the calling. The misery of those who are half employed is aggravated by the chronic poverty of many in full work. Competition and the demand of the public for the cheapest article have produced the great sweated industries of East London, the cabinet trade, and the ready-made clothing trades, in which thousands of people work at barely subsistence wages. That this mass of half-starved half-employed workers is a national danger no one will deny. It exists in American and Australian cities as well, where one would have thought the abundant virgin soil afforded an inexhaustible outlet for surplus population. It seems a universal disease of the modern city. If there is no imminent danger of revolution, because the famishing unemployed are too apathetic, and in many cases too sensible, to give ear to Anarchists and disturbers of public order, there is a constant tendency for the class just above them to sink into their ranks and so swell the chronic mischief. In the case of London there is this further curious phenomenon, that while there are in the town hundreds of thousands of men clamoring for work and starving for want of it, there are in the country within thirty miles of town thousands of acres of land lying derelict, and bringing forth thorns and thistles instead of food. How to apply this wasted labor to this wasted land is a problem which seems to baffle our accumulated wisdom. Some of the local authorities, who are willing to try experiments, are controlled by the colder counsels of the central government authority. The depopulation of the country and the congestion of labor in the towns go on year by year, lamented, but not stayed; and all the leading statesmen of all political parties can contribute nothing more helpful than to throw cold water upon every scheme of remedy that is proposed.

One practical suggestion has been made, which would not cure the evil, but which would mitigate its intensity, and afford some

measure of its extent—the establishment of labor registries throughout the United Kingdom. This would be an imitation and development of what the best of the trades-unions have already done for their own members. Experiments have been tried by voluntary associations, and by municipal authorities, with sufficient success to justify a continuance of the effort. What is now most wanted is some central clearing-house, where the excess of demand for labor in one locality can be balanced against the excess of supply in another. The places where there is the greatest rush of applicants to the registry office are precisely those where there is the worst chance of employment being found. This central clearing-house can only be effectively supplied by the Central Government; but the Central Government will not stir, and there is every prospect of the local movement dying out for lack of this piece of requisite machinery. It is said that the trades-union leaders are opposed to labor registries, because in a strike they might be injurious to the side of the workers as providing employers with outside labor. As long as society exercises no function in a strike, except that of keeping the ring and seeing fair play in the fight, the trades-union leaders are perfectly right in jealously safeguarding the interest of the strikers. But even if this barbarous system is to continue, there should be no difficulty in devising such precautions as would prevent labor registries from being so used.

For more than a quarter of a century it has been admitted that the law of the liability of an employer for injury to his workman was unjust. In 1880 an inadequate amendment of the law was passed, which it has ever since been admitted required to be amended. Successive governments and successive Parliaments have in successive bills attempted to deal with this question, but we still remain exactly where we were fourteen years ago. As to the workers' interest there is not the slightest doubt. Place upon the employer the obligation to compensate the worker for all accidents which befall him in the ordinary course of his employment, and from this obligation allow no contracting out. The risk becomes part of the costs of carrying on the industry, and can be provided for as such. There is no injustice to the employer, because, the obligation being known beforehand, he can recoup himself by the price of his service on his product. But the matter has to be dealt with, not in the interest of the work-

ers, but in that of political partisans. The government proposal restricts the right of the workman to cases in which negligence can be proved. This was done with the full consent of the "labor members." Their motive I will not stop to discuss; the reason they gave, that they desired to insure the safety of the worker, was absurd. The employer is already liable for the negligence of himself and his foremen, and the government proposal adds no further motive for precaution. It was pointed out in vain that the proof of negligence was difficult, costly, and uncertain; that no solitary worker could face the costs of a lawsuit; that the same plan had been tried in Germany and failed; and that at least three-fourths of the accidents that took place would be unprovided for. The government, which had its trades-union supporters to oblige, stood firm. The opposite side proposed that, as the workers had to make independent provision for three-fourths of the accidents to which they were liable, they should be allowed to form societies and sell for an adequate consideration their limited right against the employer. On this the parties joined issue and quarrelled, each hoping at the next election to gain the working-class vote by the position it has taken up. If the workers had known their own interests, and had possessed enough power in Parliament to give effect to their will, this necessary reform in the law would long ago have been carried. As it is, it is impossible to say for how long it has been postponed.

Few persons deny that it is right to forbid the employment of young children as wage-earners. The minimum age at which they should be allowed to work was fixed by the Berlin Conference in 1890 at 12 years. This was done with the unanimous consent of the representatives of all European nations, in which the British were instructed by their government to join. Yet the age in the United Kingdom is at this moment 11 years, and there is no present prospect of its being raised. To have to forego the earnings of children is no doubt a burden upon the families of many of the poorer workers, but it is one which to do them justice the great majority are ready cheerfully to bear. A great number recognize that to give a good education to their children is the surest way to bring about in the next generation a solid improvement in the condition of the people. I have witnessed both in Great Britain and in Ireland noble and touching examples of the sacrifice by parents of their own immediate gain for the

sake of the future welfare of their children. The trades-unions have at all their recent congresses passed with practical unanimity resolutions in favor of raising the age of exemption from labor. The difficulty does not come from that side. There are some industries in which the employment of child-labor is convenient; it is dispensed with in similar trades on the continent, where the necessity of bringing up the youth of the country to be efficient soldiers makes the government more vigilant and more exigent. But the existence in Parliament of this adverse interest is enough to make a party government reluctant to stir in the matter, in the absence of any strong popular force to propel them. So soon as the mass of the people not merely acquiesce in the advantage of education for their children, but resolve that no trade interest shall obstruct their welfare, and have acquired the power to make their representatives in Parliament give effect to their will, British children will enjoy those rights which continental children have already obtained.

If the social condition of workers was satisfactory, their class would have no greater interest in philanthropic legislation, than any other class of the community. But so long as the majority of the poor belong to the working class, and so long as the majority of the workers are poor, and are sure to become paupers if they live long enough, these questions as to the treatment of the poor by society have a special interest for them, and are generally though erroneously treated as working-class questions. Happily philanthropy has not yet been monopolized by any political party in the state, and such matters as education in all its branches, a more rational system of dealing with children who commit offences against the law, the prohibition of the letting of dwellings unfit for human habitation, the building of better homes for the people in town and country, better provision for destitute children and for those who by blindness, deformity, or other affliction are incapable of earning their own living, and pensions for the deserving aged, are still discussed without party animosity. Discussion will result in practical reform when the people whose interests are most affected have power to compel the Government to take the matter in hand, and when a more enlightened public opinion forbids the miseries of the young, the aged, and the afflicted being used by society as a convenient object-lesson for teaching thrift to the able-bodied.

JOHN E. GORST.

CATHOLIC LOYALTY.

A REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE A. P. A. AND TO BISHOP DOANE.

BY GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP, LL. D.

MR. TRAYNOR'S first point is that the United States require complete fidelity to the Republic, and that the Papacy is "no less *un*certain" (though he meant "*certain*") in demanding "unqualified obedience." This is not correct. It should read "spiritual obedience." Mr. Traynor's conclusion, that obedience to the Pope invalidates the fidelity of Catholics to the Republic, is also, of course, untrue. But in attempted support he brings a passage from Cardinal Manning, which he garbles and misapplies. The words,

> "I acknowledge no civil power; I am the subject of no civil power,"

which he represents Cardinal Manning as putting into the mouth of the Pope, absolutely *do not occur* in the passage as written by Manning. (Mr. Traynor, therefore, at the start, commits himself to a sheer fabrication.) This throws grave doubt on all his other extracts and references; and I shall answer merely the points he raises by them.

Furthermore, where Manning said really,

> "I acknowledge no civil *superior*. . . . I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men,' etc.,

he spoke of the specific case of the King of Italy, whom the Pope regarded as a usurper because of his invasion of territory vested in the church; and *not of civil powers generally*. In the same sermon, also, the Cardinal points out clearly that the church,

from the beginning, enjoined obedience to the civil authority of the state, and stood side by side in co-operation with it.*

With regard to the next passage, that

"if the church can fix the limits of its jurisdiction, it can fix the limits of all other jurisdictions," and is supreme—

certainly it is, in the moral field, supreme. If it and its head were subject to any one king, country, republic, or autocrat, then our whole faith as Christians would depend on the whim of that one king, country, republic, or autocrat; which would be the same as to say that the king or the republic is God, and to establish a worship of the state as the supreme power. But the faith of Christians does not so depend. It rests upon Christ—it must be free: neither it nor our consciences may be enslaved by any state or temporal power.

But, while the Pope, as the Vicar of Christ, cannot be subject to any civil power, we individual Catholics are willing and loyal citizens of the country in which we live, to which we give our allegiance. Mr. Traynor infers that the church and the Pope assert a right to depose sovereigns or annul constitutions, and to absolve the people from obedience to either. The following words from Cardinal Manning himself refute this inference:

"The civil allegiance of Catholics is as undivided as that of all Christians and of all men who recognize a divine or moral law. The civil allegiance of no man is unlimited, and therefore the civil allegiance of all men who believe in God, or are governed by conscience, is in that sense divided. In this sense, and in no other, can it be said with truth that the civil allegiance of Catholics is divided. The civil allegiance of every man in Christian England is limited by conscience and the law of God, and *the civil allegiance of Catholics is limited neither less nor more*."—Letter to *The Times*, London, in reply to Mr. Gladstone's *Vatican Decrees*, November 7th, 1874.

Let us explain what is meant by Pius IX.'s reference (July 21, 1873) to the "right" and "authority" of the Pope, formerly used in deposing sovereigns. Under the feudal system many states and princes sought the protection of the Pope and became vassals of the Holy See. Both the people and the heads of government, then, were Catholic. By his spiritual authority and his feudal right, both recognized by them, he could depose rulers when they violated principles of faith or morals, in conduct or in government. It was a pact to which the sovereigns themselves consented. The deposing power is no longer exercised. Even

* Manning: *Ecclesiastical Sermons*, Vol. III., pp. 79-99.

were the whole American people or a great majority of them Catholic, the Pope could hardly depose a whole people governing themselves through their executives, and would not wish to do so. The attributed advice of Leo XIII. to Catholics to take part in politics and exert their power "to cause the constitutions of states to be modelled on the principles of the true church," would show only that the Pontiff desires them to be active citizens, and to have Christian principles embodied in the state. Who but an anti-Christian can object to this? Has not all the best and most fruitful effort of the modern world been directed toward making government and society Christian? Mr. Traynor tries to show that a "papist" taking the oath of allegiance can have no regard for it, because the Catholic canon law says:

"No oaths are to be kept if they are against the Church of Rome," and that such oaths are "perjuries."

What the canon law means here is that it is unlawful for a Catholic to take an oath against his church; just as the government of our country makes it unlawful for any citizen to take an oath of conspiracy against the nation. The Church does not say or mean that the Catholic is permitted to take an oath against her and then break or be false to it, but says he must not take any such oath at all. An oath of allegiance to the United States contains nothing hostile to the Catholic Church or the Pope. Hence it is lawful in every way, and is binding upon both native and naturalized Catholics.* There is a plain code of interpretation, by which the words of men must be taken to mean what they say. This code we may call a Primer of Sincerity and Common Honesty. Mr. Traynor and Bishop Doane must abide by this code, in order to understand Catholic citizens of this or any country.

Mr. Traynor declares that Pius IX.

"asserted to himself the right to annul the constitutions and laws of certain countries, New Grenada, Mexico, Spain, Austria."

It is absolutely false. Popes do not attempt to annul the constitutions and laws of countries. On the contrary, they counsel Catholics to obey the constitution, the government, and the laws, even while they warn both states and individuals that certain laws are hostile to Christain faith and morals and ought to

* On this elementary subject of unlawful oaths, see Brownson's *Works*, Vol. 7, p. 553; Vol. 12, pp. 274, 275.

be reformed. A statement in Leo XIII.'s credentials to Mgr. Satolli, that penalties inflicted

"against those who oppose our authority" will be ratified "notwithstanding constitutions and apostolic ordinances or other to the contrary,"

is paraded as declaring "papal sovereignty over the state"! Yet it has nothing to do with the state, or political affairs. It is addressed to the hierarchy, and is a church ordinance simply. The phrase about "constitutions," etc., refers only to church constitutions or decrees.

Leo XIII. induced Irish Catholics, in their efforts for home rule, to work within parliamentary, constitutional lines. In France he has led those Catholics who were inclined to oppose the republican constitution to accept and obey it. To a Spanish delegation of pilgrims numbering 10,000, he recently said that they must uphold the existing monarchy, although a majority of these pilgrims favored another royal branch.* In Germany, although the Bismarck government had passed stringent laws against Catholics, had emptied their pulpits, deprived them of the sacraments, and exiled their religious orders, he counselled constitutional, legal agitation only; and it has restored religious liberty. These instances prove the papal respect for law and order and national government under widely differing circumstances.

The excerpts given as from Aquinas and a decree of the Lateran Council of 1215, regarding heretics, show in their terms that the church recognized the autonomy of the secular or state power, and left the punishment of heretics, who might be, and often were, dangerous criminals, to the state. To-day the church condemns polygamists, anarchists, and bomb-throwers, heretics who deny the laws of God and the church. But it leaves their temporal punishment to the state. Leo XIII.'s admonition to journalists of docility and obedience did not ask Congress to abridge free speech, but simply upheld the gentle and orderly free speech which obeys divine law, in preference to licentious and violent speech. With regard to the Pope's advising Catholic political action when religion is directly threatened, Mr. Traynor asks:

"Where in the Constitution does Mr. Lathrop find provision made

* Paris *Figaro* report of his address, from Rome, April 8, 1894.

whereby a foreign priest may define the rights and duties of American citizens?"

I find no provision in the Constitution whereby any native, foreign, or naturalized anti-Catholic bigot may define the rights and duties of citizens. The Constitution, with the laws, does that for us. It also provides for the "free exercise" of religion. One of the most sacred things in the free exercise of religion is the use of conscience and loyalty to God. In this we naturally look to the Church and to its visible head, the Pope, believing them to be divinely constituted. Mr. Traynor may perhaps look to the 2,000,000 voters whom he says he represents, as the directors or assistants of *his* conscience.

Bishop Doane, a member of the L. P. A. I., who is most emphatically hostile to Catholics, objects to our Catholic position; because, as he asks, "who is to decide the question" between a law of men and the law of God? Will Bishop Doane decide it, in case of a dispute? or Queen Victoria, as the head of the Anglican Church? or the majority of a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States? In either event, it would be decided by Bishop Doane's individual conscience, or by consciences on which he relied. Would we, on this account, be right in condemning Bishop Doane as traitorous to the United States? Certainly not. Nor has he any more right to charge us with disloyalty because we look to the Pope. Neither Mr. Traynor nor Bishop Doane brings an atom of real proof to support the latter's charge that the Pope asserts "his right to temporal sovereignty and imperial domination and universal control." He asserts a local temporal sovereignty only over the territory given to him long ago by the state. Beyond that he is bound in the interest of civilization to exercise a spiritual authority over all mankind; an authority whose sole force is in the consciences of loyal Christians.

The Constitution contains not a word sustaining Mr. Traynor's dictum that it forbids "appropriations for sectarian purposes." It does say that

"Congress shall make no law respecting *an establishment* of religion."

But there is nothing in this to restrict the people in a "free exercise of their religion," guaranteed by the same amendment; and such free exercise may involve their right as citizens to ask or vote appropriations for purposes connected with religion.

Bishop Doane says he has the most cordial sympathy with the theory of "definite religious teaching, *as part of any thorough system of education*" (REVIEW, January, 1894); yet he stoutly contends that *no religious* education should be given in the public schools supported by taxation of the people. It would appear, then, that he wishes the people to maintain schools which *do not give* "a thorough education." On this point we Catholics have just as much right to express our views as Bishop Doane or the president of the A. P. A. We object—with the strongest kind of right as American citizens—to being browbeaten or intimidated, under a presumption of disloyalty, when any of us make expressions favoring a system of public instruction equitable to all citizens. It is our accusers, really, who are liable to suspicion of their loyalty, for their words and actions are directed plainly against American free speech and equality.

Bishop Doane says of Catholics that "neither individual character, individual utterances, nor individual actions are the test." Why not, pray; when in his view of his own citizenship, he concedes the utmost weight to individual conscience, action, utterance? This is Bishop Doane's method of brushing aside such instances of Catholic good citizenship as Chief Justice Taney and Gen. Sheridan. Mr. Traynor's method is to assume that, though Catholics, such citizens are not "good Catholics"; which is not proof, but only false assertion again. Probably they would dispose, on the same plan, of Lord Russell of Killowen, the present Catholic Chief Justice of England; of the English Catholic Marquis of Ripon, formerly Viceroy of India and now Secretary of State for the Colonies; and of Justice White, an American Catholic recently appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. But such an assertion attacks the good faith and loyalty of the governments and nations themselves. The eminent men referred to are good and practical Catholics. If, then, Catholic religion and character are disloyal to the state, have the realm of Great Britain and the President and Senate of the United States acted treasonably in giving them public office of the highest trust? According to Bishop Doane's and the A. P. A.'s theory that Catholicity involves disloyalty, must not the French government be denounced as traitorous toward France, for honoring their dead president, Carnot, with Catholic services, and asking

other nations to do the same? But this would be preposterous; and so is the theory.

Mr. Traynor wishes that "a person of some authority in the Papal Church" would make an utterance "to be placed on record to stand for all time." Such an utterance was made by Archbishop Corrigan, June 3, 1894, in a sermon at the Cathedral in New York, as follows:

"Love for what is true and right is the only principle that should guide the life of individual, state, and church. For years the enemies of the church have asserted that it was the slave of ambition for temporal power. The fact is and always has been just the contrary. The church has ever been on the side of right, and has never curried favor for power in temporal affairs. Neither has it ever fostered rebellion. On the contrary it has always been the right hand of the state, enforcing obedience and supporting the rightful exercise of power."—*Catholic News* report.

Finally, in one of the very encyclicals that Mr. Traynor alludes to with such off-hand familiarity, occurs this decisive passage:

"God has divided the charge of the human race between two powers, the eccleisastical and the civil, one set over divine things and the other over human things. Each is supreme in its own kind; *each has certain limits within which it is restricted.* . . . Whatsoever in human affairs is in any manner sacred, pertaining to the salvation of souls or the worship of God and the like, belongs to the church. *But all other things which are embraced in the civil or political order are rightly subject to the State.*"—Encyclical on the Christian State, November 1st, 1885.

These extracts answer Mr. Traynor's inquiry whether there are not bishops who can speak for the papacy.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

In his admirable article under the above title, which appeared in the March number of the Review, the Hon. Hilary A. Herbert has said, with his usual force and clearness, all that can be said in favor of the efficiency of the legislative machinery employed by the House of Representatives as contrasted with that employed by the House of Commons. There can be no question of the soundness of Mr. Herbert's main conclusion that, despite the hostile criticism often directed by the press against the *personnel* of the House of Representatives, it is nevertheless true that the body as a whole may challenge comparison for integrity, fidelity, industry, and ability with any similar body in the world; that "taken altogether there can be no better guaranty of the capacity of the people of the United States for self-government than the character of the men they send to Washington to make their laws." But after that admission has been made the fact remains that, notwithstanding the high average of personal excellence which characterizes its individual members, there is a widespread and long-standing conviction that the House, in its corporate capacity, does not efficiently and promptly dispose of the great and complicated mass of legislative work yearly cast upon it,—a conviction which accounts for Mr. Herbert's opening statement that "the one factor in the American government that is subjected to more adverse criticism than all others combined is the House of Representatives." Since the close of the civil war there has been a growing conviction upon the part of the American people that there is something radically wrong with the procedure of our

popular chamber, and that some sweeping reform or readjustment must be made in order to increase its efficiency. One class of critics have contented themselves with simply depreciating the character and ability of the members themselves, while another and more thoughtful class have fancied that the desired end can only be attained through the substitution of the English cabinet system in the place of our American committee system. After many years of patient investigation into the origin, growth, and practical workings of English and American parliamentary assemblies, the writer has been forced to conclude that the growing inability of the House of Representatives to do all that is required of it cannot be traced to personal deficiencies upon the part of its members, neither is the remedy for such evils as do exist to be found in the sweeping change which certain theorists have advocated.

The most remarkable trait which our federal constitution has so far developed is its elasticity—its wonderful capacity to grow and to expand with the growth of the nation, and to adapt itself to new conditions, without organic change in the instrument itself. This good result is the product of a foresight which was wise enough to intrust to Congress a range of legislative action sufficiently wide for the task of adaptation and readjustment imposed by a national development so vast and rapid as to have no parallel in history. The constitutional power given to Congress to regulate its own procedure is broad enough to enable it to so reorganize and readjust its relations with the Executive as to secure all the practical advantages of the English cabinet system without more than a modification of the American committee system which has become part and parcel of our political life.

When we remember that the House of Representatives is really the workshop of the constitution, it is surprising to see how well it handles the vast amount of business which of late years has been cast upon it by means of the old and now inadequate machinery with which the fathers equipped it. When the first Congress met, the population of the United States was about three millions and a half, and the total number of bills offered in that Congress was less than three hundred. Our population now exceeds sixty-three millions, and the total number of bills offered in the House of Representatives alone during each congress usually exceeds ten thousand. As the volume of business in that House has thus increased, and as new subjects of legislation have come into exist-

ence, the old committee system has simply been expanded by a multiplication of the standing committees which now number fifty-six, and by a distribution of the vast jurisdiction originally vested in the Committee of Ways and Means among many others. The practical difficulty which has arisen out of this system of division and subdivision is a lack of leadership or directing power through which the attention of the House can be promptly concentrated upon the few vitally important subjects of national legislation which should be lifted up out of the mass, debated and disposed of in advance of all other business. The ability to accomplish that necessary and practical result is the distinguishing feature of the system of cabinet government which prevails in every parliament in the world except our own. Back of this lack of concentrating and directing power, inherent in the headless committee system, stand the unorganized relations of the Executive with Congress, which intensify the difficulty. The primary purpose of our system of parties is to secure the periodical presentation to the country of two or more comprehensive political programmes which each party promises, in the event of success at the polls, to put into practical operation through acts of Congress. The party platforms in which these programmes are embodied always have been and always will be, for an obvious reason, vague and shadowy on the vital issues. The people are always called upon to indorse generalities rather than concrete propositions. Not until after the victorious party has entered into possession of the executive power, with or without majorities in the federal legislature, does the vital and practical question arise as to the character and scope of the two or three leading acts to be offered in Congress as concrete expressions of the party platform. Under the English cabinet system no difficulty can arise as to who is authorized to transform party pledges into proposed schemes of legislation, for the simple reason that the cabinet itself is a political committee armed with the power to draft legislation, and to offer the same in the House of Commons as the official expression of the party which it represents. Under our parliamentary system a very different condition of things exists. The President and his cabinet, as representatives of the dominant party, have no special right to interpret the party platform which they are expected to carry out, neither do they possess the power

to draft, to offer or to debate the proposed acts through whose influence alone it can be made effective. They are held responsible without being allowed to speak or to act directly. As the right to initiate legislation is practically vested in the committees, the President and his cabinet are forced to rely upon their political friends thereon to draft such acts as the dominant party is supposed to approve, and to conduct them through the chambers. During the debates which ensue, the President and his cabinet can only be heard through the mouths of "friends of the administration," who speak without any official authority. The difficulties arising out of this system of organized confusion reveal two weak spots in our system of federal government.

The first difficulty consists in the want of power in the President and his cabinet (a power universally conceded elsewhere) to sit as a political supreme court, and to interpret the party platform by reducing its general statements to the concrete forms of proposed acts of Congress. The second difficulty consists of the want of power in the cabinet to offer such proposed acts in the houses as the official expressions of the party which it represents, to insist under the rules upon their early consideration, and to take part in the debates upon them.

Under every parliamentary system in the world except our own these two fundamental rights are secured to the executive as practical expedients absolutely necessary for the prompt and orderly consideration of great national measures which have a natural precedence over all other business. All existing cabinet systems except our own are modeled after the English, and that, we should not fail to remember, *has been developed since the making of our federal constitution*, in order to enable the reorganized English democracy to transact the vast business of an empire upon business principles and in accordance with the will of the majority. As Mr. Bryce has well expressed the fact:

"In 1787, when the Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia, the cabinet system of government was in England still unmature. It was so unmature that its true nature had not been perceived."*

The fathers had therefore no opportunity to see the workings of the English constitution in its modern form, they had no knowledge of the advantages of cabinet government as now understood, and consequently it cannot be assumed that they re-

* *The American Commonwealth*, vol. 1, p. 273.

jected it as unsuitable to our condition. For the want of something better they equipped the two houses with the legislative machinery known as the committee system; and in the early days, when the volume of legislative work was very small, that system was adequate. But the original conditions have wholly changed; the growth of population has been great, and as Mr. Herbert has said, "the interests embraced in the legislation of Congress have multiplied even more rapidly than population." Out of the casting of this vast increase of legislative work upon the primitive committee system grow the causes which account for the statement already quoted that "the one factor in the American government that is subjected to more adverse criticism than all others combined is the House of Representatives."

The purpose of this article is to combat Mr. Herbert's statement that "every serious objection urged against its (the House's) methods by its critics grows out of *organic* causes"; and to contend that, through a brief act of Congress supplemented by a corresponding change in the rules, the relations of the two houses with the Executive may be so readjusted as to secure all the practical business advantages of the cabinet system, without any organic change in the constitution, and without more than a modification of the existing committee system. Such an act should vest in the American cabinet the three powers now vested in the council by the Swiss Federal Constitution, which are the right to appear in both houses, to propose measures of legislation, and to debate them, without the power to vote. Thus could be secured to the cabinet the all-important right to draft and initiate legislation upon those questions of vital national interest to which the Executive stands pledged. No illusion was ever more complete than that embodied in the idea that the present condition of things can be improved by simply giving to the cabinet ministers permission to sit in the houses with the right to debate, without the right to draft and offer measures which are to be made the subjects of debate. Parliamentary government is simply another name for government by party, and in all such governments party is the steam-power which drives the constitutional machinery. Under the English system the cabinet is the conduit through which the steam-power is applied to the machinery. The first step in the process is the drafting and offering in the Commons of the schemes of legisla-

tion which the dominant party has promised the people to enact; the second is the driving of such measures to a legal conclusion. Unless we are prepared to arm the cabinet with the power to take the first step, all efforts to secure any of the benefits of the cabinet system will be useless. There is no lack of constitutional power in Congress to pass such an act as has been indicated. Under the proposed arrangement no cabinet minister would become in any sense "a member of either house." The members of the cabinet would simply appear at the bar of the houses by their invitation, submit measures for their consideration and debate them, without the power to vote. Such a method of communication would certainly not conflict with the maxim which declares that the three departments of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—shall forever remain separate and distinct. As all students of our constitution know, that maxim was incorporated into our system in the same limited and restricted sense in which it was understood in the original from which it was taken. As Mr. Madison has expressed it in the *Federalist:*

> "On the slightest view of the British constitution we must perceive that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments are by no means totally separate and distinct from each other."

And then speaking of the constitutions of the States he said:

> "If we look into the constitutions of the several States, we find that, notwithstanding the emphatical, and, in some instances, the unqualified terms in which the axiom has been laid down, there is not a single instance in which the several departments of power have been kept absolutely separate and distinct."

In the making of our federal constitution, after the sum of federal power, originally vested in a single body, had been divided between the three departments in the limited and qualified sense in which such division was understood in the State constitutions, each department was organized in accordance with English ideas in so far as they could be applied to a "composite state" at once federal and republican. It can hardly be contended that the new and qualified relation which the cabinet (without the power to vote) would assume to Congress under the proposed act could offend in any way against a maxim which has always been applied here in the same limited sense in which it has been understood in England. If Congress possesses the power to pass the act, it certainly possesses the power to so modify its rules as to give to the

cabinet that precedence for the consideration and dispatch of great national measures which is guaranteed to all other cabinets under the European constitutions. Under the committee system as now organized "the several great committees control in turn"; under the modified system proposed the cabinet would simply have its turn. The proposed act should limit the initiative of the cabinet to the few great subjects of a purely national character which should be formulated before Congress meets, and which should be promptly presented for legislative action as soon as the session begins. In that way a natural division of labor would be brought about under which the drafting and advocating of only a few vitally important acts would pass to the cabinet, while the Houses themselves would still reserve for their committees the initiative as to the great mass of business to be disposed of. Thus the committee system would only be modified to a limited extent by the transfer to the cabinet of the duty of formulating and advocating the few great national measures to which the dominant party stands pledged. At the meeting of Congress such measures would always be ready for presentation and debate as the official expressions of the party intrusted with their enactment, without the long and awkward pause which takes place under the existing system. Under the authority to press such measures to a conclusion in advance of all other legislation, the cabinet would have the power to save the country from the long uncertainties and delays which will often occur to play havoc with its business interests. Every individual and every corporation possesses the inherent right to consider grave and urgent matters and to dispose of them in advance of everything else. The mission of the cabinet system is to arm parliamentary governments with that simple and indispensable power now so conspicuously absent in our own.

What has so far been said has proceeded upon the assumption that the party in possession of the executive office, and armed with a limited initiative in legislation, will always possess a majority in both houses upon which it may rely for the enactment of its proposals into laws. But suppose a contrary condition of things should exist—that the party in possession of the Presidency should be in the minority in one or both houses. What would then happen after its measures had been rejected by an adverse vote? It is certain that the ordinary result which

follows under the English cabinet system—a resignation of the ministry or a dissolution and an immediate appeal to the people—could not take place under our own without an organic change in the constitution which no wise man would advocate. But the hopeful feature of the case is that no organic change is necessary in a constitution which expressly provides for direct appeals to the people every two years. When periods of ten or twenty years are taken into account, it will be found that under our system of biennial Congressional elections appeals are more often made upon parliamentary questions to the American than to the English electors. It is only necessary that we should utilize such elections more perfectly than ever before as the means of ascertaining the will of the people upon precise and definite questions already reduced to the forms of acts of Congress. The inevitable result of the proposed change would be to draw from the party in possession of the Presidency more explicit and authoritative declarations in the form of well-digested schemes of legislation which the opposition would be forced to meet by counter-schemes upon the same subject. With the great issues thus formulated and crystallized, our Congressional elections would soon become, in a sense which they have never been before, real battles of ideas, in which the electors would have the opportunity to give not simply a general vote of confidence in a man, but a pointed expression of approval or disapproval of well-understood schemes of legislation. The fact that under the proposed plan the ministers would always remain in office until the end of their terms, after an adverse vote upon the measures offered by them, would be no drawback whatever. Such is the rule under the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, which, from its federal character, is strikingly like our own. As Mr. Freeman has expressed it:

"The Swiss Federal Constitution has several points of likeness with that of America, and the constitution of the two houses of the Federal legislature is clearly borrowed from the American model."*

Under the Swiss system the executive power is vested, not in a president, but in a council or cabinet of seven which holds office for three years. The Council apportions the departments of state among its own members, and "the members of the Council have the right to speak and make proposals in either house of the federal legislature, but not to vote." † When the measures pro-

* Essay Upon Presidential Government.

† *Ibid.* The Swiss President is simply President of the Council.

posed by the Swiss ministers are defeated in the legislature, they simply return to their desks and go on with the business of their departments, a form of procedure which has stood the test of experience. We have therefore a most satisfactory precedent upon the one vital point at which we must depart from the English model. The Swiss constitution, like our own, is federal; and its federal legislature consists of two chambers. The Swiss executive Council or cabinet holds for three years instead of four; the Swiss ministers possess the right to sit in either house, to initiate legislation and to debate, without the right to vote; and when the vote upon measures proposed by them is adverse, they remain in office until the end of their terms. It is therefore perfectly practicable for us, by means of a brief act of Congress coupled with a corresponding modification of the rules, to engraft upon our headless committee system the two efficient business principles which distinguish the English cabinet system; and then at the point of departure from that system we can save ourselves from any organic change by appealing to the people in the old way at the congressional elections. That such a modified cabinet system —under which the ministers may sit in the chambers with the right to initiate legislation and to debate, without the right to vote, and without losing office upon an adverse vote—works well in practice is fully established by the experience of a federal system strikingly like our own.

A careful review of the whole matter must lead to the conclusion that the House of Representatives has been for a long time subjected, as Mr. Herbert says, to more adverse criticism than all other departments of the government combined, simply because there are in fact radical defects in its now inadequate machinery which inflict serious inconveniences upon the legislative business of the country. The nation continues to complain simply because there is something to be amended. The trouble so far has been in mistaking the real cause of the difficulty, in attributing the vices inherent in a system to personal deficiencies upon the part of men. Any hopeful effort at improvement must begin with a correct diagnosis which will indicate with unerring precision the points at which the friction occurs. In readjusting the machinery of a system like our own, which is to a great extent an adaptation of another to new conditions, it is certainly wise to look to the subsequent developments of that other for light and

guidance. And yet in adapting English institutions to our wants we must remember as the fathers did that they can only be applied so far as our special circumstances warrant in the light of that principle, inherent in the race, which commends judicious amendments suggested by experience rather than novel experiments based upon *à-priori* principles. The suggested readjustment of our legislative machinery in its relations with the Executive through congressional action only, fortified as it is at every step by precedent and example, complies with every condition which the most conservative reformer may impose.

The good results which would surely flow as collateral consequences from the proposed change could not fail to be considerable. The improvement would begin with the national platforms, which would naturally become more precise and definite in view of the fact that the cabinet of the victorious party, as its official organ, would be at once called upon to transform its pledges into acts of Congress. The right of such a body to speak officially for the dominant party, and to construe its generalities, could not fail to improve a political system which now scatters at the very point at which it should concentrate. And then the character of the work to be performed by the cabinet ministers in drafting and debating the great national measures of legislation would certainly draw into those offices the very wisest and most experienced statesmen the country could furnish. Every President would be forced to surround himself with a trained fighting force in which untried men could find no place. The debates would inevitably bring into collision the great minds of the opposing parties in a much more pointed manner than at present, and the people would witness the proceedings with a keener interest and a far more perfect understanding. When the measures of the Executive were approved by the houses, everybody would understand where the credit of authorship belonged. In the event of defeat the hostile majority would be forced to offer counter-measures, for which it would become directly responsible. In that way definite and well-understood issues would be made up for the judgment of the electors at the next congressional election. And thus the whole system would become more quickly and more surely responsive than ever before to the touch of public opinion.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

SUMMER VISITORS.

BY CATHERINE B. SELDEN.

FORMERLY it was the "summer boarder" whose claims had to be met and whose delinquencies sometimes attracted public attention. Within the past few years, however, the number of those who own country homes, and who entertain their friends in their rural retreats, has so greatly increased that the summer visitor has become as conspicuous a member of society as his forerunner the boarder. It is to this class that a few words of warning as well as encouragement may now be judiciously directed, for the season is here when the host and guest alike need not only the spur of good intention, but the bridle of discretion.

There are undoubtedly many complications connected with entertaining in the city; but on the whole it is comparatively simple, for in most cases the visitor is only a "mealer," and when the repast is ended solicitude for the time being is over. In the country, however, it is quite different. In addition to the endless succession of meals there is the need of providing an uninterrupted series of amusements.

Since visiting is getting to be more and more a feature of country life, it behooves the housekeeper to make more systematic provision for it. It is her duty to learn what it may be expected to give, and recognize the sources of pleasure and pain involved in this phase of social life. In the country artificial aids to enjoyment, compared with those of the city, are exceedingly limited. Therefore people are thrown upon nature and upon their own wealth of resources for enlivenment; and unless they have a natural or acquired aptitude for self-entertainment they should not frequent the houses of those who would like to conduct their lives on another basis than the glare and noise of an electric

lighted existence. It is but natural and human that persons of social instincts should wish to enjoy the society of their friends, and for the kind-hearted to wish to do everything in their power to make their visits pleasant; but the guests should see that their demands are not too rigorous. They should not rest satisfied with being "something between a hindrance and a help," but they should coöperate actively with the hostess in contributing to the pleasure of all.

However willing the American man may be to play well his part in social matters, he is seldom the star of the company. His anxious preoccupation with the world of business makes him only too glad to transfer all social cares and responsibilities to his wife, sometimes even relinquishing his rights and duties so far as to seem almost like a guest in his own house. It is therefore to the wife rather than to the husband that we must look for the "endurance, foresight, strength, and skill" to minister to the pleasure-seeking voyagers who take ship upon the summer sea of adventure; many of whom, be it said, are so driven by the exigencies of our feverish life as to be the unhappy victims of physical depression or what is known as "brain fatigue." The hostess of even limited experience is quite accustomed to hear from the lips of the newly arrived visitor, "I am tired to death," and a day or two later the remarks: "I was never so dull in all my life," "I could sleep the whole day," "I have the appetite of an anaconda."

Intimations of physical exhaustion such as the above are far from being prophetic of anything that is *fête*-like or exhilarating. But better things might be hoped for if those who are thus afflicted would only conduct themselves wisely.

It is very easy for visitors of any penetration, if they once admit the importance of so doing, to become informed of the habits of the household with which they may temporarily be thrown, not only as regards the mere externals, but so far as the temper, the house *geist*, is concerned, the order of thought, its serious occupations, and its amusements. Furthermore if servants are not abundant, a willingness might be shown to lend a helping hand, not obtrusively, but effectively, and without being officious to assume some small share of the family burdens as well as the lion's share of its pleasures. Many things may be avoided which give trouble, and some things done to save it. There is also room for the display of a nice tact in ceasing to be a guest and becoming a mem-

ber of the household by means of a sympathetic understanding of its needs and desires.

The foregoing requirements may seem to make a heavy demand upon the casual visitor who comes but for a few days or a week at most. The duty resting upon such as these is light, and may be reduced to a few simple rules. To such an one it may be said, make yourself as agreeable as within you lies. Avoid looking as if you expected some novel entertainment every moment. In other words banish from your face the "What next?" expression and go at the appointed time, not with an injured and aggrieved air, but with the countenance of one who has had good measure at least, even if it has not been pressed down or is not running over. Absent yourself in your own room or out of doors a part of each day. Now every man and woman should have either some duty or pleasure which makes it necessary for their own well-being to withdraw themselves at least for a part of each day from the companionship and the presence of others. They should affect an occupation if they have it not, and invent an excuse, if necessary, for leaving those about them to seek the refreshment of solitude and systematic work. For a visitor to be *en evidence* from nine in the morning until eleven at night is too exhausting to the mental resources of any but the most gifted of mortals. There are few who can stand the test of so reckless a demand upon the wealth of the spirit; and such devitalizing practices can only be in harmony with the lives of those who lead an utterly purposeless and wasteful existence. It is the disregard of this feeling which sometimes makes the life of the hostess a state of bondage, so that missing her natural freedom her hospitable motive is quenched; not from any failing on her part, but from the lack of consideration on the part of others. Every right minded woman is prepared to give her guests the best that is in her, but she should not be expected to be "on tap," as it were, all of the time. "It is the part of a wise man," says Cervantes, "to keep himself today for to-morrow, and not to venture all his eggs in one basket."

It is only of late years that Americans, with their ever-abounding hospitality, have been able to bring themselves to the point of suggesting, by direct statement, any limit to the length of a visit; but now that the custom has become general, the designated time is of the nature of a law, and, if violated, brings its penal-

ties. The hostess knows best when it is time for her guest to depart. She is well aware of the nature of her resources, and if she has used them to advantage a visit of three days may be a perfect success, whereas, if it is prolonged three days more the added hours may be utterly vapid and unproductive of pleasure or profit. If a visit of a week is anticipated the same resources are differently managed; by stretching they may become somewhat attenuated, but all the same they may be counted upon with security and used with judgment. For whether or not the hostess is a person of "cheerful yesterdays" it is absolutely imperative she should be one of "confident to-morrows." She must be able, for the peace of her own mind, to lay her plans with reasonable certainty that they will be carried out. To achieve any sort of success she must be mindful of the many small details which insure the smooth running of the household machinery. Just in proportion as all knowledge of friction or care is withheld from the guest is he in danger of erring from a sense of false security. Where everything glides along so easily and his pleasure is so amply secured, he runs the risk of forgetting the means by which such results are brought about, and he is apt to think so long as he is well pleased his going or staying is a matter of small consequence. But this is sometimes an unwise conclusion.

Nevertheless it does seem hard when a mortal has found just the conditions that suit him, to be obliged to uproot himself and journey towards a less congenial state. He must remember, however, he has had no part in making the home whose comforts yield him so large a share of satisfaction, and that he runs the risk of being included among that portion of humanity which, like the cuckoo, is perfectly willing to occupy another's home, so long as it may be saved the trouble of making its own. Such nice calculation is, of course, unnecessary in the case of well tried and approved friends, but even these, like little Joe, had best "move on" at the natural terminus of a visit. It is better to leave a regret behind, the wish on the part of our friends for a speedy renewal of intercourse, rather than have them suffer from a sense of impoverished vitality.

There are ideal visitors as well as ideal hosts. Both to entertain and to visit are fine arts. Complete success in either relation depends not only upon the power of adaptation and amiability, but upon the store of natural gifts or acquirements the individual

may possess. Therefore it is well for every one to look to his qualifications for giving pleasure under conditions which are somewhat exacting.

With all our general diffusion of instruction in America, education, so far as it affects the whole conduct of life, has not yielded its full possibilities, nor will it do so until we recognize not only moral worth, but social charm as necessary to any harmonious scheme of living. Notwithstanding the time and money spent upon teaching music we have very little music in our homes. It is almost as rare with us as it is frequent in Europe for two or three persons to join in song or play together upon different instruments. Indeed we have no songs which are the common property of a room full of either cultivated or illiterate people. It was a part of the education of our parents to commit poetry to memory, and it was their firm belief that no other mental acquisition is so unfailing a source of pleasure and inspiration. In the country especially, a well-remembered store of poetry is a good thing to have at one's tongue's end. To be able to read aloud with intelligence and skill is also a charming accomplishment and one easily acquired, since there is no dearth of good teachers. The occasions when conversation naturally flags are the ones which furnish the opportunity for either of these agreeable pastimes, both of which, to say the least, may be considered more inspiring than asking conundrums. This last form of mental exercise may be classified among our national vices. It is the one kind of entertainment that is seldom lacking either at the boarding-house table or on the verandas of country homes.

In conclusion it is almost needless to say that reticence on the part of visitors concerning what they may have seen and heard in the houses of others is of the nature of a sacred obligation. Under certain circumstances it is even well to have "cobwebs in one's eyes" and cotton in one's ears. The family is very much at the mercy of the sojourner, and for this reason, if for none other, the order of living should be one of dignified reserve. The presence of a congenial guest is a great help towards maintaining a seemly plan of life. It is apt to check the unnecessary discussion of personal matters and to direct the conversation into wider channels than the petty interests into which the family talk too often flows.

C. B. SELDEN.

IN DEFENCE OF HARRIET SHELLEY.

BY MARK TWAIN.

II.

THE year 1813 is just ended now, and we step into 1814.

To recapitulate: how much of Cornelia's society has Shelley had, thus far? Portions of August and September, and four days of July. That is to say, he has had opportunity to enjoy it, more or less, during that brief period. Did he want some more of it? We must fall back upon history, and then go to conjecturing.

"In the early part of the year 1814, Shelley was a frequent visitor at Bracknell."

"Frequent" is a cautious word, in this author's mouth; the very cautiousness of it, the vagueness of it, provokes suspicion; it makes one suspect that this frequency was more frequent than the mere common every-day kinds of frequency which one is in the habit of averaging up with the unassuming term "frequent." I think so because they fixed up a bedroom for him in the Boinville house. One doesn't need a bedroom if one is only going to run over now and then in a disconnected way to respond like a tremulous instrument to every breath of passion or of sentiment and rub up one's Italian poetry a little.

The young wife was not invited, perhaps. If she was, she most certainly did not come, or she would have straightened the room up; the most ignorant of us knows that a wife would not endure a room in the condition in which Hogg found this one when he occupied it one night. Shelley was away—why, nobody can divine. Clothes were scattered about, there were books on every side: "Wherever a book could be laid was an open book turned down on its face to keep its place." It seems plain that the wife was not invited. No, not that; I think she was invited, but said to her-

self that she could not bear to go there and see another young woman touching heads with her husband over an Italian book and making thrilling hand-contacts with him accidentally.

As remarked, he was a frequent visitor there, "where he found an easeful resting-place in the house of Mrs. Boinville—the white-haired Maimuna—and of her daughter, Mrs. Turner." The aged Zonoras was deceased, but the white-haired Maimuna was still on deck, as we see. "Three charming ladies entertained the mocker (Hogg) with cups of tea, late hours, Wieland's Agathon, sighs and smiles, and the celestial manna of refined sentiment." "Such," says Hogg, "were the delights of Shelley's paradise in Bracknell."

The white-haired Maimuna presently writes to Hogg:

"I will not have you despise home-spun pleasures. Shelley is making a trial of them with us——"

A trial of them. It may fairly be called that. It was March 11, and he had been in the house a month. She continues:

Shelley "likes them so well that he is resolved to leave off rambling——"

But he has *already* left it off. He has been there a month.

"And begin a course of them himself."

But he has already begun it. He has been at it a *month*. He likes it so well that he has forgotten all about his wife, as a letter of his reveals.

"Seriously, I think his mind and body want rest."

Yet he has been resting both for a month, with Italian, and tea, and manna of sentiment, and late hours, and every restful thing a young husband could need for the refreshment of weary limbs and a sore conscience, and a nagging sense of shabbiness and treachery.

"His journeys after what he has never found have racked his purse and his tranquillity. He is resolved to take a little care of the former, in pity to the latter, which I applaud, and shall second with all my might."

But she does not say whether the young wife, a stranger and lonely yonder, wants another woman and her daughter Cornelia to be lavishing so much inflamed interest on her husband or not. That young wife is always silent—we are never allowed to hear from her. She must have opinions about such things, she cannot be indifferent, she must be approving or disapproving, surely

she would speak if she were allowed—even to-day and from her grave she would, if she could, I think—but we get only the other side, they keep her silent always.

"He has deeply interested us. In the course of your intimacy he must have made you feel what we now feel for him. He is seeking a house close to us—"

Ah—he is not close enough yet, it seems—

"and if he succeeds we shall have an additional motive to induce you to come among us in the summer."

The reader would puzzle a long time and not guess the biographer's comment upon the above letter. It is this;

"These sound like words of a considerate and judicious friend."

That is what he thinks. That is, it is what he thinks he thinks. No, that is not quite it: it is what he thinks he can stupefy a particularly and unspeakably dull reader into thinking it is what he thinks. He makes that comment with the knowledge that Shelley is in love with this woman's daughter, and that it is because of the fascinations of these two that Shelley has deserted his wife—for this month, considering all the circumstances, and his new passion, and his employment of the time, amounted to desertion; that is its rightful name. We cannot know how the wife regarded it and felt about it; but if she could have read the letter which Shelley was writing to Hogg four or five days later, we could guess her thought and how she felt. Hear him:

. . . . . .

"I have been staying with Mrs. Boinville for the last month; I have escaped, in the society of all that philosophy and friendship combine, from the dismaying solitude of myself."

It is fair to conjecture that he was feeling ashamed.

"They have revived in my heart the expiring flame of life. I have felt myself translated to a paradise which has nothing of mortality but its transitoriness; my heart sickens at the view of that necessity which will quickly divide me from the delightful tranquillity of this happy home—for it has become my home.

. . . . . .

"Eliza is still with us—not here!—but will be with me when the infinite malice of destiny forces me to depart."

Eliza is she who blocked that game—the game in London—the one where we were purposing to dine every night with one

of the "three charming ladies" who fed tea and manna and late hours to Hogg at Bracknell.

Shelley could send Eliza away, of course; could have cleared her out long ago if so minded, just as he had previously done with a predecessor of hers whom he had first worshipped and then turned against; but perhaps she was useful there as a thin excuse for staying away himself.

"I am now but little inclined to contest this point. I certainly hate her with all my heart and soul. . . .

"It is a sight which awakens an inexpressible sensation of disgust and horror, to see her caress my poor little Ianthe, in whom I may hereafter find the consolation of sympathy. I sometimes feel faint with the fatigue of checking the overflowings of my unbounded abhorrence for this miserable wretch. But she is no more than a blind and loathsome worm, that cannot see to sting."

"I have begun to learn Italian again. . . . Cornelia assists me in this language. Did I not once tell you that I thought her cold and reserved? She is the reverse of this, as she is the reverse of everything bad. She inherits all the divinity of her mother. . . . I have sometimes forgotton that I am not an inmate of this delightful home,—that a time will come which will cast me again into the boundless ocean of abhorred society.

"I have written nothing but one stanza, which has no meaning, and that I have only written in thought:

Thy dewy looks sink in my breast;
Thy gentle words stir poison there;
Thou hast disturbed the only rest
That was the portion of despair.
Subdued to duty's hard control,
I could have borne my wayward lot:
The chains that bind this ruined soul
Had cankered then, but crushed it not.

"This is the vision of a delirious and distempered dream, which passes away at the cold clear light of morning. Its surpassing excellence and exquisite perfections have no more reality than the color of an autumnal sunset."

Then it did not refer to his wife. That is plain; otherwise he would have said so. It is well that he explained that it has no meaning, for if he had not done that, the previous soft references to Cornelia and the way he has come to feel about her now would make us think she was the person who had inspired it while teaching him how to read the warm and ruddy Italian poets during a month.

The biography observes that portions of this letter "read like the tired moaning of a wounded creature." Guesses at the nature of the wound are permissible; we will hazard one.

Read by the light of Shelley's previous history, his letter seems to be the cry of a tortured conscience. Until this time it was a conscience that had never felt a pang or known a smirch. It was the conscience of one who, until this time, had never done a dishonorable thing, or an ungenerous, or cruel, or treacherous thing, but was now doing all of these, and was keenly aware of it. Up to this time Shelley had been master of his nature, and it was a nature which was as beautiful and as nearly perfect as any merely human nature may be. But he was drunk, now, with a debasing passion, and was not himself. There is nothing in his previous history that is in character with the Shelley of this letter. He had done boyish things, foolish things, even crazy things, but never a thing to be ashamed of. He had done things which one might laugh at, but the privilege of laughing was limited always to the thing itself; you could not laugh at the motive back of it—that was high, that was noble. His most fantastic and quixotic acts had a purpose back of them which made them fine, often great, and made the rising laugh seem profanation and quenched it; quenched it, and changed the impulse to homage. Up to this time he had been loyalty itself, where his obligations lay—treachery was new to him; he had never done an ignoble thing—baseness was new to him; he had never done an unkind thing—that also was new to him.

This was the author of that letter, this was the man who had deserted his young wife and was lamenting, because he must leave another woman's house which had become a "home" to him, and go away. Is he lamenting *mainly* because he must go back to his wife and child? No, the lament is mainly for what he is to leave behind him. The physical comforts of the house? No, in his life he had never attached importance to such things. Then the thing which he grieves to leave is narrowed down to a person—to the person whose "dewy looks" had sunk into his breast, and whose seducing words had "stirred poison there."

He was ashamed of himself, his conscience was upbraiding him. He was the slave of a degrading love; he was drunk with his passion, the real Shelley was in temporary eclipse. This is the verdict which his previous history must certainly deliver upon this episode, I think.

One must be allowed to assist himself with conjectures like these when trying to find his way through a literary swamp which

has so many misleading fingerboards up as this book is furnished with.

We have now arrived at a part of the swamp where the difficulties and perplexities are going to be greater than any we have yet met with—where, indeed, the fingerboards are multitudinous, and the most of them pointing diligently in the wrong direction. We are to be told by the biography why Shelley deserted his wife and child and took up with Cornelia Turner and Italian. It was not on account of Cornelia's sighs and sentimentalities and tea and manna and late hours and soft and sweet and industrious enticements; no, it was because "his happiness in his home had been wounded and bruised almost to death."

It had been wounded and bruised almost to death, in this way:

1st. Harriet persuaded him to set up a carriage.

2d. After the intrusion of the baby, Harriet stopped reading aloud and studying.

3d. Harriet's walks with Hogg "commonly conducted us to some fashionable bonnet-shop."

4th. Harriet hired a wet-nurse.

5th. When an operation was being performed upon the baby, "Harriet stood by, narrowly observing all that was done, but, to the astonishment of the operator, betraying not the smallest sign of emotion."

6th. Eliza Westbrook, sister-in-law, was still of the household.

The evidence against Harriet Shelley is all in; there is no more. Upon these six counts she stands indicted of the crime of driving her husband into that sty at Bracknell; and this crime, by these helps, the biographical prosecuting attorney has set himself the task of proving upon her.

Does the biographer *call* himself the attorney for the prosecution? No, only to himself, privately; publicly he is the passionless, disinterested, impartial judge on the bench. He holds up his judicial scales before the world, that all may see; and it all tries to look so fair that a blind person would sometimes fail to see him slip the false weights in.

Shelley's happiness in his home had been wounded and bruised almost to death, first, because Harriet had persuaded him to set up a carriage. I cannot discover that any evidence is offered that

she asked him to set up a carriage. Still, if she did, was it a heavy offence? Was it unique? Other young wives had committed it before, others have committed it since. Shelley had dearly loved her in those London days; possibly he set up the carriage gladly to please her; affectionate young husbands do such things. When Shelley ran away with another girl, by and bye, this girl persuaded him to pour the price of many carriages and many horses down the bottomless well of her father's debts, but this impartial judge finds no fault with that. Once she appeals to Shelley to raise money—necessarily by borrowing, there was no other way—to pay her father's debts with at a time when Shelley was in danger of being arrested and imprisoned for his own debts; yet the good judge finds no fault with her even for this.

First and last, Shelley emptied into that rapacious mendicant's lap a sum which cost him—for he borrowed it at ruinous rates—from eighty to one hundred thousand dollars. But it was Mary Godwin's papa, the supplications were often sent through Mary, the good judge is Mary's strenuous friend, so Mary gets no censures. On the continent *Mary rode in her private carriage*, built, as Shelley boasts, "by one of the best makers in Bond street," yet the good judge makes not even a passing comment on this iniquity. Let us throw out Count No. 1, against Harriet Shelley, as being far-fetched and frivolous.

Shelley's happiness in his home had been wounded and bruised almost to death, secondly, because Harriet's studies "had dwindled away to nothing, Bysshe had ceased to express any interest in them." At what time was this? It was when Harriet "had fully recovered from the fatigue of her first effort of maternity, . . . and was now in full force, vigor and effect." Very well, the baby was born two days before the close of June. It took the mother a month to get back her full force, vigor and effect, this brings us to July 27th and the deadly Cornelia. If a wife of eighteen is studying with her husband and he gets smitten with another woman, isn't he likely to lose interest in his wife's studies for *that* reason, and is not his wife's interest in her studies likely to languish for the *same* reason? Would not the mere sight of those books of hers sharpen the pain that is in her heart? This sudden breaking down of a mutual intellectual interest of two years' standing is coincident with Shelley's re-encounter with Cornelia; and we are allowed to gather that from that time forth

for nearly two months he did all his studying in that person's society. We feel at liberty to rule out Count No. 2 from the indictment against Harriet.

Shelley's happiness in his home had been wounded and bruised almost to death, thirdly, because Harriet's walks with Hogg commonly led to some fashionable bonnet-shop. I offer no palliation; I only ask why the dispassionate, impartial judge did not offer one himself—merely, I mean, to offset his leniency in a similar case or two where the girl who ran away with Harriet's husband was the shopper. There are several occasions where she interested herself with shopping—among them being walks which ended at the bonnet-shop—yet in none of these cases does she get a word of blame from the good judge, while in one of them he covers the deed with a justifying remark, she doing the shopping that time to find easement for her mind, her child having died.

Shelley's happiness in his home had been wounded and bruised almost to death, fourthly, by the introduction there of a wet-nurse. The wet-nurse was introduced at the time of the Edinburgh sojourn, immediately after Shelley had been enjoying the two months of study with Cornelia which broke up his wife's studies and destroyed his personal interest in them. Why, by this time, nothing that Shelley's wife could do would have been satisfactory to him, for he was in love with another woman, and was never going to be contented again until he got back to her. If he had been still in love with his wife it is not easily conceivable that he would care much who nursed the baby, provided the baby was well nursed. Harriet's jealousy was assuredly voicing itself now, Shelley's conscience was assuredly nagging him, pestering him, persecuting him. Shelley needed excuses for his altered attitude towards his wife; Providence pitied him and sent the wet-nurse. If Providence had sent him a cotton doughnut it would have answered just as well; all he wanted was something to find fault with.

Shelley's happiness in his home had been wounded and bruised almost to death, fifthly, because Harriet narrowly watched a surgical operation which was being performed upon her child, and, "to the astonishment of the operator," who was watching Harriet instead of attending to his operation, she betrayed "not the smallest sign of emotion." The author of this biography was not ashamed to set down that exultant slander. He was appar-

ently not aware that it was a small business to bring into his court a witness whose name he does not know, and whose character and veracity there is none to vouch for, and allow him to strike this blow at the mother-heart of this friendless girl. The biographer says, "We may not infer from this that Harriet did not feel"—why put it in, then?—"but we learn that those about her could believe her to be hard and insensible." Who were those who were about her? Her husband? He hated her now, because he was in love elsewhere. Her sister? Of course that is not charged. Peacock? Peacock does not testify. The wet-nurse? She does not testify. If any others were there we have no mention of them. "Those about her" are reduced to one person—her husband. Who reports the circumstance? It is Hogg. Perhaps he was there—we do not know. But if he was, he still got his information at second-hand, as it was the operator who noticed Harriet's lack of emotion, not himself. Hogg is not given to saying kind things when Harriet is his subject. He may have said them the time that he tried to tempt her to soil her honor, but after that he mentions her usually with a sneer. "Among those who were about her" was one witness well equipped to silence all tongues, abolish all doubts, set our minds at rest; one witness, not called and not callable, whose evidence, if we could but get it, would outweigh the oaths of whole battalions of hostile Hoggs and nameless surgeons—the baby. I wish we had the baby's testimony; and yet if we had it it would not do us any good—a furtive conjecture, a sly insinuation, a pious "if" or two, would be smuggled in, here and there, with a solemn air of judicial investigation, and its positiveness would wilt into dubiety.

The biographer says of Harriet, "if words of tender affection and motherly pride prove the reality of love, then undoubtedly she loved her first-born child." That is, if mere empty words can prove it, it stands proved—and in this way, without committing himself, he gives the reader a chance to infer that there isn't any extant evidence but words, and that he doesn't take much stock in them. How seldom he shows his hand! He is always lurking behind a non-committal "if" or something of that kind; always gliding and dodging around, distributing colorless poison here and there and everywhere, but always leaving himself in a position to say that his language will be found innocuous if taken

to pieces and examined. He clearly exhibits a steady and never-relaxing purpose to make Harriet the scapegoat for her husband's first great sin—but it is in the general view that this is revealed, not in the details. His insidious literature is like blue water; you know what it is that makes it blue, but you cannot produce and verify any detail of the cloud of microscopic dust in it that does it. Your adversary can dip up a glassful and show you that it is pure white and you cannot deny it; and he can dip the lake dry, glass by glass, and show that every glassful is white, and prove it to any one's eye—and yet that lake *was* blue and you can swear it. This book is blue—with slander in solution.

Let the reader examine, for example, the paragraph of comment which immediately follows the letter containing Shelley's self-exposure which we have been considering. This is it. One should inspect the individual sentences as they go by, then pass them in procession and review the cake-walk as a whole:

"Shelley's happiness in his home, as is evident from this pathetic letter, had been fatally stricken; it is evident, also, that he knew where duty lay; he felt that his part was to take up his burden, silently and sorrowfully, and to bear it henceforth with the quietness of despair. But we can perceive that he scarcely possessed the strength and fortitude needful for success in such an attempt. And clearly Shelley himself was aware how perilous it was to accept that respite of blissful ease which he enjoyed in the Boinville household; for gentle voices and dewy looks and words of sympathy could not fail to remind him of an ideal of tranquillity or of joy which could never be his, and which he must henceforth sternly exclude from his imagination."

That paragraph commits the author in no way. Taken sentence by sentence it *asserts* nothing against anybody or in favor of anybody, pleads for nobody, accuses nobody. Taken detail by detail, it is as innocent as moonshine. And yet, taken as a whole, it is a design against the reader; its intent is to remove the feeling which the letter must leave with him if let alone, and put a different one in its place—to remove a feeling justified by the letter and substitute one not justified by it. The letter itself gives you no uncertain picture—no lecturer is needed to stand by with a stick and point out its details and let on to explain what they mean. The picture is the very clear and remorsefully faithful picture of a fallen and fettered angel who is ashamed of himself; an angel who beats his soiled wings and cries, who complains to the woman who enticed him that he *could* have borne his wayward lot, he *could* have stood by his duty if it had not been

for her beguilements; an angel who rails at the "boundless ocean of abhorred society," and rages at his poor judicious sister-in-law. If there is any dignity about this spectacle it will escape most people.

Yet when the paragraph of comment is taken as a whole, the picture is full of dignity and pathos; we have before us a blameless and noble spirit stricken to the earth by malign powers, but not conquered; tempted, but grandly putting the temptation away; enmeshed by subtle coils, but sternly resolved to rend them and march forth victorious, at any peril of life or limb. Curtain—slow music.

Was it the purpose of the paragraph to take the bad taste of Shelley's letter out of the reader's mouth? If that was not it, good ink was wasted; without that, it has no relevancy—the multiplication table would have padded the space as rationally.

We have inspected the six reasons which we are asked to believe drove a man of conspicuous patience, honor, justice, fairness, kindliness, and iron firmness, resolution, and steadfastness, from the wife whom he loved and who loved him, to a refuge in the mephitic paradise of Bracknell. These are six infinitely little reasons; but there were six colossal ones, and these the counsel for the destruction of Harriet Shelley persists in not considering very important.

Moreover, the colossal six preceded the little six, and had done the mischief before they were born. Let us double-column the twelve; then we shall see at a glance that each little reason is in turn answered by a retorting reason of a size to overshadow it and make it insignificant:

1. Harriet sets up carriage.	1. CORNELIA TURNER.
2. Harriet stops studying.	2. CORNELIA TURNER.
3. Harriet goes to bonnet-shop.	3. CORNELIA TURNER.
4. Harriet takes a wet-nurse.	4. CORNELIA TURNER.
5. Harriet has too much nerve.	5. CORNELIA TURNER.
6. Detested sister-in-law.	6. CORNELIA TURNER.

As soon as we comprehend that Cornelia Turner and the Italian lessons happened *before* the little six had been discovered to be grievances, we understand why Shelley's happiness in his home had been wounded and bruised almost to death, and no one can persuade us into laying it on Harriet. Shelley and Cornelia are

the responsible persons, and we cannot in honor and decency allow the cruelties which they practised upon the unoffending wife to be pushed aside in order to give us a chance to waste time and tears over six sentimental justifications of an offence which the six can't justify, nor even respectably assist in justifying.

Six? There were seven; but in charity to the biographer the seventh ought not to be exposed. Still, he hung it out himself, and not only hung it out, but thought it was a good point in Shelley's favor. For two years Shelley found sympathy and intellectual food and all that, at home; there was enough for spiritual and mental support, but not enough for luxury; and so, at the end of the contented two years, this latter detail justifies him in going bag and baggage over to Cornelia Turner and supplying the rest of his need in the way of surplus sympathy and intellectual pie unlawfully. By the same reasoning a man in merely comfortable circumstances may rob a bank without sin.

MARK TWAIN.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A CASE FOR FREE IMPORTS.

THE reader need not be alarmed or curious in the belief that this is to prove an interesting statistical paper. Nothing of the kind! The free imports spoken of are not even raw material used in the world's manufactures. The chief article indeed which might be freed from duty is a thing which is sentient enough never to ask for such treatment, because it has conscience enough to rejoice in any duty put upon it. Whether you can import it or not, or whether you would wish to have it free, must be judged after you hear of the extent of the prevalence of the thing in England.

The thing to which I allude is the public performance of public duty free of the acceptance of public money. It is the doing of labor for love. Is love's labor lost? That is being asked nowadays when people wish to pay small salaries and have the energies of the salaried wholly at their call. Public work done for nothing means the employment of men who are a little independent, and independence is not always considered an individual, although it may be deemed a national, virtue. No; professional politicians say politics, and all avocations of man influenced by politics—and what is there that is not influenced by them?—should be undertaken by the servants of the public; and how can a man be a real servant unless he accept pay, and does exactly as his master tells him? How can a country with such old-fangled ideas as those involved in an unpaid House of Representatives fail to be constantly proving itself wofully behind the times? Fancy a whole chamber of representatives presuming to represent a public gratuitously! Fancy legislators who do not receive mileage money! The thing must surely be an enormity. Sovereigns are the first servants of their people; where each citizen is a sovereign the dollars should be paid to their servants, the delegates. Where these receive no pay the sovereignty of the citizens can hardly be properly acknowledged.

The late Lord Bramwell, in speaking at a public dinner of the work of a colleague, said that he "had labored as only men do in this country when they receive no pay." The observation was just, for much is done by citizens who "work like niggers," as the expression was in old slavery days, without the "keep" the negro enjoyed in unlimited food. The Commons are now certainly asking for "commons," that is their keep, a very reasonable request according to American ideas. But it must be remembered that there are not so many men in many of the United States who can afford, as "men of leisure," to give time to public affairs, as there are in England. In the island kingdom there are thousands who have little occupation but the life of club and society. It is not a reproach in England to say of a man

that he has no profession, as it certainly and most wholesomely is in America. But the leisured folk in Britain have given much of their time to the public. Nor is it a case where Demos can say, "Thank you for nothing." The practice has spared Demos much money, and has been largely instrumental in securing impartiality and independence in the conduct of affairs. Although in the days of Lord North and King George town constituencies and rural votes were largely bought, yet the members of Parliament were themselves free in general from any suspicion of being bribed, and the habit of gratuitous public service has rendered the constituencies and the House far purer in England and Scotland than in most countries. No one dreams of being able to "get at" a chairman of committees, nor can a millionaire influence votes in the House by the use of money. Can this be said elsewhere? The well to be pure must have pure sources, and the sources in Britain are pure. The action of rural persons undertaking to be justices of the peace, or members of county councils, without pay, throws upon them a vast amount of travelling and hard work for which they receive—estimation and respect? Hardly. They sacrifice their comfort and often also their health in undertaking duties which are well performed by them without fee or reward. You may say that "position" and power, or the love of these, is at the bottom of this action. All human action is alloyed, but if you get gold of 18 carats are you not satisfied, and do you not prefer it to some metal that gets easily dirty as the coin which is composed of it passes from hand to hand? If you can tempt men by the bribery of honor, it is better to do so, than to attract them only by the bait of an often insufficient pay.

But the culminating instance showing to what an extent the reliance on voluntary service is placed lies in the case of the high-sheriff. The high-sheriff of an English county was a very useful, and still is a very ornamental, officer. Let us see how different in different parts of our Anglo-Saxon world the duties performed by a sheriff are. In the West he may be obliged to summon his *posse*, and, at the head of the improvised forces of order, pursue armed men and conduct, if not a battle royal, a battle republican on behalf of justice. But in the old land the sheriff's utmost duty in case of the non-arrival of the proper officer would be to see that a condemned man was decently hung. The American has fair pay and little rank. The Englishman has no pay and great rank. During his tenure of office he has precedence over every one. But note the advantage to the public derived from the habit of rendering free service. The public require the high-sheriff to pay for all the dignity of representation of justice. He must "run the show" for them. He has to engage gorgeously apparelled footmen, a grandly decorated coachman, and, more expensive still, fine horses and a first-rate carriage, besides, in many cases, halberdiers and other servants, to make the people admire the judges whose servant he is! Yes, he is the mere lacquey of the judges whom he must attend on circuit, who are hardly supposed to speak to their gorgeous slave! He is named for all this service, and, when named, must perform it. If he declines, or runs away, or sends word that he is yachting in the Mediterranean, or "malingers" in any way, he is forthwith fined £500. The office only lasts one year, so that this heavy impost is levied on many in each county. Yet there is little grumbling and very little shirking. It is considered an honor—an honor to serve the public, and pay for the public, instead of being paid by them. But the further consideration of the glory and martyrdom of high-sheriffs is too touching and overwhelming to the feelings to be longer dwelt upon; suffice

it to ask the question: Is not a British high-sheriff raw material worth introducing into the United States duty free? He would add color to the national life, and would cost nothing.

LORNE.

TOO MANY CHILDREN.

MANY of the agencies for lessening pauperism are afraid of tracing back its growth to the frequency of births under wretched conditions. One begins to question whether after all sweet charity or dignified philanthropy has not acted with an unwise reticence; whether, instead of courses in literature and theology, college settlements and missionaries should not have taught the unemployed the relation between births and pauperism. Yet both social and national life to-day recognize the direct relation of morality and one of its phases, personal purity, to political economy, a relationship which is more and more comprehended owing to the increasing development of ethics, sociology, and science. Among the problems which defy practical handling this is the most complicated. Yet it is the bottom reason why there is a child-problem to solve, why child-labor complements adult labor, and why churches offer so little consolation to the unchurched, for the churches assume that the pauperism in marriage is justifiable, while that of illegitimacy is criminal. The pauperism which arises from marriage is the result of the worst elements of character legalized. In America, where the boundaries of wedlock are practically boundless, it is not desirable, even were it possible, that the state should regulate marriage much further than it now does; therefore must the sociologist turn for aid to society in his struggle with pauperism.

Society should insist upon the right spiritual and physical conditions for birth. It should be considered more than a "pity" when another child is born into a home too poor to receive it. The underlying selfishness of such an event should be recognized, for it brings motherhood under wrong conditions of health and money. Instead of each birth being the result of mature consideration and hallowed love, children too often are born as animals are born. To be sure the child has a father whom he can call by name. Better that there had never been a child.

No one hesitates to declare that it is want of self-respect and morality which brings wrong results outside of marriage, but it is also the want of them which begets evil inside the marriage relation. Though there is nothing more difficult than to find the equilibrium between self-respect and self-sacrifice, yet on success in finding it depends individual and national preservation. The fact of being wife and mother or husband and father should imply dignity and joyousness, no matter how humble the home. Because it is difficult for society to make the unskilled adult equal to the skilled adult in morality, society is trying to-day, first by organization and co-operation, and secondly by teaching, to produce the true value of purity in its relation to the government and the individual, that neither the family nor the state should be overrun by children whose parents are not competent to care for them?

In regard to teaching, the difficulties are great. As soon as one advances beyond the simplest subjects of hygiene, one is met with the difference of opinion among physicians. When each one has his favorite way of making a mustard plaster, no wonder that each has his own notions about everything else. One doctor recommends frequent births, another advises against them.

If physiological facts are taught to a large class, there are sure to be some in it whose impressionable natures are excited by too much plain speaking, while there are others who need the most open teaching in order to gain any benefit. Talks to a few persons generally are wiser than popular lectures. Especially are talks needed by mothers and the unmothered girls who come from everywhere to the city.

The second method of encouraging purity is by organization, such as reformatory homes like Magdalen and other disagreeably labelled houses; indirectly preventive organizations for working girls, like Christian Associations, Friendly Societies, clubs, etc.; and the direct and educating-by-teaching work of the White Cross and Moral Education Associations and the social purity work of the Temperance Unions. Happily those whose clear insight takes purity as nature's open law need no discourse save that of reverence, for to them purity is the mystic revelation of peace and love.

It is not women alone who require the shelter of organizations and instruction, but boys and young men. There is no double standard of morality, though the methods of advocating it depend upon the sex which is to be instructed. Men are more concerned with the practical bases of morality than with its sentiment, and with the pecuniary aspects of domestic life than with its physical and mental suffering. We all may need pharmacopœia for moral ills, yet the very intangibleness of purity makes us slow to formulate rules for its growth. Under the guidance of the wise in spirit and knowledge, much can be done to create a higher standard of marriage and to proportion the number of births according to the health and income of parents. If the home exists primarily for the sake of the individual, it exists secondarily for the sake of the state. Therefore, any home into which are continually born the inefficient children of inefficient parents, not only is a discomfort in itself, but it also furnishes members for the armies of the unemployed, which are tinkering and hindering legislation and demanding by the brute force of numbers that the state shall support them.

KATE GANNETT WELLS.

THE LATE PRESIDENT CARNOT.

"ALL that I possess of strength and devotedness belongs to my country." Those words are from a message of the late Marie François Sadi Carnot, communicated to the Chamber of Deputies nine days after his election to the office of President of the French Republic.

The blameless victim of the latest political assassination came very near being an ideal executive head of a great nation. He had many essential qualities which especially fitted him for the time and place. To his lot equally with that of either of his predecessors, fell the labor of moulding into form, out of fractious political factions, a homogeneous national spirit which would consider the interests of country superior to those of party. In the performance of this undertaking he encountered, from the first, the opposition of embittered factions incited by petty jealousies, and often sustained by impure personal motives of the most sinister and unpatriotic nature. Measures of importance to the welfare of the nation presented for the consideration of the representatives of the people, were often defeated to gratify the petty spite of a disaffected cabal. These frequent defeats of government propositions compelled the President to witness a procession of coming and

going cabinets, which disappeared from view like scenes upon the canvas of a moving panorama.

He was often censured for not being more of a leader, and for not attempting to control the ever-recurring factional vagaries which made their appearance in the Chamber of Deputies. But in spite of advice, opposition, and adverse criticism from many quarters, he remained to the end of his career the strictly constitutional head of the government. Republican to the core, in the best sense of the word, he ever acknowledged the will of the people as supreme, and, when expressed through their chosen representatives, unhesitatingly yielded his official obedience to their commands. In rendering this implicit obedience to what he considered to be the supreme national authority over him expressing the will of the people, he carried out his preconceived ideas of official duty, and escaped accusations of any attempt at usurpation of powers which, if opportunities had presented themselves, the enemies of his administration would have made. In his quiet way he succeeded in exercising an amount of influence in the interest of good government that has never been appreciated, and, probably, will never be known. When necessary he never hesitated to efface self, but when he had a clearly defined constitutional right as the executive, he acted promptly, and, usually, with sound sagacity. It may be said of President Carnot that he was in no respect great, in the popular acceptation of that term, but he was strong in many directions, abounding in good faith, and true in all things. He was never found wanting, and never wanted without being found. He possessed a lofty and perfectly patriotic sense of his great responsibilities, and was untiring in his complete devotion to public duties.

He was never accused of being a politician of the professional stamp. Having by his election to the Presidency reached the summit of his ambition, he banished all thoughts of continuing in office after the expiration of his presidential term. His only ambition was to administer the duties of his great trust purely, and for the good of his country.

The Palace of the Elysée, while it was the official residence of the chief of the nation, was, also, first and above all, the pleasant family home. Its domesticity was everywhere apparent, its moral atmosphere was perfect, and under the guidance of the good and accomplished wife of the President, it became the living centre of a great charitable movement of far-reaching influence. Those who experienced the later hospitality of the Elysée could not help being impressed with the unaffected cordial simplicity and perfect breeding with which they were received and entertained. Possibly, never before were official functions incident to a great office so beautifully toned to the pitch of a homely welcome. The whole *entourage* was in perfect keeping with the man and woman. Both were free from any appearance of pride arrogance, or ostentation. The atmosphere around them was as sweet and pure as though born of spring flowers.

In the assassination of President Carnot we behold a new kind of martyrdom. The fiends of misrule are abroad with murder for their watchword, and it will not be their fault if the close of the nineteenth century does not witness a repetition of the scenes of the sixteenth century, St. Bartholemew's Day, and those of the eighteenth century's Reign of Terror.

RUSH C. HAWKINS.

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THE LATE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

SOME REMINISCENCES.

BY THE PRESENT LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, THE RIGHT HON. LORD RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN.

In these lines I propose to speak of Lord Coleridge as I knew him at the Bar, on the Bench, and in Society. It is not my purpose to speak of his early life nor of his career at Eton and at Balliol, where he laid the foundation of that wide scholarship which in these dull, prosaic, practical days is gradually becoming rarer in those who achieve great positions either on the Bench or in political life.

He was called to the Bar in 1847, and began his career with many favorable attending circumstances. His father, still on the Bench, was a respected if not a great Judge, and Mr. Coleridge brought with him to the Temple the reputation of ripe scholarship, and, from the Union at Oxford, the promise of remarkable gifts of speech. To these he added a distinguished presence and a voice the beauty of which I have not often known surpassed. Indeed, if I except the voices of perhaps Sir Alexander Cockburn, Mr. Gladstone, the present Sir Robert Peel, and the late Father Burke of the Dominican Order, I shall have exhausted the list of those who may be said to have been his

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superiors in this respect. At the Bar, his rise was rapid; but, until the later years of his professional life, and, indeed, until after he had served as a Law Officer, I have reason to think that his income did not approach that of many men in general practice at the Bar in recent times.

His Circuit (the Western) did not introduce him in any considerable degree to the heavy commercial work which abounded in those days at the Guildhall and on the Northern Circuit; but after he had obtained his silk gown in 1861, there were few of those cases known nowadays as "*causes célèbres*" in which his services were not eagerly sought after. It was my own good fortune to have been concerned (playing very minor parts) soon after I was called to the Bar, in three causes which brought him great renown. The first of these was the Windham Lunacy Case, in which Sir Hugh Cairns and Mr. John Karslake appeared for Windham; Mr. Coleridge for the lady whom Windham had married; and Mr. Montagu Chambers and Mr. Field, now Lord Field, for General Windham, the petitioner. I held a watching brief for Lady Guibilie, the mother of Mr. Windham. If Sir Hugh Cairns's speech was the greatest and Mr. Montagu Chambers's the most vigorous, Mr. Coleridge's was certainly the most graceful and eloquent delivered on that occasion. His peroration ran thus:

"It is neither my duty nor my inclination to say a single word in favor of profligacy or of vice. 'Stolen waters are sweet and bread eaten in secret is pleasant. But he knoweth not that the dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of hell.' Far be it from me to cast a shadow of doubt upon the truth of those sublime and tremendous words, but nothing can be more absurd, and even cruel, than to take a sanctimonious view of Mr. and Mrs. Windham's life, to confound sin and vice with insanity, and to accept immorality and irreligion as proofs of legal incapacity. If religion is to be invoked by the other side, I have no hesitation in saying that I would far rather be the Magdalene who washed her Divine Master's feet with her tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head than the self-complacent Pharisee who condemned the woman because she was a sinner, and who tried to plume himself before Almighty God upon the outer regularity of his decorous life. Under any other circumstances, I would ask your verdict for Mr. Windham with the utmost confidence and with absolute certainty of success; and even in this case, in spite of the mountain of prejudice which has been excited, I appeal to you, with all the earnestness and energy which I can command, and in the name of law, honor, and justice, to acquit Mr. Windham and his wife of the filthy and infamous charges which have been so cruelly, so ruthlessly, and so basely pressed against them."

In *Fitzgerald* against *Northcote*, an action brought by a son of the late Lord Fitzgerald against the Reverend Dr. Northcote, President of Oscott College, for expulsion from the school, Mr. Coleridge represented the plaintiff, while his great rival at the Bar, Mr. Karslake, represented the defendant. Mr. Coleridge delivered in that trial most masterly speeches both in opening and in reply, eventually winning the verdict for his client. As some of the persons concerned in that case are still living, it is proper to say that the grounds on which it was sought to justify the expulsion involved no moral imputation upon the pupil expelled; at the most, he was accused of breaches of discipline, and of having taken part in the formation of a kind of secret society amongst the students, which in the opinion of the authorities of the college was likely to prove subversive of discipline.

The action of *Saurin* against *Starr* was one of the most remarkable cases in which he was engaged. It was an action brought by an Irish lady who had joined the branch established at Hull of the religious order known as the Sisters of Mercy. The Superior had, in fact, complained to the ecclesiastical authorities and compelled the lady to leave the convent; and, thereupon, she brought an action in respect of the expulsion and for libel. The case excited great interest at the time—great interest naturally among the Catholic community, and still more amongst the non-Catholic community. It is not, I think, uncharitable to say, as to the latter, that it was anticipated, if not hoped, that the inquiry might throw a lurid light upon the incidents of conventual life. In this respect, the disappointment was great. The incidents of the case were devoid of sensation, and, in any other connection, would have been devoid of interest. No grave moral imputation was made against the plaintiff, and no serious misconduct was, on her part, alleged against the community of which she had been a member. Her case was that, without cause, she had been expelled, and that, without justification, her conduct had been represented as incompatible with conventual life. The case for the convent may be summed up in a sentence: That Miss Saurin had no vocation, that she was incapable of submitting to the strict discipline found necessary in religious communities, that she broke bounds, spoke when she ought to have been silent, and did not observe the small rules of conventual life ordained by those in authority. The charac-

ter of the evidence may be illustrated by an amusing incident which occurred in the course of the cross-examination by Mr. Coleridge of Mrs. Kennedy, a lady who held the office of Mistress of Novices. Mrs. Kennedy mentioned among other peccadilloes that on one occasion she had found Miss Saurin in the pantry eating strawberries when she ought to have been attending to a class of poor children, or some such duty. The cross-examination proceeded thus:

Mr. Coleridge: "Eating strawberries, really!"
Mrs. Kennedy: "Yes, sir; she was eating strawberries."
Mr. Coleridge: "How shocking!"
Mrs. Kennedy: "It was forbidden, sir."
Mr. Coleridge: "And did you, Mrs. Kennedy, really consider there was any harm in that?"
Mrs. Kennedy: "No, sir, not in itself, any more than there was any harm in eating an apple; but you know, sir, the mischief that came from that."

In the course of his reply, Mr. Coleridge was severe upon the ladies of the community for the serious view they took of the most trivial things, and, while admitting the good work that they accomplished, attacked them with bitterness in relation to their conduct towards the plaintiff. It was an impressive and powerful speech. One flash in it can recall. "Gentlemen," he said, "I cannot help thinking that people who devote themselves to that life imitate too exclusively one part of the life of our Divine Lord, and forget the other,—they remember and imitate the forty days in the Wilderness and the lonely hours in the garden and on the mountain, and they fail to bear in mind the marriage of Cana and the Feast of Bethany." He obtained a verdict for his client, but questions of law of a serious kind were ultimately raised. A rule for setting aside the verdict was obtained, and the litigation was then dropped.

I cannot forbear mentioning in connection with this case a distinguished contemporary, at the Bar, of Mr. Coleridge, who led against him in this litigation; I mean Mr. George Mellish, afterwards Lord Justice Mellish. No two men could be more dissimilar. Mr. Mellish was of small stature and weak physique. He was an almost constant sufferer from gout. He was a great lawyer, and without any exception the most lucid arguer *in banc* I have ever heard. A case like the Convent Case was quite out of his ordinary line; but he threw himself into it with the greatest zeal, and, although suffering acutely from an attack of gout

and requiring each morning and evening to be treated by his doctor to enable him to be present in court, he stayed manfully at his post, and delivered for the community one of the finest *nisi vrius* speeches I ever listened to.

Sir Alexander Cockburn tried the case, and it afforded a strong illustration of a peculiarity in that remarkable man which those who practised before him will recognize. He began by being breast high with the plaintiff, and so continued during the earlier stages of the trial; but, as the case progressed, and especially after Mr. Mellish's opening speech, he speedily turned round, and did all he could to secure a verdict for the defendants. But it was too late. The case was of a kind not unnaturally to excite prejudice against them, and the minds of the jury could not be turned back from the direction which the earlier action of the Chief Justice had given them.

Mr. Karslake, afterwards Sir John Karslake, was Mr. Coleridge's great rival at the bar; they were great friends as well as great rivals. Both were men of fine presence, Mr. Karslake, however, being the taller. He was once described in a Western Circuit paper as "rising at great length" to reply on the part of the plaintiff, and a story is handed down from the time of Lord Chief Justice Campbell (for the truth of which I do not vouch) in connection with him and Mr. Sam Joyce, who was as remarkably short as Mr. Karslake was remarkably long. It was motion day in the Queen's Bench, and on Mr. Joyce's rising to address the Court, with his head just appearing above the bench in front of the bar, Lord Campbell said:

"Mr. Joyce, when counsel address the Court it is usual for counsel to stand up."

"My Lord," protested Mr. Joyce, "I am standing up."

A little later Mr. Karslake rose from a bench at the back of the court, which sloping upwards gave him even greater apparent altitude than he possessed. Thereupon Lord Campbell is said to have remarked:

"Mr. Karslake, although it is usual for counsel to stand up when they address the Court, it is not necessary for them to stand on the benches."

Although Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Karslake were both distinguished advocates, they were advocates of very different types. The latter was an excellent man of business, possessed of great

mastery over details, and had a strenuous power of persistence which was very effective. Mr. Coleridge possessed the gift of lucid exposition, and had higher qualities as an advocate than Mr. Karslake. He commanded a more beautiful diction, a finer voice, and he was endowed with a power of imagination and of pathos in which his rival was deficient. It used to be said of Mr. Coleridge that he was worst in a losing and best in a winning case when a blaze of fireworks was wanted. I think this does not do him justice. I have known him fight difficult cases strenuously, and winning cases modestly. He was, taken all in all, a remarkable advocate.

No doubt the case with which his name will be principally linked is the Tichborne case. His cross-examination of the claimant was at the time the subject of widely divergent opinions at the Bar. For my own part, I thought it, and still think it, the best thing he ever did. It was not a cross-examination calculated, nor should I think even intended, for immediate effect. It was not like the brilliant cross-examination of the witness Baigent by Mr. Hawkins (now Mr. Justice Hawkins), in which the observer could follow the point and object question by question; but it was one the full force and effect of which could only be appreciated when the facts, as they ultimately appeared in the defendant's case, were finally disclosed. When, indeed, the subsequent prosecution for perjury took place, it was then seen how thorough and searching that cross-examination had been; how in effect, if I may use a fox-hunting metaphor, all the earths had been effectually stopped. I am glad to find that my opinion of that cross-examination has recently been corroborated by so eminent an authority as the Master of the Rolls, Lord Esher. I must not be understood in what I have said to depreciate his great speech in the Tichborne Case. A more masterly exposition of complicated facts combined with a searching criticism of the claimant's evidence has rarely if ever been delivered. In these great efforts, he was powerfully assisted (as Sir John Coleridge was always ready to acknowledge) by his able juniors, Mr. Mathew (now Mr. Justice Mathew) and the late Lord Bowen (then Mr. Bowen), whose recent death Bench and Bar alike still deplore.

My reference to Mr. Coleridge's parliamentary career will be brief. In 1865 he was returned for the City of Exeter, and in 1868 Mr. Gladstone appointed him Solicitor-General, while in

1871 he succeeded to the office of Attorney-General. He went into Parliament with great prestige ; but, although he won for himself a respected position there and emerged with credit from the severe ordeal of that critical assembly, it cannot, I think, be said that his success or his reputation there equalled his success or his reputation at the Bar. Nor is this remarkable. He had entered the House of Commons comparatively late in life, when he was in his forty-sixth year, and, as a rule, I think it will be found that the men who have achieved great reputations in the House of Commons are men who have entered it young. Moreover, it is difficult for a lawyer in great practice to give that time and close attention and study to political questions without which unqualified success cannot be attained, even by the possessor of considerable natural gifts. Coke said, "Lady Common Law brooketh no bed-fellow"; and so it may be said that to Lady Politics almost exclusive court must be paid. Sir John Coleridge was always better as the maker of a set speech than as a Parliamentary debater. His best House of Commons performance was, I think, his admirable speech in 1866, when he moved the University Test Abolition Bill. I recollect, later, being in the House of Commons when an amusing scene occurred on the occasion of a speech by Sir John Coleridge when in office. He was advocating what are now known as Women's Rights, and he had made a graceful and impressive speech, when, following him in debate, there rose from the same Government bench (it was not a Government question) from which Sir John Coleridge had spoken the burly, mirth-provoking figure of Mr. Dowse, then one of the Law Officers for Ireland. Mr. Dowse set himself to demolish the argument of his learned colleague, and very humorously he made the attempt. The general tenor of Mr. Dowse's reply may be judged from a sentence : "My honorable and learned colleague," said he, "seems to think that, because some judges are old women, all old women are qualified to be judges." On the whole, Sir John Coleridge did not get on that occasion the best of the rally.

Mr. Disraeli is supposed to have spoken of Sir John Coleridge as "silver-tongued mediocrity." This does not do him justice. That he was "silver-tongued" is true ; but that he was mediocre is a judgment which neither his contemporaries nor posterity will indorse. He certainly could not have made the great *Don*

Pacifico speech of Sir Alexander Cockburn: but then, who could?

In 1873 Sir John Coleridge became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in succession to Sir William Bovill, and he was then created a peer; and in 1880, on the death of Sir Alexander Cockburn, he became Lord Chief Justice. It is noteworthy that, whereas each of his predecessors had been described in his patent of office as Chief Justice of the King's, or Queen's, Bench, he for the first time was described as "Lord Chief Justice of England."

His judicial career is too recent and too well known to justify me in dwelling upon it at any length. He is undoubtedly entitled to be described as a strong judge; and when the case was sufficiently important to prompt him to take pains, his judgments showed a broad, masterful grasp of the principles of the law he elucidated. I do not think he possessed the great synthetical and analytical powers of Sir Alexander Cockburn at his best, nor the vigorous common-sense of Sir William Erle, nor the wide, legal erudition of the late Mr. Justice Willes, nor the intimate knowledge of the various branches of commercial law of the late Lord Bramwell, nor the hard-headed logic of Lord Blackburn (I do not refer to eminent judges still on the bench); nevertheless he cannot be said to have lacked any quality essential in a great judge. Some of his judgments may well take rank with the best of his time, and many of them are marked by an elegance of diction and possess a literary merit not often met with in judicial records. His judgments in the litigation of the Duke of Norfolk in relation to the Fitzalan Chapel, in the case (commonly known as "the Mignonette Case") of the seamen Dudley and Stephen (charged with murder in having, under stress of hunger, killed and eaten a boy, one of their crew), and in the remarkable commercial case known as the "Mogul Boycotting Case," may be referred to as good examples. His direction to the jury on the trial for blasphemy of Ramsey and Foote in 1883 is regarded as a departure from the law upon that subject as previously laid down by eminent men—a departure, be it added, which has, I think, received the sanction of the profession generally, and a departure in consonance with the freer and more tolerant spirit of the time. That charge, in effect, amounts to this: That it is not a criminal act to attack in decent and considered argument even the fundamental truths of religion as

generally received. Lord Coleridge had great influence with juries, and also treated them with great courtesy and consideration. He made it clear what his own view of a case was, while careful to remind jurors that it was their right and duty to determine disputed questions of fact. Herein he acted upon Bacon's celebrated advice (he was a constant reader of Bacon) to Mr. Justice Hutton : "You should be a light to jurors to open their eyes, but not a guide to lead them by their noses."

In discharge of what may be called the ceremonial duties of his judicial office, it is doubtful whether Lord Coleridge has ever had any superior. His stately and dignified presence, his voice, his easy command of scholarly and dignified speech, all contributed to invest what he said with an interest quite apart from the substance of his utterances.

I have hitherto spoken of Lord Coleridge in his public career at the Bar, in Parliament, and on the Bench. It was in private society that he was most charming, and in which he had probably the largest circle of admirers. As a *raconteur* he was unsurpassed. His mind was stored with anecdotes, infinite in number and in variety, many of them about distinguished men, and many of them about political events ; but while he was an excellent story-teller himself, he was also (and the two qualities are not commonly found together) a most tolerant listener.

I had the honor, in company with the late Lord Hannen, the late Lord Bowen, Sir Horace Davey, Mr. Bryce, M. P., and Mr. Marten, Q. C., formerly Member for Kilkenny, of visiting America with him in 1883. We were invited by the Bar of the State of New York, and most of us were subsequently the guests of Mr. Villard, then the president of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, on the first through journey by that route across the continent to the Pacific slopes. Lord Coleridge did not accompany us on this part of our travels ; but in several of the New England States he received marks of honor, and all of us enjoyed the proverbially generous hospitality of the great American people. This visit added a large number to his budget of anecdotes which he used to tell with much enjoyment, although now and then some of them told against himself. Desirous of information, Lord Coleridge was inquiring from Mr. Evarts, the distinguished New York barrister, formerly Secretary of State, how American lawyers were remunerated for their work.

Lord Coleridge: "Pray, Mr. Evarts, how do clients pay their lawyers with you?"

Mr. Evarts: "Well, my Lord, they pay a retaining fee; it may be $50, or it may be $5,000, or $50,000."

Lord Coleridge: "Yes; and what does that cover?"

Mr. Evarts: "Oh! that is simply the retainer. The rest is paid for as the work is done, and according to the work done."

Lord Coleridge: "Yes, Mr. Evarts, and do clients like that?"

Mr. Evarts: "Not a bit, my Lord, not a bit. They generally say, 'I guess, Mr. Evarts, I should like to know how deep down I shall have to go into my breeches pocket to see this business through.'"

Lord Coleridge: "Yes, what do you say then?"

Mr. Evarts: "Well, my Lord, I have invented a formula which I have found answer very well. I say: 'Sir, or Madame, as the case may be, I cannot undertake to say how many *judicial* errors I shall be called upon to correct before I obtain for you final justice.'"

Lord Coleridge used to tell with glee an anecdote concerning a dinner given to him in Chicago by a distinguished lawyer, where a collapse of the banquet was threatened owing to the too vigilant attention of the sheriff's officer who held a writ of *fi. fa.* over the host's goods and chattels. However, the threatened danger was averted. On the same occasion, he had stipulated and was assured that there would be no speeches; but, to his discomfiture, he saw his host retire into a corner with his secretary before dinner was announced to settle the final proofs of a speech which he later delivered with much success at the banquet.

Lord Coleridge was a good deal bothered by that product of the nineteenth century, the interviewer, and on his way to Chicago one of these gentlemen, failing otherwise to draw him out, began to belittle the old country in the matter of lakes and rivers and mountains, and even men. Lord Coleridge bore it all patiently; finally, the interviewer said: "I am told, my lord, you think a great deal of what you call your great fire of London. Well, I guess that the conflagration we had in the little village of Chicago made your great fire look very small." To which Lord Coleridge blandly responded: "Sir, I have every reason to believe that the great fire of London was quite as great as the people at

that time desired." He had been fêted, and had speechified much, and been much speechified at, during his American visit, but it must be admitted there was a certain monotony in the themes chosen by the orators of the United States. They were the greatness of Great Britain and her children, and the perhaps still greater greatness of America and her children. In his final speech at Philadelphia, Lord Coleridge referred to this, and, while acknowledging, with extreme courtesy and grace, the kindness of his reception, he wound up by saying: "I might, perhaps, in this connection, refer to an amusing speech of our great lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, who, according to that prince of biographers, Boswell, addressed him thus: 'Sir, you have only two topics of conversation, yourself and me, and I am heartily sick of both.'" This was said so gracefully, and with such good humor, that no one thought of being offended, and certainly Lord Coleridge therein thought of offending no one.

Few men in his position are without enemies, and he was no exception to the general rule. For myself, I know him as a kind, considerate, and generous friend, steady in his friendships, and probably constant also in his dislikes. There are many now living who have experienced kindness at his hands and who can recall, as I can, with gratitude, words of encouragement spoken in times of doubt and difficulty. These count for much in the early career of a barrister struggling to emerge from the unknown crowd. No one, however, will gainsay that, by his death, a great figure has passed away. He was intellectually, as he was physically, head and shoulders above the average of his contemporaries. He had a high sense of the dignity of his great office and of its importance. For above twenty years he sat upon the judicial bench, and I believe that during that long period he did honestly strive "to do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of this realm, without fear or favor, affection or ill-will."

RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN.

THE RESULTS OF DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"AND everybody praised the duke
Who this great fight did win."
"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Indeed I do not know," said he:
"But 'twas a famous victory."

Many Americans have asked Peterkin's question since the Democratic victory of November, 1892. That it was a victory there can be no doubt, and the skulls and bones consequent upon it can be picked up as easily as Peterkin picked up the skull on the field of Blenheim long after the cheers which greeted the winner had died away into silence. We are able now at this distance of time to look back over the last eighteen months; to survey the desolated field on which the victors have since camped, and to see just what the Democratic victory of 1892 has brought to the people of the United States.

It was a queer army that won the fight. Its officers and soldiers were recruited from many quarters, and it is not without interest, now that their main object of getting into power has been obtained, to look them over. The great mass of the forces came from the South, where the outworn traditions of forty years ago still hold sway and where civilization and the business conditions of the North are only just beginning to make themselves felt. The next largest contingent was supplied from the lower wards of the great cities of the North and was typified by Tammany Hall. Last and least in numbers, but most important of all in their own opinion, were those persons in the North and East who announced in 1884 that they represented the conscience and intelligence of the country. The solid South and Tammany were to supply the

votes, and the proprietors of the conscience and intelligence of the country were to guide this party of reform, provide it with principles, give it money to spend, hold the offices, and in season and out of season sing pæons in praise of their candidate for the presidency. It was a curious combination. Side by side with the solid South were arrayed Tammany Hall and the band who believed in the New York *Evening Post*, "clothed in white samite mystic, wonderful." President Eliot and Richard Croker, Edward Atkinson and John Y. McKane, Carl Schurz and William F. Sheehan, the Reform leagues of New York and Massachusetts, Bat Shea, of Troy, and the twenty-seven election officers formerly of New York city, but now of Sing Sing, were enlisted in the same army and were fighting for a common cause. There were wide differences among them in habits of life and political methods, but they were all tariff reformers, they were all agreed that the McKinley bill was a "culminating atrocity," and that the Republican party was a very bad party indeed. However widely they varied they were all reformers, and however their methods differed they all sought to get votes for the same candidate. In the closing hours of the campaign that candidate himself went up to the very mountain-top of virtue and reform, and in a speech at the Lenox Lyceum denounced. in that fresh and pleasing style so beloved by his admirers, the wickedness of the Republicans in spending money at elections. No one could fail to be impressed by such an exhortation at such a moment. There were scoffers, it is true, who said at the time that money was spent in elections by both parties, and that the Republicans were no worse than their neighbors, but this carping criticism was scarcely heard in the general acclaim which greeted an exhibition of virtue so great as that at the Lenox Lyceum. Subsequent disclosures have enabled us to guess at the facts which no doubt suggested to Mr. Cleveland the necessity of throwing his vast influence against this growing evil of our politics. We have learned lately that it was just about that time that patriotic motives prompted a noted gift of fifty thousand dollars to the Democratic campaign fund, and that the Sugar Trust opened its purse to the Democratic Committee of New York. These were circumstances calculated to alarm a great patriot, and hence, no doubt, caused Mr. Cleveland's denunciation of the infamy of

using money in elections. It is true that while this money appears to have been with the Democrats, the infamy, according to Mr. Cleveland, was with the Republicans. This seems an odd arrangement, but it should not be forgotten that the ways of reformers as lately exhibited to an interested people are themselves odd.

With an army thus constituted and with this last cry for political purity upon the lips of their leader, the Democrats carried the country. The Republican party, which for more than thirty years had controlled the country, were beaten, every branch of the government passed into Democratic hands, the misdeeds of the Republicans were to be exposed and undone, and the "culminating atrocity" lay at the mercy of the victor.

It was a prosperous country which these victors were called to govern. When they came in, business was active, labor was well employed, and men had a reasonable confidence in the future; when they came in, there was peace at home and abroad and honorable relations with all foreign countries, great and small. When they came in, however, men differed with each other politically, the national government was respected by the people in all its branches, and there were no scandals rife at Washington. But after all, this was only a general and familiar well-being, and many evils and inequalities existed, such as have always existed among men, and from which humanity has never been free. Such a hum-drum condition, with its slow but steady progress, did not content the party of reform. Ordinary and general prosperity might be well enough for the Republican party, but it seemed a poor thing to the party of reform. They were going to give us something far better than this, and, if we could believe their moderate and truthful statements made before election, their coming into power would be followed by something little short of an earthly millennium.

So they won their victory, but, somehow or other, the millennium did not at once appear. It was not, of course, to be expected in its full flower until after the fourth of March, 1893, but its near and certain coming ought to have filled every one with delightful anticipation, and made the hearts of the people sing for joy. For some reason this did not come to pass. After the country had looked at the results of the election for a few days, there seemed to be a general chill instead of a generous glow, and

business began to hesitate and stop in its forward movement. At last the fourth of March arrived, the government changed hands, and the Republicans were finally out of the way. Eighteen months have passed since then, and we are now in a position to reckon up that earthly millennium promised by the party of reform, and see exactly what it has brought us.

Let us look first at those matters which are peculiarly within the province of the administration itself. After appointing a cabinet of uncommon brilliancy and distinction, Mr. Cleveland turned his attention to foreign affairs. He is above all things a reformer, and no doubt has a profound contempt for the doctrine that, however parties may change, continuity in the foreign policy of a great nation is desirable. He therefore set to work at once to overthrow the Republican policy in regard to the Hawaiian Islands. With the quick imagination for which he is so conspicuous he invented a new officer to carry out this change. He devised a "Paramount Commissioner," and sent Mr. Blount, of Georgia, in that capacity to the Hawaiian Islands. He accredited his "Paramount Commissioner" to the President of the Provisional Government, whom he styled his "great and good friend," and then, in his blunt, straightforward fashion, instructed his commissioner privately to do his best to overthrow his "great and good friend" and the Provisional Government, and to bring about the restoration of that interesting sovereign, Queen Liliuokalani. The preliminaries went well. Mr. Blount hauled down the American flag and ordered the American forces off the island. But the Provisional Government, with the perversity which sometimes attaches to persons not properly versed in reform, declined to be either hauled down or ordered off. It was very annoying, and before stronger measures could be taken Congress got together and the Hawaiian policy of the administration has disappeared. President Dole, the unregenerate, is now the head of a permanent republic, and the former queen has become a claimant in Washington. The Hawaiian policy, however noble in conception, has failed in practice.

Since then the administration, casting about for some other field of usefulness in the Pacific, has lighted on Samoa. There it proposed that we should withdraw. Mr. Bayard said in London that Sir John Thurston was a most excellent man and a most excellent governor, and that we had better give up Samoa to

England and let Sir John take charge of it. A foreign policy which consists in giving up things has one merit: it is generally successful. It is always easy to give away something valuable, especially to England, to which this administration appears to be strongly attached. Unluckily the German Emperor was one of the parties to this Samoan agreement, and he remonstrated and the Senate remonstrated; and so this glorious policy of self-sacrifice in Samoa has been checked. In justice to the administration it ought to be said that this check is not due to any shortcoming on its part.

If there was any one thing upon which this administration was particularly strong, so far as the declarations of the President went, it was in the field of Civil Service Reform. What a record has there been made! It is altogether too serious to speak of ironically. The selection of Mr. Proctor for president of the Civil Service Commission was most admirable, but the rest of the story is a dreary one to any one who is interested in the great movement which is slowly, but surely, taking the offices of the government out of politics. The Post Office Department is following in the footsteps of its predecessors; it is neither better nor worse, and is, as it has always been, the victim of a bad system. The looting of the Interior Department has never been equalled in our time, and is only surpassed now by that of the Treasury Department. Not content with seizing every place outside the classified service in these two departments, reductions, promotions, and removals, as has been shown by reports of the Civil Service Commission, have been made to an unheard-of extent, and with a discrimination not merely in regard to politics, but, what is far worse, in regard to race and section—that is, against the colored people and against persons of Northern birth. The spoiler has even reached out in the Treasury Department and seized upon the Coast Survey; and the head of this scientific bureau has resigned because he would not be responsible for the Survey when the officers in it were given up to political patronage. The Consular Service has always been the prey of politics; but never has it been changed with the merciless thoroughness and rapidity exhibited by Mr. Quincy or with such absolute disregard of the needs of the service and of its importance to the business of the country. But the worst thing that has happened to Civil Service Reform is the ruling of

the Attorney-General that circulars demanding contributions of persons employed by the government, if sent by mail, are not a violation of the law against political assessments. This ruling nullifies that law; and if sustained throws the whole government service open once more to the evil system of political assessments which it has taken years to destroy. The House of Representatives has contributed its mite toward the breaking down of the Civil Service law by passing by a party vote an act to throw the railway mail service open once more to the spoils system.

These matters of foreign policy and of domestic administration, however, important as they are, have been lost sight of in the legislative efforts of the Democratic party in Congress. Disturbed by the popular uneasiness caused by their victory, the Democratic leaders and the Democratic press set themselves in the winter of 1893–94 to the work of impressing on the public mind that the existing uneasiness was due to the danger to be anticipated from the operation of the Sherman act. This had the effect, intended by its authors, of diverting attention from the Democratic party to the act in question. But it also had another and a very bad result. Instead of allaying uneasiness it stimulated it and changed it rapidly to a feeling of deep alarm and anxiety. After the administration came in, instead of calling Congress together to deal with the silver question, which they themselves had described as so pressing, everything was allowed to drift and nothing was done to check the growing anxiety. In April, by way, we must suppose, of soothing the alarm of the business community, Mr. Carlisle suggested in an interview that it might be necessary to pay the treasury notes in silver. Two days afterwards the President contradicted formally the statement of his secretary. The result of these varying opinions was not fortunate. Instead of promoting confidence, they acted like a spark in a powder magazine, and a panic began in Wall Street, which spread so rapidly and disastrously that the President was finally forced to call Congress in extra session on the 7th of August. There is no need to rehearse the events of the extra session. The strangely assorted army which had won the November victory now began to march in different directions, and in Democratic hands the Senate became apparently unable to act. After a bitter struggle a compromise measure was formulated, which met with the approbation of the administration and of nearly all the Democratic Senators. Sena-

tor Hill, of New York, however, stood out for absolute and unconditional repeal, and when his attitude became known the President announced with great promptness that he took the same view. The compromise fell to the ground, the compromisers felt a good deal of annoyance at the desertion of the administration, and the silver-purchasing clauses were repealed. The repeal was eminently wise, but a great opportunity was then lost in not taking advantage of the situation, as might have been done, to secure legislation necessary to protect our gold reserves and to forward some proper solution of the great currency question. We are now reaping the bitter fruits of that failure. Our gold reserves are rapidly disappearing, and the government has no authority to issue bonds to buy gold, while the Democratic Congress has refused to pass any legislation looking in that direction. We have, however, the consolation of knowing that the President at the crisis of the silver struggle stood quite as firm as Senator Hill for unconditional repeal and was not at the time discovered to have discussed sympathetically the terms of compromise with those who advocated it.

The purchasing clauses of the Silver act were unsound and wrong. They were properly repealed; but equally wrong with the clauses themselves has been the utter indifference of the Administration to the currency question and the complete failure of the Democrats, from the President down, to make the slightest effort towards its solution. The repeal of the silver clauses brought no relief to the stricken business of the country, and it therefore seemed to the Democratic party a peculiarly fit moment to attack violently our industrial system and to add to the growing dangers of the currency question, which were affecting the business of the world, the perils and uncertainties of an industrial revolution. They have been engaged in this congenial task since last December, and the consequent losses and sufferings of the country have been beyond computation. The reform began with the introduction and passage of the Wilson bill in the House. As an exposition of the principles of the Chicago platform, which declared protection unconstitutional and a robbery, this bill was hardly a success. It was full of protection administered as a preference chiefly to Southern interests, and in this way threw overboard all the principles which the Democratic party had been advocating. But as a measure for the destruction of Northern

industries and for a complete dislocation of the industrial system of the country, it was a shining success. The party which favored a tariff for revenue only threw revenue away with splendid prodigality, and, turning from indirect to direct taxation, imposed in a time of profound peace an income tax upon a particular class of the people, although that tax had never been resorted to in this country before except as a war measure. This bill, which abandoned all the principles of those who voted for it and which upon the recommendation of President Cleveland in his message embodied an income tax, came to the Senate on the first of February. The Democratic members of the Finance Committee considered it for about seven weeks in the seclusion of some garret or cellar, and then reported it in rather more extreme form to the Senate. Thereupon they found that it could not pass the Senate, and after further meditation and a conference of Democratic Senators, it was determined to amend the bill so that it could command forty-three Democratic votes. When it reappeared again in the Senate in May, it was accompanied by some 600 amendments which formed the price paid for the votes. In the long debate of two months which ensued, the manner in which the bill was constructed was plainly brought to light and certain features of the measure came out in bold relief. Southern industries were well cared for, and where the Southern happened to be also a Northern industry, as in the case of cotton textiles, the latter was well cared for too. Every subject of the tariff in which a trust was interested, from sugar to matches, was protected, but the smaller industries unguarded by trusts or combinations suffered severely, although not so severely as in the House. Finally it became apparent that the great controlling force in the make-up of this bill was the Sugar Trust.

This measure, constructed in this way, passed the Senate on the 3d of July. With remarkable prescience the President, on the 2d of July, had written a private letter to Mr. Wilson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee ; and this letter, in which the President foresaw so accurately what would happen in the future, was read in the House of Representatives three weeks later, after the conferrees had failed to agree. It was a somewhat unusual method for a President to take, in order to inform Congress of his views, but this did not detract from the general interest of the communication. The President pointed out that

the men who made the Senate bill were guilty of "perfidy and dishonor," and that the great Democratic principle of free coal and free iron, the only principle which had survived of the collection in use before the election, must be vindicated at all hazards. Thereupon the Senators who had had this reform movement worked on them already in the silver question, rebelled. They openly accused the President of having approved all that was done in the formation of a Senate bill, and, what was far worse, they proved it by witnesses of undoubted truth who shared the President's views.

Before this article can appear, some decision will have been reached, in all probability, as to the tariff. At the moment of writing, however, that valued measure of reform is still lying unsettled after five weeks of wrangling in the hands of the Democratic members of the Conference Committee. The best thing that could happen would be its defeat, but if it should pass in some form it matters but little what that form may be. The bill cannot be otherwise than thoroughly bad. It is filled with preferences and with the grossest favoritism. It has no economic principle of any kind, it guards the trusts, and is black with scandals. The point of contention at present is not concerned with the merits of the bill. It is resolved into a simple question of whether the President by any means, good or bad, can obtain a personal victory over Senator Gorman. This no doubt has an interesting side, but it has no more bearing on the general welfare of the country or upon its economic system than the settlement in the prize ring that Corbett can whip Jackson, or Jackson Corbett. The President accepts the sugar schedule and desires to have free coal and free iron. Senator Gorman favors duties on coal and iron and has with his friends offered to give up the sugar duties, which the House, acting for the President, declined. The President apparently is ready to take care both of the Sugar Trust and the Dominion coal company and is devoted to free raw materials. Senator Gorman desires to protect coal and iron and appears to take but a secondary interest in the trust. The great movement for tariff reform has resolved itself into this ignoble personal contest within the lines of the Democratic party. Whatever the result of the personal struggle may be, the bill, if if any bill is passed, is sure to be a thoroughly bad one.

I pointed out at the beginning what the Democrats found

when they came in : a prosperous country ; peace at home and abroad ; no scandals in Washington; and respect for the government of the country. Look at it to-day. In the hands of its Democratic majority, the Senate has sunk in popular estimation and the President is engaged in assailing the Senate and trying to dictate to the House. The scandal of the Quincy lithographic contract, of the armor-plate frauds, of the Government Exposition building, and, blackest of all, of the Sugar Trust, are all flagrant in Washington, and three of them subjects of Congressional investigation. We have made a pitiful exhibition of ourselves in Hawaii and Samoa. The Civil Service has been plundered, and the patriotic work of building up our navy has been stopped. Gold is pouring out of the country, and the reserves upon which the great fabric of the currency rests are vanishing. Business is prostrate, labor is unemployed, strikes and disorder have broken out all over the country. It is idle to try to explain away these things by saying they are the results of Republican legislation, for they did not exist before the 4th of March, 1893, when the Republicans ceased to rule. They are the results of putting power in the hands of an incompetent and ill-assorted party. The Congressional elections are at hand. If the people have learned the lessons of the last eighteen months, the result of those elections is not in doubt. There really is only one question before the people, and that is whether they like the results of Democratic victory. If they do, they will return the Democratic party to power in the lower House. If they do not, they will take power from them and keep it from them for many years to come.

H. C. Lodge.

CATHOLICISM AND APAISM.

BY THE RIGHT REV. J. L. SPALDING, BISHOP OF PEORIA.

FACTS are stronger than arguments, and it is little better than a waste of words to reply to the charges which are now from many sides brought against Catholics here in the United States. From the earliest colonial period they have been here and have been loyal and devoted citizens. They have taken part in every phase of private and public life. They have mingled with those of other faiths, in the family, in the professions, in the trades, in commerce, in legislative assemblies, and on battlefields where the nation's fate has hung upon the issue. Like other men, they have had their weaknesses and their faults, but among these lack of love for America has had no place. They founded one of the thirteen colonies, and were the first in the New World, the first, indeed, in all the world, to make freedom of conscience an organic part of the constitution of the State. Their action marks an era in the progress of mankind. When the hour came to break the bond which united the colonies with England and which had become a fetter, none more generously than the Catholics hearkened to the trumpet call, and in the darkest days of the struggle Catholics from Europe mingled their blood on our battlefields with that of our fathers. If long tenure, if fidelity, if honorable deeds, have aught of efficacy, Catholics have the right to be here, nor has this right ever become forfeit by any act or attempt of the Catholic Church in America.

Whatever controversy there may be as to other times and lands, her course here has been one of honor, of light, of peace, of beneficence. She has devoted herself to works of religion and humanity. She has done and is doing more for education, for the orphan, the aged, the sick and the fallen, than any other church. She has never attempted to dictate to her adherents in civil mat-

ters, nor has she sought to control political parties; and if her followers are to a large extent Democrats rather than Republicans, this is not due to the influence or interference of priests and bishops, who seldom know or care to what political party the members of their congregations belong. Catholics, though generally Catholic only in name, have been and are busy, often too busy, with politics, especially with municipal politics; but this is a common right of all American citizens, and in centres where there are great numbers of Catholics, some of them inevitably will be found among the political schemers, and consequently will be more or less implicated in the hypocrisy, trickery, and fraud by which our whole political life is tainted. A bad Catholic is no better than any other bad man. He is not a Catholic in truth, but since the Catholic Church, whatever those who do not know her spirit may think, is patient, broad, and tolerant, she is slow to expel any one from the fold, loth to pluck up the cockle lest the wheat also be uprooted. The reckless greed of our great money getters has led them to induce thousands of the poorest and most ignorant laborers of Europe to come here to supplant more intelligent and consequently more costly workers. These people, many of whom are Catholics, neither understand our language nor have any right conception of our civil and political life, and when they are thrown out of work and brought to the verge of starvation, they sometimes listen to the appeals of Anarchists and resort to violence. The church is not responsible; her influence, on the contrary, is the only moral and civilizing force which is brought to bear on these poor people. Far from desiring this kind of immigration, the American bishops and priests would be glad to have it cease.

Towards our fellow-citizens who are not Catholics our behavior is and has been without reproach. We have never sought to excite prejudice against those who differ from us in religious faith: much less have we sought to persecute any man for conscience sake. No body of Catholics in America has ever fostered or in any way encouraged those who wriggle and batten in the filth and animalities of man, and who make a living by going from city to city to appeal to the prurient imaginations and corrupt hearts of the vulgar. If here and there these cowardly attacks have led to violence and riot, the employers of the men whose only argument is outrageous insult are responsible. The

Catholic pastors uniformly advise their flocks to keep away from these men and the places in which they hold their meetings. No body of Catholics, in this country, not under the ban of the church, have ever formed themselves into secret oath-bound societies, for good or evil ends. Our bishops and priests have no hidden policy, no deep laid schemes, of any kind. Our life is undisguised, our churches are open to all, our books may be had by every one, in our schools thousands of Protestants are thrown hourly into most intimate contact with our teachers : as servants and partners, as friends and relations, we are intermingled with the whole people. Whoever desires information about us has not far to seek. What then is the cause of the abuse which is heaped upon us, of the distrust of which we seem to be the objects ? Why has it been thought necessary to organize secret societies, which have spread rapidly throughout the country, to oppose and hurt us ?

These are far-reaching questions, and to answer them satisfactorily in brief space is difficult. At the root of all such outbreaks and movements there lies the traditional Protestant view of the Catholic Church, which, though it has long ceased to have any meaning for enlightened minds, still holds sway over those who are too busy or too ignorant to be able to react against inherited prejudice. They still believe that the Catholic Church is the Scarlet Woman and the Pope the Man of sin ; and that Catholics consequently are capable of any crime or baseness which it may occur to any one to impute to them. They believe that Jesuits are cunning hypocrites who are never happy unless they are doing mischief ; that nunneries are prisons, or worse ; that priests sell permission to commit sin and are ever ready to betray any country they may belong to at the dictate of the Pope. All this, together with whatever else of horrible a perverse or corrupt imagination may be able to conjure up concerning us, the true victims of the Protestant tradition are ready to believe; and, though such retarded minds are become comparatively few, they are still numerous enough to form a nucleus around which may gather all those who, whether honestly or from motives of self-interest, are glad to enter upon an anti-Catholic crusade. The Orange societies constitute a centre of this kind for the Apaists. No more bitter, blind, or fanatical religious spirit exists than theirs. Its prejudice is unrelieved by a suspicion of doubt, its hatred is as gen-

uine as it is unreasoning and unrelenting, and, like a wind-fanned flame, it leaps forth with mad glee whenever there is an opportunity to do harm to Catholics. Here is a force ready at hand, in English-speaking countries, for those who wish to stir up religious strife. What are the causes which have led so many Americans who have no sympathy with Orangeism to form an alliance with the bigots of this sect for the purpose of persecuting Catholics? The rapid and vigorous growth of the Church in America has, I suppose, excited apprehensions of danger among those in whose minds its influence is associated with ignorance, superstition, and corruption. Our success, too, largely due to immigration, may have aroused jealousy as well as fear; and I am the more willing to believe this as I observe, on many sides, that the envious rivalry of Protestant denominations among themselves is a chief cause of their weakness. In thousands of villages where one church and one capable minister would find support, three or four congregations representing different sects are established, and they are all feeble. The result is discouragement and indifference. Among Catholics themselves, in the last few years, a certain spirit of boastfulness became, here and there, manifest. When as yet, leaving aside our accessions from Europe, our losses are greater than our gains, some of us began to proclaim that America was to be made Catholic at no distant day. Though these utterances were merely the expression of zeal, the outburst of a perfervid temper, they aroused unkind thoughts in many whose dislike of us is more genuine than their love of toleration. To make matters worse we began to quarrel among ourselves. National differences of thought, sentiment, and custom, which reach so far and go so deep, threatened to prove stronger than the harmonizing and constructive force of a common religious faith. It happened, as it nearly always does happen when the controversial spirit is let loose, that the real issue came to be not truth and justice, but victory. In the heat of conflict wild words were spoken and overbearing deeds were done. The reporters, who scent a scandal as vultures a carcass, rushed in, and the country was filled with sound and fury. The loyalty of German Catholics was called into question. They were accused of conspiring with a certain Cahensly, a citizen of Prussia, against the interests of this country. Cahensly himself was as powerless as he was unknown, and, if harm he could do, he could

do it only by influencing the Pope to do wrong ; and the Catholics who made such an outcry against Cahenslyism seemed really to dread lest the Pope should be induced to do a foolish or wicked thing. Their temper was controversial, but the bigots took them seriously. Intelligent people among us know the Pope would not if he could, could not if he would, hurt America ; but to multitudes the cry of danger from the Papists is as effective as Dalila's shout to Samson that the Philistines were upon him. The Faribault school compromise, leading as it did to discussions which attracted wide attention, was another cause of alarm. The incident itself was neither novel nor important, and it doubtless would have escaped public notice had not the impression been made that it was the starting of a scheme by which Catholics hoped to get their share of the school fund. It was, in fact, a local affair, as to which there was no preconcerted agreement among the bishops, the far greater number of whom thought such a compromise undesirable, unacceptable even from the Catholic point of view, and all that Rome could be induced to concede was that what had been done at Faribault might be tolerated. Word had gone forth, however, that Faribaultism was a cunningly devised scheme of the Jesuits, by which they expected, while getting financial support for their own schools, to undermine the common schools. The charge was as false as it was ridiculous, but when public suspicion is aroused assertion is as effective as proof.

The Faribault episode, in itself insignificant, became the occasion of sending a papal envoy here, and of establishing a permanent papal delegation in Washington, which, from whatever point it be considered, is an affair of grave moment. From the beginning the American bishops, whenever consulted, strongly opposed the founding of such an institution here. When the question was put to the archbishops at their meeting in New York, in the fall of 1892, it was their almost unanimous opinion that it would be unwise to appoint a delegate for this country, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that the bishops, had the matter been proposed to them, would have taken the same view. The question of a delegation is, of course, not a question of faith, or morals, or discipline, or rule, affecting the whole Church ; but one of ecclesiastical policy: and those whose knowledge of the country was most accurate and intimate

believed that the establishment of a papal delegation here would be bad policy.

Whether they have been justified by the event, so far as the internal affairs of the church are concerned, it is not necessary here to inquire; but that the Delegate has been and is a source of strength to the Apaists there can be no doubt. With us, as in the Protestant world generally, anti-Catholic prejudice is largely anti-papal prejudice; and when the organs of public opinion were filled with the sayings and doings of "the American Pope," who though a foreigner, with no intention of becoming a citizen, ignorant alike of our language and our traditions, was supposed to have supreme authority in the church in America, fresh fuel was thrown upon the fire of bigotry. The fact that his authority is ecclesiastical merely, and concerns Catholics, not as citizens, but as members of the church, is lost sight of by the multitudes who are persuaded that the papacy is a political power eager to extend its control wherever opportunity may offer. This feeling, which has existed among us from the beginning, led our first bishop, Carroll of Baltimore, who was beyond doubt a devoted churchman and a true patriot, to make an official declaration in 1797, on Washington's birthday, wherein he affirmed that the obedience we owed the Pope is "in things purely spiritual." And such has been our uniform belief and teaching, as whoever takes the trouble to read what those who have the best right to speak for us have written on this subject will see.

Various causes, more or less intimately related to our religious life, having conspired to produce an anti-Catholic outbreak, the movement received added force from sources apparently foreign to the matter. In the long continued struggle between employers and wage-earners, capitalists have come to look upon the labor unions as an obstacle to the successful management of their various businesses, and are therefore anxious to weaken or dissolve these associations. When the Orange spirit began to become more active, it naturally occurred to the managers of railways and other enterprises in which large numbers of men are employed, that religious fanaticism might be made use of to divide the laborers and undermine their unions. For this purpose, then, and not from any hatred of the Catholic religion, for corporations being soulless must be indifferent to religion, the Apaists were encouraged and gained much influence in some of our large

carrying and manufacturing concerns. It happened also that the greater number of these fanatics were Republicans, and they became a source of embarrassment to the party. It was impossible to ignore them, and, at first thought, the simplest thing to do seemed to be to connive at them. Very soon, however, they became so strong that connivance ceased to have a meaning, and then, not having the courage or the will to expel them, the party which freed the negro began to encourage the bigots who have gotten up a religious persecution and are striving to deprive Catholics of the rights of freemen. Many Democrats, too, whose hatred of the church is stronger than their love of liberty and fair play, have gone over to the Apaists.

From this brief statement of the causes which have led to the rise and favored the spread of the new knownothingism, I turn to consider some of the charges which the leaders of the crusade advance as a justification of their systematic attack upon American Catholics; and as they are neither new nor true, the discussion of them must necessarily be somewhat uninteresting. There is, first of all, the time-honored objection of a divided and incompatible allegiance—the contention that Catholics, since they owe obedience to the Pope, cannot be loyal subjects of the state. The answer is obvious. Our obedience to the Pope is confined to the domain of religious faith, morals, and discipline; and since the state, with us at least, claims no jurisdiction over such matters, there can be no question of conflict. We have, and none are more thankful for this than the Catholics, a separation of the Church from the State. If it be urged that to draw the line of demarcation is difficult, I reply that in the general course of things this difficulty presents itself hardly at all. That it may arise all confess, but it may arise just as easily for Protestants as for Catholics. All men in our age—and this is one of the most far reaching peculiarities of Christian civilization—hold a double allegiance, and are prepared, if needs be, to appeal from men to God, from laws to conscience, from authority to reason, from numbers to justice. "I will obey all the laws of my country faithfully," says Ruskin, "so far as such laws or commands are consistent with what I suppose to be the law of God; and when they are not or seem in any wise to need change, I will oppose them loyally and deliberately, not with malicious, concealed, or disorderly violence." The Pope has never attempted to interfere in the

civil or political affairs of this country, and were he to attempt to do so his action would be resented by the Catholics more quickly than by others. One reason why our representative men have always opposed the appointment of a papal delegate for the United States was their unwillingness to give our enemies even a pretext for accusing us, as citizens, of being under foreign influence. The Pope is our religious, not our civil or political, superior.

Deeds, more than words, prove, and have proven, both our patriotism and our Catholic faith, and there is no reason why we, more than others, should make protestation of our loyalty. To protest is half to confess, as to exhort is to reproach ; and to urge American Catholics to love their country, which is as dear to them as their heart's blood, is to imply that they fail in this high duty. Our record for patriotism is without blot or stain, and it is not necessary for us to hold the flag in our hands when we walk the streets, to wave it when we speak, to fan ourselves with it when we are warm, and to wrap it about us when we are cold. Let us hope, at least, that in speaking of it we shall never stoop to the vulgar slang of "Old Glory," which is only a lesser desecration than the shots which riddled it when it floated amid the battle's smoke upheld by heroic hands.

Another charge, which, like the brook with its senseless prattle, goes on forever, is that Catholics are foes of the common schools—as the amiable Episcopal Bishop of Albany puts it, that "they do not love the public school system nor the theory of universal education." Were it not that most men become the victims of oft-repeated assertion, it would be difficult to explain the continuance of this accusation, for our position on the question of education is at once simple and widely and authoritatively proclaimed. We believe that religion is an essential element of human nature, and, therefore, of right education ; and where it is possible to do so, we found and maintain schools, in which, along with other things, we teach also what we believe to be religion. Inasmuch as this is not done in the common schools, we find the system defective, but we do not condemn it ; for in a country such as ours no other system of state schools seems to be possible, and we are openly and without reservation in favor of free schools, and, consequently, in favor of a school tax. For my own part—and I think I express the Catholic view—I not only would not, had I the power, destroy

the public-school system, but would leave nothing undone to develop and perfect it. I believe in free schools, in universal education, and, wherever public opinion is sufficiently enlightened, in compulsory school attendance. The objections which the bishops of Wisconsin and of Illinois urged against the Bennet Law and the Edwards Law were based upon the fact that these laws were an infringement on the principle of freedom in matters of education. If here and there individuals have made efforts to get public moneys for parochial schools, the Catholic body is not to be held responsible for their acts.

The attempt to commit the Catholics of the nineteenth century here in America to all the deeds and utterances of those in the middle ages is futile. We do not hold that the Popes have never been in the wrong; nor are we bound, to quote Cardinal Newman, "to defend the policy or the acts of particular popes, whether before or after the great revolt from their authority in the sixteenth century." If the public law of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries permitted them to declare forfeit the authority of tyrannical princes and emperors, it does not follow that they are permitted to do this now. We are Catholics, but we are also men, and though the essential tenets of the faith are immutable we ourselves change with a changing world. We accept with frank sincerity, with cheerful acquiescence, the principles involved in the rule of the people by the people and for the people, and are content to abide the issue. Why, then, in a country in which all have agreed to make freedom of conscience and liberty of worship inalienable rights, in which it is a fundamental principle of public life and rule that no man shall suffer hurt because of his religious faith, is a secret oath-bound society, whose one great aim is to subvert this primary article of our political creed, suffered to exist and encouraged in its nefarious schemes? Why have hundreds of teachers been expelled from their places simply because they were Catholics? Do not Catholics like others pay the school tax? Is not every career open to talent? Why are men hired to go from town to town, not to discuss our doctrines and practices, but to insult, mock, vilify, and calumniate us? No American Catholic certainly can object to the free discussion of his religious beliefs; but abuse, lies, and forgeries, while they can have no tendency to advance the cause of truth, provoke to vio-

lence, and where there is liberty there should be protection from such wanton and malicious attacks. Let the fair-minded read any of the numerous Apaist newspapers which are sold on the streets of nearly all our cities and towns, and then ask themselves whether a cause which is upheld by such methods and defended with such weapons is not self-condemned. Their creed is a creed of spite and hatred. Their ways are secret and dark; their arguments are lies and forgeries, and their victims are generally women whose only crime is their intelligence and their religion. In the presence of all this, Bishop Doane, in the spirit of sweetness and light, asks us to take a more conciliatory tone. He would doubtless advise the lamb to conciliate the wolf, for which the only possible conciliation is the having the lamb in its maw. This outburst of anti-Catholic hatred will pass away, of course. The American people love justice and fair play ; they live and let live; their very genius is goodwill to men. They are not bigots or fanatics, or persecutors, but in the meanwhile Apaism is hurtful to the best interests of the country, it diverts attention from the momentous problems which are pressing upon us, it separates friend from friend, it sows the seeds of suspicion and distrust, it makes innocent victims, and is doing all that it is possible to do to verify the saying of a well-known Englishman that the only civilized country in which it is less pleasant to live than in the United States is Russia.

But I must make an end. One of the disadvantages under which the magazine writer labors is that when he gets well into his subject, the editor, regardless of Macbeth's curse, is sure to be the first to cry, Hold, enough !

J. L. SPALDING.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MODERN POVERTY.

BY W. H. MALLOCK.

THE recent development, throughout the civilized world, of those theories, more or less vague, or those compounds, still vaguer, of sympathies, animosities, expectations, and aspirations, which go by the name of Socialism, and which are all identical in one point at all events, in being, that is to say, a protest against the existing organization of society, and the existing institution of property—this recent development of Socialism is due to a variety of causes, but it mainly depends for its vitality not so much on theories or on facts, as on a certain simple belief, which hardly amounts to a theory, with regard to facts. The belief I refer to is the belief that civilization, as at present organized, and developing itself according to the laws which its constitution necessarily imposes on it, not only offers no hope to the great industrial masses, but is constantly tending to make their position worse—to narrow their lives, to curtail their freedom, to lower their incomes till these reach the starvation level, and to make even this minimum of subsistence harder and more doubtful of attainment; whilst it is constantly tending, on the other hand, to increase the wealth and luxury of the very few, swelling fortunes which are overgrown already, and gradually crushing moderate fortunes out of existence.

This is the view which was formulated by Karl Marx, with regard to modern civilization generally, and with regard to England in particular, where he said that all the tendencies of this civilization were to be seen in their fullest and most fatal development. He was not the first person to hold this view or to state it: but he was probably the first person to array it in the guise of a necessary and scientific truth: and ever since his time it has occupied a foremost place in the teachings of all socialists, and

forms an overture to all their formal manifestoes. Here, for instance, we have it in the Erfurt Programme of the German Socialists in 1891 :

"With this growing monopoly [which is the essential characteristic of modern civilization as now organized] goes hand in hand the crushing out of existence of the shattered small industries by industries of colossal growth, the development of the tool into the machine, and a gigantic increase in the productiveness of human labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the capitalists and the great landowners. To the proletariat and the rapidly sinking middle classes, the small tradesmen of the town, and the peasant proprietors, it brings an increasing uncertainty of existence, increasing misery, oppression, servitude, degradation, and exploitation.

"Ever greater grows the mass of the proletariat; ever vaster the army of the unemployed, ever sharper the contrast betwen the oppressor and the oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes between bourgeoise and proletariat which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of every industrial country."

If we turn from Europe to America we find precisely the same kind of statement in the writings of Mr. Henry George. He, too, uses it as the overture to his best-known work. Our existing civilization, he says in his introduction to *Progress and Poverty*

"simply widens the gulf between Dives and Lazarus. . . . The association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. . . . All the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury, and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want."

Every Socialist or semi-socialistic teacher, every reformer or agitator, who sets himself against existing institutions, takes some statement of similar purport for his text. He uses it to excite, to intoxicate, or to madden his hearers, with a view to preparing their minds for the reception and assimilation of his teachings. And he does so because he finds it necessary to do so. The above belief, in fact, with regard to existing civilization, does not indeed form the logical basis of Socialism, but it creates the only atmosphere in which Socialism can practically and popularly flourish.

Now as to America, in connection with this matter, I am not qualified to speak with sufficiently precise knowledge ; but as to the chief countries of Europe, and England in particular, it may be said with the utmost confidence—a confidence derived from the most authoritative and various information—that the above belief is altogether wrong, that it is not only not the truth, but

an absolute inversion of the truth. In England the average fortunes of the rich are distinctly, even if not greatly, decreasing; persons with moderate fortunes, of from £150 to £1,000 a year, are increasing faster than any other class; whilst so far as concerns the increase of the individual income, the average increase has been greatest among the laboring and wage-earning masses. Mr. Giffen, for instance, the Statistical Secretary to the Board of Trade, to whom English Socialists, whenever it may suit their purpose, are accustomed to appeal as the greatest living authority, has declared that so far as "the individual income" is concerned, "it would not be far short of the mark to say that the whole of the great material improvement of the past fifty years has gone to the masses." And whatever test we apply, the same conclusion is forced on us. The masses not only receive as a whole larger incomes, but their incomes procure them more comforts and luxuries; they inhabit better houses, wear better clothes, they consume per head an increasing quantity of bread, meat, butter, tea, sugar, and tobacco; and, as the last census shows, the number of persons, such as clowns, jugglers, singers, and the humbler class of actors, who minister exclusively to the amusement of the poorer classes, has increased during the past ten years by as much as 80 per cent. If the Socialistic view of the situation were true in any particular, we might imagine it would be true in the following—that even though the number of moderate incomes was increasing, the number of employers and small independent tradesmen was decreasing, many small factories being merged in a few larger factories, and many small shops in a few gigantic emporiums. But even this, when the matter is examined, appears not to be the case. So far as it is possible to arrive at any conclusion, the number of manufacturing firms and retail shops in London has during the past ten years kept pace with the increase of the population, or has even grown somewhat faster; whilst the number of separate textile factories, instead of diminishing, as Karl Marx predicted, increased from 6,807 in 1870 to 7,465 in 1855.

It is not, however, my purpose to go further into details. It is enough for my present purpose to observe that the whole Socialistic view of the existing situation is wrong—certainly so far as regards Europe, preëminently so far as regards England; and I believe I am right in saying, with regard to America also. At all

events if the case of America differs in any respect from that of England, the difference is due to some other cause than the modern system of industrialism, for that is practically the same in both these countries: and the natural tendency of that system, as is shown by England, which is its most complete example, instead of being, as the Socialists say, to make the rich ever richer, the poor ever poorer, and to crush out the middle classes, has been for the past fifty or sixty years, and is at the present moment, to make the rich more numerous indeed, but slightly poorer; to multiply the middle class far faster than the rich, and to lift the masses of the people further and further above poverty.

And now having said this by way of preface, let me proceed to the main point with which I wish, in these few pages, to deal. If the tendencies of our existing civilization are really what they have just been stated to be—if wealth instead of being merely flowing into the reservoirs of the few, is also diffusing itself throughout the entire community; if the gulf between the rich and the poor, instead of ever widening, as our Socialistic manifestoes say it is, is really being filled up, partly by the multiplication of the middle-class, and partly by a rise in the wages of the working-classes—how is it that a view, so diametrically opposed to the truth, should gain the ready and wide acceptance that it does? For the Socialistic view is very far from being held by Socialists and revolutionists only. Many ardent defenders of the existing order of things are to be found who believe that the Socialists practically speak the truth, and who, as they look round them on society, are distracted almost equally by a despairing concern at the growing misery of the majority, and despairing alarm for the civilization which such misery seems to threaten and condemn. What is the explanation of this?

The explanation is that in spite of the absolute falsehood of the Socialistic view, there are a large number of facts which make it eminently plausible, and to all the large class of persons whom we may call *economic impressionists*, seem to be daily adding fresh proof of its truth. "In the United States," says Mr. George, "it is clear that squalor and misery, and the vices and crimes that spring from them, everywhere increase as the village grows to the city, and the march of development brings the advantage of the improved methods of production and exchange." The whole class of facts which I allude to is summed up in this statement—a state-

ment which is indubitably true ; and it will apply equally well to England, or to any other country where modern industrialism has established itself. What I wish to do in the present article is first to give the facts in question the fullest and frankest recognition : and then to point out that their significance is totally misinterpreted by Mr. George and persons of similar sympathies ; and that these facts themselves are perfectly compatible with that general progress which it is the interest of the agitator, the Socialist, and the nostrum-monger to deny; and to point out finally, not that we should disregard these facts—not that we should disregard "this squalor, misery, and vice,"—but that we should look at them from a different standpoint, and consider them in a different spirit.

Let me begin then by insisting on the simple, the obvious, yet constantly overlooked explanation of the seeming paradox that a town, a community, a nation, may as a whole be growing constantly more prosperous, and may yet contain an increasing number of squalid and miserable persons. The explanation is that wherever the modern industrial system has been introduced—in whatever country and at whatever spot labor has been massed together and put into operation by capital manipulated by intellect and ability, there has not only resulted an enormous increase in the production of wealth, but there has been also an enormous increase in the population : and thus, though the latter has not been by any means so great as the former, and though not only the actual gross product is increased, but the gross product per head of those employed in production, and though the share taken by each member of an overwhelming majority of the population may year by year be steadily increasing also, there may yet continue to exist a minority—a residuum which for some reason or other is outside this general progress ; and the absolute number of those who compose this residuum may increase, and yet the number relative to the population may be stationary, or actually diminishing.

Let us take such a case, for instance, as that mentioned by Mr. George—the case of the village growing to be the city—growing, in a very short time, as has often happened in America, from a community, say, of five hundred persons, to one of fifty thousand. Now let us suppose that in the village nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants were well to do, and only one-twen-

tieth were poor. That will give us a pauper class of twenty-five persons. And next let us suppose that the village has grown into the city; and that some one who remembers what the place was when a village takes a census of its pauper class now; and finds, as he very well might, that the paupers have now increased to a thousand. Here, then, within a radius, let us say, of one mile, the modern industrial system has produced a thousand miserable human beings, where before there were twenty-five only—it has added to their number nine hundred and seventy-five persons; and yet the proportion of the miserable to the prosperous was far greater formerly than it is now. In the old days there was one unfortunate human being to every twenty fortunate ones; there is now only one to fifty. The actual number of paupers has increased twenty-fold; the proportionate amount of pauperism has decreased by more than one-half.

If we would judge of the relation in which progress stands to poverty, it is the relative amount of poverty we must consider, and not the absolute amount. To adopt the opposite course is either madness, stupidity, thoughtlessness, or dishonesty, or a mixture of all four. That this is so we can see very easily, by turning from poverty to two other dreaded evils—disease and death. As population increases in a given area, there will be more cases of illness within that area than there were before; but this is no proof that the inhabitants are becoming less healthy. It is quite compatible with an improvement in health, throughout all classes. And if we consider death, the case becomes yet clearer. If there are fifty thousand people within an area of four square miles, more people will die within that area than died within it when it contained five hundred only; and yet the death rate may none the less be lower. If then, we would estimate the real character of modern progress, so far as it relates to the poorest and most miserable classes, what we must consider is not the actual number of the poor, but the rate of pauperism; just as, if we would estimate the result of this progress upon health, what we must consider is the death-rate, and not the number of deaths. In justice, however, to those who forget this, or who reason as if they did not perceive it, let me repeat what I said just now—namely that many of these persons reason as they do, neither from madness, stupidity, nor dishonesty, but simply from thoughtlessness. Their emotions hurry them away, and do not give them

time, or leave them patience, to think. And an even greater number reason thus, owing to a different, and yet allied cause—namely, ignorance. Prompted by the noblest and the most unselfish motives, they make themselves familiar with the details of the poverty round them; and the terrible and pitiful spectacles of human suffering and helplessness which crowd upon their notice, and of which there seems to be no end, so fill their minds, so confuse their sympathies, and cast so sinister a shade over the whole social landscape, as to make them feel that here, and nowhere else, is the sure test of what modern progress is doing. Each fresh case of misery which they come across seems some fresh evidence against society as at present constituted—fresh evidence that its evil influence is increasiug; and this evidence is to their minds so conclusive that it tends to leave no room in them for any other evidence that might rebut it; and renders them contemptuous, impatient, or indignant, when the existence of such is hinted at.

Nor, to say the truth, can such a state of mind be wondered at. Owing to the diffusion of news which has helped to make much suffering public, the spread of education which has given it a voice of its own, and a sympathy with sufferers, which has been quickened amongst all classes, partly by a fuller knowledge of the condition of the sufferers, partly by the action of those complicated causes which have made the individual more sensitive than in ruder ages to personal pain and hardship, the persistence of poverty amongst great and growing wealth has naturally tended to force itself with increasing vividness on the imagination of everybody—even of the most careless; and if it were not for the existence of dispassionate statistical information few could probably resist, and none disprove, the conclusion that the rate of pauperism and misery was actually increasing also. The fact is, in short, that if we confine ourselves to the merely philanthropic and emotional study of poverty—if we go to it with eyes dim with what silly sentimentalists delight to talk about as "the great passion of pity," the spectacle of poverty in the modern world is almost sure to produce the impression that poverty and misery are ever increasing. But this impression is neither more nor less than a gigantic optical delusion, which every wise and every conscientious man should not only fight against, instead of encouraging in himself, but should avoid communicating to any other

person, just as he would, if he could, avoid communicating ophthalmia.

The reader must not for a single moment suppose that what I say is meant to discourage pity, or kindness, or the spirit of practical benevolence; or that I underrate the importance which the fact of modern poverty possesses on moral, social, religious, and political grounds alike. But I do say that, though it is possible to assign to it, on many grounds (though not on all), too great importance, it is a mistake—it is worse than a mistake—it is fatal to the best interest and hopes of the poor themselves, to give poverty an importance that for a moment overshadows or shuts our eyes to the fact—which after all is ten times more important—the fact that if one-tenth or one-twelfth part of a growing population remains, as it does in England, half destitute in the midst of riches, nine-tenths or (as there is better reason to believe) eleven-twelfths of it are assured shares in whatever progress may be made, and are sure to be found, if we compare one ten years with another, to be enjoying conditions which are in every way improving steadily.

I say if we compare one ten years with another; and I say this for a reason which I must mention as a supplement to what I have said already. I have pointed out that the main cause which makes the Socialistic view so plausible is the inevitable increase which has taken place in the number of the poor within given areas, within walking distance of given spots, within the eyesight of each observer, though there has been no increase, but a decrease, in proportion to the surrounding population. But there is another cause which also assists this delusion. This is that, though the progress of the masses as a whole has been and is continuous, it is a progress which resembles the incoming of the tide rather than the flowing of a river. It is continuous if we consider it in its general course and for extended periods; but it is varied by temporary retrogressions. Wages which during one decade may have advanced forty per cent. may at the beginning of the next decade decline twenty per cent., and several years may elapse before they rise above or even reach their former level; and the discontent and even the suffering caused by such a decline is sure to be more apparent than the satisfaction that was caused by the increase. Thus the delusion that growing poverty is a result of modern progress is produced not only by the

fact that poverty still exists amongst a small minority of the population, but also by many incidents in the economic history of the majority, who are reaping the benefits of this progress in every circumstance of their lives.

And now let me return to what I was just now saying—and it is the main point on which I am here anxious to insist. In studying the tendencies of our existing industrial system, the first thing which it is necessary for us to consider is the effects for good on the vast majority of the population which demonstrably flow from this system, and are altogether peculiar to it; and not the unhappy condition of a small minority, which is merely its accidental accompaniment, and which, if we judge of it by its relative magnitude, the existing industrial system not only does not increase, but tends gradually to diminish.

I might insist on this most important truth from the point of view of the majority. I might insist that we had no right to run the risk of upsetting a system on which the certain welfare of eleven men depends, for the sake of a doubtful chance of conferring some benefit on a twelfth man. I might point out that of all forms of social gambling such a course would be the most reckless, the most imbecile, the most desperate. But this point I here pass over entirely. I shall urge nothing from the point of view of the majority; I shall confine myself entirely to the interests of the unfortunate minority. The worst preparation possible, then, for dealing with modern poverty is to exaggerate its extent and its significance. It is quite true that if we take individual cases of want, squalor, and degradation, it may be impossible to exaggerate their tragic sadness or horror, or to feel too deeply with regard to them. But individual cases, in so far as they are related to the social question at all, and in so far as they seem to suggest the necessity for any social action, stand on quite a different footing to that on which they stand if we take them as so many individual appeals to our sympathies. Viewed in connection with society, the most serious thought which the individual case of suffering suggests to us, is not the relief of the individual sufferer, but the extent to which social arrangements have, either positively or negatively, been the cause of his suffering, and the social action by which we may be able to reduce the number of similar cases in the future. We must, in short, view the poverty-stricken section of the community as a diseased or suffering part of

a body, of which the larger part is sound and vigorous, and increasing in health and strength. With the body politic it is just as it is with the body of the individual. Acute inflammation in one place, or a small broken bone or a single overstrained muscle, may cause pain so acute that the patient will imagine himself suffering in every nerve, and terrify himself by fancying that every organ is diseased; and foolish friends will imagine that they best express their sympathy for him by repeating what he says about himself, with even greater emphasis; they will commiserate him for tortures which they really create by suggesting them, and will be anxious to treat him for diseases of which his system does not hold even a germ. In such cases the business of a doctor is plain. It is his business to be calm when the sufferer's friends are hysterical; and, instead of agitating himself over the extent of the man's sufferings, to show to him and his friends how limited and how local is their cause. He will even, most likely, show the truest kindness by a little roughness. "Fool," he may say, "there is nothing radically wrong with your stomach, your intestines, your heart, your lungs, or your liver; and if you get any quack to treat you as if there were, you will be causing the very evils from which you are clamoring to be cured. What you suffer from is a wound in your hand, your foot, or your shin-bone, and what we must do is to render this part as healthy as the rest of your body; whereas, you and your friends would be for making the rest of your body as diseased as the suffering part."

And in precisely the same spirit will every rational reformer, whether he is statesman, philanthropist, or political economist, approach the body politic, with regard to the disease of poverty. Undeterred by appearances he will proclaim the great truth that society, as at present constituted, has none of those tendencies which Mr. George and the Socialists attribute to it. He will point out that, with the exception of a small minority, all classes are increasing in material comfort; and that the great problem, with regard to poverty, which the statesman has to solve, is not how to revolutionize our institutions in the interests of the unfortunate, but how to absorb the unfortunate into the society which the Socialists are anxious to destroy. Empirics and impressionists, like Mr. George and the Socialists, may go, if they like, into every town in Europe and America, and collect cases,

in endless thousands, of misery in the midst of civilization. They easily could do so. But reasonable men should inform them that as an argument for any fundamental reform—any reform that strikes at the roots of the existing order—these countless cases are of no value at all, until they are compared with the cases ten times more numerous, which show the effects of progress on the vast majority of the race, and the diminution in the proportion of those whom the material benefits of that progress fail to reach.

Let me once more insist, with the utmost emphasis possible, that the views just set forth are in no way designed or calculated to conflict with that deep concern which suffering excites in the hearts of the non-sufferers, and especially in the hearts of multitudes amongst the richer and the richest classes. I have said nothing that is designed, for a moment, to make light of the social problem which poverty, in the midst of progress, presents to us. The importance of poverty, from many points of view, is not lessened by the fact that poverty is proportionately decreasing, or at all events not increasing. For the importanec of the number of unfortunate persons, within any given area, is, from many points of view, to be measured, just as the efficiency of an army is, not by its relation to the population, but by reference to the areas in question. Fifty thousand discontented men may be a greater danger to a million prosperous men than twenty discontented men may be to a hundred prosperous men; though in the latter case the rate of discontent is twenty per cent., and in the former it is only five. But in devising methods for meeting and obviating the danger, and in understanding its nature and its causes, it makes all the difference in the world to us whether we recognize or do not recognize the fact that the natural tendency of our existing civilization is to decrease and not increase the relative magnitude of the poorer classes, and not only to increase the proportion borne by the prosperous classes, but to add to the prosperity of each individual belonging to them.

Whenever, therefore, the agitator and the revolutionary come before us with their lamentable statistics of misery, and ask us if these do not disprove our assertion as to general progress, our answer is simple: These statistics, if reliable, prove that there is a large number of persons whom we must earnestly endeavor to help, but they do not prove that there is any existing institution

which we should endeavor, for that purpose, either to revolutionize or destroy. Socialists would accentuate the accidental evils of civilization, so as to make it intolerable to as many persons as possible. The true saviors of all classes alike are those who strive, so far as may be, to remove or to soften these evils, and then to convert the enemies of the existing order into its friends, and to show even the most miserable that, in attacking it, they have this to lose—namely their main practical chance of becoming, as a class, more prosperous.

W. H. MALLOCK.

CHINA AND JAPAN IN KOREA.

BY THE HON. AUGUSTINE HEARD, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO KOREA; DURHAM WHITE STEVENS, COUNSELOR OF THE JAPANESE LEGATION AT WASHINGTON; AND HOWARD MARTIN, EX-SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES LEGATION AT PEKIN.

MR. HEARD:

OPINION in this country runs so strongly in favor of Japan, and against China, and upon what I conceive to be such insufficient grounds, that, believing it to be the duty of every one who can to contribute to the general enlightenment, I venture to add my mite.

It seems to be thought sufficient that Japan has resolutely entered on the path of western civilization, while China holds back, for one to argue that the chief aim of Japan, in case of success, will be to help Korea to the enjoyment of the same privileges, forgetting that the first object of a conqueror is to get as much as possible himself out of the conquest. As an illustration, which will be acceptable in the United States, though I might not use it elsewhere, even England, the country, *par excellence*, of conquest and civilization, is believed to think first for herself, in matters, for instance, relating to India and Egypt.

Japan has unquestionably the predominant commercial interest in Korea, and her views regarding the development of the trade are worthy of serious consideration; but the manner in which she advances her views—whether by persuasion or cannon ball—is a fair subject for criticism. The number of her subjects in the open ports on the 31st December, 1892, was 9,132, and of Chinese 1,604.

Korea is a poor agricultural country—though rich in possibilities—entirely destitute of roads, and her progress under the

circumstances, and considering the short time which has elapsed since she was opened to the influence of foreign ideas, has not been wholly contemptible. In 1884, the first year of which we have trustworthy statistics, she imported goods from abroad to the value of $999,720, and exported goods to the value of $737,-635 which included $312,022 gold. In 1892 she imported $4,598,485, and exported $3,296,490, of which $852,751 was gold, making the total value of the trade in 1892 $7,894,975. In 1891 the total value was $9,311,890, which was the largest ever reached in one year. Of these amounts fully half of the imports and more than nine-tenths of the exports should be credited to Japan. The total declared and undeclared export of gold is supposed to be not far from $3,000,000 annually, of which a considerable portion goes to Japan; but as most of it is undeclared, it is impossible to follow it. When Japan was opened to foreigners she was supposed, from her large supplies of gold and its small value as compared with silver—about 3 to 1—to possess very rich mines. The truth was in time ascertained to be, however, that she had few gold mines, not very productive, and that much of her gold came from Korea.

Japan has also almost a monopoly of transportation. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japanese Steamship Company) runs steamers between Kobe and Tientsin or Newchwang, touching at Nagasaki, Fusan, Chemulpo, and Chefoo, every fortnight throughout the year, and during the summer other steamers ply between Chemulpo, Fusan, and Kobe every few days. A Chinese steamer makes the voyage from Shanghai to Chemulpo, via Chefoo, every three weeks. These afford the only steam communication, but a large number of schooners and junks is employed in the carrying trade.

Another source of revenue to her, which is not included in the above figures, is in the fisheries on the southern coast. Mr. Hunt, the Commissioner of Customs at Fusan, estimated the value of the yearly catch in that neighborhood at about a million and a half dollars; but owing to the light charges and insufficient penalties of the Convention, Korea gets almost nothing from it. Any alteration in the fisheries would, I fear, hardly be to the pecuniary advantage of Japan. Her present attitude towards Korea irresistibly reminds one of the wolf and the lamb in the fable. "You are disturbing my water," says the wolf, standing

up stream, and proceeds to devour the innocent. "You are interfering with my trade," says Japan, "I must put down these rebellions," and takes Korea by the throat.

What are these troubles which Japan feels called upon to suppress? There have been at times in every province risings of the people against extortionate officials, but there has been no political outbreak for many years, unless the late movement of the Tong Hak, or men of the Eastern Religion, may be so considered. This began to assume a serious aspect in the spring of 1893. Early in March of that year, a body of men numbering about thirty, coming from one of the southern provinces, knelt down before the palace gates in Seoul, and asked leave to present a petition to the king. The scroll, lying on a small red table before them, bore the inscription:

"The petition of subjects of different Provinces, scholars, of whom the chief is Pak Siung Ho, humbly submits:

"The religion of the late Ch'e Chay Wo was condemned as heresy and sorcery, though in reality its teachings were to respect Heaven, to purify the heart, to protect the nation, and to tranquillize the people. Now this is a grievance to be redressed."

And its requests were said to be:

First, The rehabilitation of their founder, who had been put to death in 1864 under circumstances of ignominy.

Second, Permission to practise their religion.

It was asserted that the petition also sought the expulsion of foreigners, but this was strenuously denied. The tenets of their faith, so far as they could be ascertained, did not appear to foreigners particularly objectionable, but after two or three days the King refused to receive the petition, and ordered the petitioners and all connected with them to depart. He further admonished them to abandon their false doctrines, and return to the true faith (of Confucius), or he would be compelled to raise them nearer heaven (in other words, take off their heads).

It was believed that great numbers of the Tong Hak—many thousands—had taken advantage of the examinations being held at this season in honor of the Crown Prince's birthday, to introduce themselves into the city, and rumors that some thirty thousand of them had collected at Po Eun, in the south, to march on Seoul, becoming current, a good deal of uneasiness was felt among the Koreans. People thought that the Tong Hak must have suddenly become very strong, or have strong political back-

ing, to dare to risk themselves openly in Seoul. Heretofore they had been seized and killed without ceremony, but now they seemed to defy the authorities. What did it mean? There was evident discomposure in high places, and men whispered that the Tai Wan Kun was at their back.

The Tai Wan Kun is the father of the King, a man of strong character, universally respected, and regarded as a typical, patriotic Korean. As strongly opposed to the Queen and her family, the Mins, who have the chief places of power and profit in the kingdom, and who are universally hated, he is always looked upon as a possible leader of revolution, and the recollection of an attempt which was made upon his life the year before,* attributed to the Queen's party, was thought to be influencing him now.

Foreigners did not, as a rule, believe that there was serious cause for alarm. True, offensive placards had been affixed to the houses of two American missionaries, but this was thought to be the work of discharged servants. Even the most alarming rumors represented the insurgents as practically unarmed, and they appeared to be a motley mob, which could be easily dispersed by a few disciplined, determined men. A violent manifesto of the Tong Hak was received in Seoul, said to have been forwarded by the Governor of Chulla Do, in which foreigners and Japanese were vehemently attacked, and ordered to leave the country; but men sent into the southern provinces to the places where there were said to be large masses of malcontents came back, reporting that they had found no such bodies, but that everywhere they had heard tales of the dreadful things which were being done in Seoul. These men, however, might have been deceived, or might wish to deceive; but Roman Catholic priests, coming from the same districts to the capital, told the same story. Everything was quiet there, but everything in disorder, they were told, in Seoul. There was strong indication of a manufactured excitement.

The Japanese, alone of foreigners, seemed to take the matter *au sérieux*. On April 13 the consul issued a private circular to his countrymen, warning them that there was danger of attack, from which the Korean authorities would probably be unable to

* I am aware that it is denied that any such attempt was made, and that much ridicule is thrown on the story. I have reason, however, to believe it to be true.

defend them; that they must prepare to send their women and children to Chemulpo at a moment's notice. Young, able-bodied men were directed to report at his office for instructions.

At this time there was a good deal of tension between the Japanese Minister, Mr. Oishi, and the Korean Foreign Office, owing to a claim for indemnity for damage sustained by Japanese merchants in consequence of a prohibition of the export of beans at Wönsan, which was pushed with more energy than courtesy. It was a common remark in Seoul that Mr. Oishi would be delighted to have a pretext to interfere by force in Korea, and it is not impossible that a reflection of this nature induced the Chinese Minister, Yuan Tsze Kwan, to recall two heavy cruisers, which had touched at Chemulpo on their way to China and had been allowed to depart.

Mr. Oishi was known to have visited the Tai Wan Kun. His speeches and writings regarding Korea before leaving Japan, and his radical course in politics, had caused great alarm at the Palace when his appointment as minister was made known, and it was feared that he came as the precursor of Kim Ok Kiun. This famous rebel was reported to be at Nagasaki, waiting for the ball to open. If Japan desired nothing but peace and pleasantness in Korea, as she asserts now, she could not have made a more unfortunate appointment. It was a direct intimation to the Government that an "energetic" policy was to be inaugurated, and Mr. Oishi immediately proceeded to demonstrate the validity of the fears his name had provoked. Up to this time Japan had been represented by gentlemen, whose courtesy and character had gained for them the liking and esteem of all who came in contact with them, Koreans and foreigners. But now a chill was in the air. It was felt that Japan had changed her policy towards Korea.

In view of all these circumstances, it is not perhaps strange that the opinion was held by more than one person in Seoul that the whole Tong Hak movement was engineered in the Japanese Legation. I did not myself think so at the time. I believed that the Tong Hak were playing the Japanese game, though they did not know it; but by the light of more recent events, it is permitted to doubt whether, if it were not originated, it were not fostered and fomented there. "*Cui prodest scelus, is fecit*," is as true to-day, as in the days of old Rome.

In this connection, a telegram received to-day, while I am writing, is interesting. It states that:

"The King of Korea has appointed his father, the Tai Wan Kun, to have the control of his public affairs, and to direct the reforms, etc. The Japanese minister was summoned to the palace several days ago and informed that reforms had been inaugurated, with reference with which he would be consulted from time to time."

This intelligence comes from Japan, and, if it is not true, it indicates what is there considered as probable or desirable.

After two or three months the excitement died away, the various assemblages dispersed, and all was quiet. This year we have had a revival of the Tong Hak movement, stronger, of course, as it was not put down originally by force and the profuse shedding of blood; and it is this which has been the occasion, if not the cause, of the recent action of China and Japan. In her trouble Korea turned to China for help, as her best friend, and China came, never neglectful of an opportunity for posing as the beneficent suzerain.

I may here say a few words on the vexed question of vassalage. The relations between China and what she formerly called her Tributary States—Annam, Tonquin, Siam, Burmah, Korea, etc.—and what she now calls her Vassal States, were and are curious and peculiar. The duties and responsibilities which were recognized in mediæval Europe between vassal and sovereign—of service on one side and protection on the other—were here unknown. The inferior power invariably took the initiative and rendered homage, if so disposed, and the superior received it with dignity and condescension. The act was purely voluntary, and might be omitted through long intervals without in any way disdisturbing peaceful relations. "It is the respectful homage of an inferior to a superior, and not that of a fief to a sovereign. It is the sincere regard of a disciple to a teacher." *

China was looked upon by these satellites as the Central Sun, the Fountain of light and heat. Her power was undoubtedly superior to that of any one of them, and they sometimes appealed to her for protection. Her books were their classics, and she frequently invested their rulers with the insignia of royalty. Even in Japan, every gentleman was expected to know the Chinese

* Dr. S. Wells Williams, in the *Journal of the N. C. Branch of the Asiatic Society*, 1866.

literature. Her position was not unlike that of the Pope, with his reverent circle of Catholic states.

Korea differed from the other tributary states in that in 1637, after her conquest by China, she made a treaty in which she promised to send annual tribute.

The introduction of Europeans into Eastern life in modern times changed China's point of view. Siam had fallen away almost without a murmur, but when Annam and Tonquin yielded to the dominion of the French, she protested, though long before their allegiance had been practically terminated. As we all know when France and the United States wished to call China to account for offences committed by Korea, she denied all responsibility. She aided in making our treaty in 1882; indeed without her active assistance it never could have been made. No doubt she thought Korea would be safer from foreign attack if she were received into the family of nations, though she had many misgivings, as was proved by her attempt at the last moment to have herself recognized in the treaty as sovereign. This attempt having failed, the king wrote his famous letter to the President (and afterwards to the heads of other states, as new treaties were formed) in which he stated that he was tributary to China, though independent in the management of his internal and external affairs. President Arthur replied substantially that he was pleased to hear this, as the United States could only make treaties with independent powers. This fixed our status. Whatever may have been, or may be, our opinion with regard to the relations formerly existing between China and Korea, it has for us now no practical significance, but no sooner had the treaties been signed, and the step taken become, so to speak, irrevocable, than China saw the mistake she had made; she had no intention of giving up her sovereignty, and she has been trying ever since to get it back. Favored by the supineness or indifference of the treaty powers, little by little she has made considerable progress in this direction, and her influence in Korea is now more actively powerful than ever before. In this of course she has had the support of England. Before the treaties she only interfered when asked to do so; now she is always present.

Apart from any question of vassalage, however, there is unquestionably a strong feeling of respect and affection entertained by Koreans for China, growing out of the kindly treatment which

has been the characteristic of Chinese intercourse with them, as a rule, though there have been marked exceptions.

It is far otherwise with Japan. She is hated by every Korean from the Northern Boundary to the Southern Sea. This hatred is a legacy from the Great Invasion three centuries ago, which left the country desolate, and from which she has never recovered; and it has been revived and intensified by the policy which has been lately pursued. The common people treat the Koreans with rudeness, and the questions between the two governments—such as the Quelpaert fisheries, and especially the Bean indemnity—have been discussed with acrimony, and have left great rankling and bitterness behind. In fact, the course of Japan in Korea, since the coming of Mr. Oishi, is only explicable on the theory that it is intended to conquer and reduce the people to subjection.

Korea needs radical reforms of all kinds. The King is enlightened, but unfortunately his early efforts at improvement were ill advised, and resulted in failure; while his nobles are corrupt, stationary, or retrograde, and impede all progress. Her political future is a most interesting problem, but discussion of it would lead us too far. I will only say here that I consider her independence as a first condition of progress and of safety from interested attack. This, too, was the opinion of such men as H. E. Mr. von Brandt and Sir Henry Parkes, as proved by the following extracts:

"I hope Korea may not pass into their (Russian) hands some fine day. The opening of Hakodate saved Yesso, and, if the Koreans were not such fools, they would see that the opening of their country would be their salvation also."—Sir Harry Parkes to Sir Brooke Robertson, Sept. 15, 1874.

"The great fear of the Chinese, however, is that the same thing which has happened with regard to the Loochoo Islands may repeat itself with regard to Korea, and they are certainly not very far from the truth in supposing that relations between Japan and Korea must end sooner or later in an armed conflict. I have told them twenty times that the best means of preventing an attempt by Japan to seize Korea would be to throw that country open to foreign intercourse."—H. E. Mr. von Brandt to Sir Harry Parkes, July 3, 1879.

My only object in this paper, which I have written with reluctance, was to put my countrymen on their guard against undue partiality for the party which I cannot but look on as the aggressor. This partiality is natural. The Japanese are a wonderfully progressive, high-spirited, brave, ingenious, enterprising, courteous people, artistic to their finger tips and most attractive. Favorites as they

are, when they assert that they are animated by the most peaceful intentions, the impulse is to believe them. But all gentleness seems to go out of their nature when Korea is concerned. There were no horrors from which they shrunk in their last invasion, and the cry "On to Korea!" will always raise the Jingo Party in Japan. It is this party which is now gaining the ascendancy, and to which the Government seems to have finally yielded.

And now, to sum up, what conclusions do we arrive at?

First and foremost, that Japan, while protesting that she desires peace, has prepared war. She has not studied late European history without learning the enormous advantage of putting your adversary apparently in the wrong. So far as we know now, she has adroitly forced China to take the first ostensible step towards war, and so alienate general sympathy. It was as certain as anything earthly could be that Korea, if in trouble, would turn to China for help; that China must send troops, in despite of the treaty, and the result was inevitable. For her motives we have not far to seek. She is ambitious, and China is her hereditary enemy. And, just now, she is distracted by internal dissension, and hopes that war abroad will give her peace at home.

China is anti-progressive, not to say retroactive. She will delay or crush development; but if Korea falls into the hands of Japan, God help her! The historian wrote of her last descent upon the peninsula: "Thus ended one of the most needless, unprovoked, cruel, and desolating wars that ever cursed Korea, and from which it has taken her centuries to recover." *

We must not forget, however, that this occurred three hundred years ago, and that wars are not made with rose-water. On that occasion, as now, Japan was ostensibly striking at China through Korea. Let us hope that no such words shall need be spoken again, and that out of the shock of battle a new Korea may rise, independent, neutralized, if not protected, by agreement of the Great Powers. She cannot stand alone.

AUGUSTINE HEARD.

MR. STEVENS:

WAR between Japan and China has appeared probable on several occasions during the past twenty years. To many of those who best understand the situation in eastern Asia it has seemed

* And the ear monument of Kioto, under which lie the ears of over 200,000 Koreans, sent home as a trophy, still stands as a witness.

inevitable. The forces at work in the two leading empires of the East are so different in their origin and so diverse in their operation that careful observers have seen, in the friction which has marked their contact for years past, the sure harbinger of eventual collision. "A house cannot stand half slave and half free;" two civilizations which once had much in common, but which are now totally dissimilar, could not long abide side by side without a struggle for supremacy.

Now that war is an actual fact, and while the passions which it arouses are at their height, even onlookers who have no direct interest in the strife may unconsciously become partisans, and it may be no easy matter to evoke a calm and impartial judgment. Nevertheless the writer ventures to present a few considerations which to his mind prove conclusively that Japan is not responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. This he must do at the risk of being considered a prejudiced witness on account of his connection with the Japanese Government. Although he has no hesitation in frankly acknowledging that, next to his own country, Japan must always hold the highest place in his affection and respect, since the question is one of fact and not of sentiment he is contented to meet this accusation with the facts which he is able to present. In doing so, however, it is only proper to add that what he has written is on his own responsibility entirely, and partakes in no sense of an official character.

The relations of Japan and of China to Korea date back to very early times. Both have conquered her, and she has successively recognized each as a suzerain power. It would be idle, however, to attempt to define these claims to suzerainty, whether arising from conquest or from mutual arrangement. They were of a peculiar character and possess no practical significance under the rules by which states now govern their relations to each other.

Japan's claim lapsed long ago. China has virtually abandoned hers on several occasions. To the United States and to France, respectively, when they demanded reparation for injuries sustained by their citizens in Korea, China expressly disavowed any responsibility for the actions of that country, and looked on without protest while each of those powers in succession sent military expeditions against Korea.

China made no objection when in 1876 Japan concluded a treaty with Korea, which in distinct terms asserts the inde-

pendence of the Korean kingdom. Nor did she interfere when several years later first the United States, and then other Western powers in rapid succession, entered into such treaties with Korea as could only have been concluded with an autonomous state. And, finally, in 1885 China agreed to the Tientsin Convention with Japan, than which there could not have been a more complete surrender of whatever alleged suzerain privileges she might up to that time have still claimed the right to exercise.

To these examples, and to others that might be cited, the only answer ever made is that China has long maintained "relations of benevolence" toward neighboring weaker states, which cannot be precisely explained by the definitions of international law, but which nevertheless give her the right to assume a certain supervision over the affairs of those countries. Whatever may have been true of the past, when the West had not come into close contact with the East, and when China claimed suzerain rights over all the world within the limits of her geographical knowledge, such a pretension to-day is a manifest absurdity. It is more; it is an offence against the law of nations when, as in the present case, the claim is at times openly disavowed, and then surreptitiously utilized to the injury of innocent nations to which the alleged subordinate or tributary country is bound by covenants and obligations assumed as an independent state.

Yet it is precisely such an exercise by China of her shadowy claim to suzerainty over Korea that has led to war with Japan. They are not battling for the possession of Korea; Japan has distinctly disavowed such an ambition. They are fighting because China persists in playing a rôle in Korean affairs which menaces not Japanese interests alone, but the interests of every nation that has relations with Korea, and the success of which means the perpetuation of all those abuses which have reduced the Hermit Kingdom to its present level; the destruction of the germs of enterprise and progress; perhaps the final extinction of Korea as an independent state. These are strong expressions, but the writer believes that a review of the relations of the three countries for the past twenty years will confirm their accuracy.

Prior to 1876 the intercourse between Japan and Korea had lost much of its ancient importance. Japan had had her own troubles to contend with, and during the stormy era which preceded the Restoration, and for years after the culmination of that

great movement, domestic affairs absorbed the attention of her government and people. But with the progress which came as a natural sequence of the new order of things—above all, with the growth of an united national spirit, which was, perhaps, its most notable result—the importance of promoting the welfare and safety of the empire by defining and strengthening its relations with neighboring states, especially with Korea, became apparent.

Korea is a natural bulwark to Japan. Its state of complete isolation at that time invited aggression and possible conquest. The French and American expeditions only a few years before had shown that China was either unwilling or unable to defend the integrity of the peninsular kingdom. Other nations might not have been so lenient as France and the United States had been, and the occupation of Korea by a strong foreign power, or a partition of the country between several such powers, constituted a grave menace to Japan. Other so-called tributary states of China had been thus absorbed; and there could not have been a stronger augury of a similar fate for Korea than China's own actions had furnished.

In 1875 an attack by a Korean fort upon a Japanese man-of-war making soundings off the coast emphasized the necessity for some definite treaty arrangement between the two countries. A mission was sent to Korea, and on the 26th of February, 1876, a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded.

Article I. strikes the keynote of the whole instrument. It reads as follows:

"Chosen being an independent State, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.

"In order to prove the sincerity of the friendship existing between the nations their intercourse shall henceforward be carried on in terms of equality and courtesy, each avoiding the giving of offence by arrogance or manifestations of suspicion.

"In the first instance all rules and precedents that are apt to obstruct friendly intercourse shall be totally abrogated, and, in their stead, rules liberal and in general usage, fit to secure firm and perpetual peace, shall be established."

Japan might have taken advantage of the unprovoked attack upon one of her public vessels to obtain a dominant position in Korea. Instead, she made a treaty containing no stipulation which can be construed as trespass upon Korean rights, or as an affront to the *amour propre* of the Korean people. This is certainly strong proof of the sincerity of her desire for the inde-

pendence of Korea. Confirmation may be found, if needed, in the cordiality with which she subsequently welcomed the establishment of similar relations between Korea and some of the Western powers.

The Treaty of 1876 was followed by a wonderful growth in the trade between the two countries, until to-day Japan holds the leading commercial position in Korea. But the harmony of their intercourse has been more than once rudely shaken by the recurrence of those internal disturbances which are unhappily so common in the peninsular kingdom. On two occasions the Japanese Legation at Seoul was burned, the Minister obliged to fly, and unoffending Japanese were slaughtered in the streets of the capital. On neither occasion did Japan exact reparation incommensurate with the injury. She recognized the impotency of a weak government, and confined her demands to apology, and indemnity to the Japanese who had suffered by the outbreak of mob violence. Logical reason for this leniency can be found in the conditions which prevail in Korea. That country is cursed by a system of public administration for which it would be difficult to find a parallel. Corruption extends throughout every branch of the public service. Offices are bought and sold, and the revenues are farmed out to the highest bidder. Officials swarm over the land, and the people are ground down by their exactions. A few powerful families divide the spoils, and at times plunge the kingdom into disorder by their factional quarrels. At other times the peasantry revolt and attempt to throw off their burdens. The present sovereign, however well meaning he may be, is powerless to carry out his good intentions. The fault is in the system; the system is borrowed from China, and China seems determined to perpetuate it at all hazards. In all of Korea's domestic dissensions the hand of China can be traced. Her influence is secret, but none the less potent. She shirks responsibility to other nations, but hesitates at no means—cajolery, bribery, menace—to dominate Korea. Whatever object her policy may have, its plain result has been to paralyze progress, and to leave the country weak and defencelesss, a ready victim for foreign aggression.

The events of December, 1884, gave the Japanese Government an opportunity to define the relations of Japan and China to Korea. During the disorder which prevailed in Seoul at that time the Chinese troops had attacked the Japanese and had been

repulsed. In settling the questions at issue with Korea, the Japanese Plenipotentiary insisted upon dealing directly with the Korean Government, and would not admit the right of China to interfere in any way. The question of the collision between the Japanese and Chinese troops was, he argued, a matter to be settled directly between China and Japan. The Chinese Government acquiesced in this view, and the result was the convention between Japan and China concluded at Tientsin on the 18th of April, 1885. By the terms of that convention the signatories bound themselves to remove their troops from Korea within four months. They furthermore agreed that they would persuade the King of Korea to employ military instructors (neither Chinese nor Japanese) to drill troops for the purpose of protecting the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom ; and they also stipulated that neither power should send troops to Korea when serious internal disturbances occurred there, without giving timely notice to the other ; and that the troops so sent should be withdrawn when the disturbances were at an end.

If Japan hoped that by this agreement she had placed Korea on the high road to reform, subsequent events have proved that hope to be futile. It is true that desultory attempts have been made to carry out the improvements contemplated by the Convention, but the same agencies which made Korea what she is have operated to neutralize their good effect. Matters have gone from bad to worse. Not Japanese alone, but every foreigner who has had dealings in Korea has found himself confronted by the difficulties and embarrassments so prolific in an impoverished country abandoned to misrule and corruption. The dry-rot of Chinese conservatism has pervaded everything. China herself, with her wonderful vitality and her abundant resources, has survived the same ordeal. To Korea it has been a living death.

For Japan the questions to which this state of things gives rise are of far more vital importance than for others. She has been obliged to relinquish the hope that Korea could under present conditions maintain the independence so essential to Japanese welfare, and yet the necessity of Korean independence to her own safety has become more and more apparent with the progress of events in the East.

The agrarian revolt which occurred in the spring of this year furnished the last object-lesson, if that were required, of the

pressing need of drastic reform in the affairs of the Korean kingdom. That revolt was due to the usual cause, the arbitrary and oppressive exactions of Korean officials. In itself it was hardly more important than the many similar uprisings against tyranny and oppression of which Korea has been the arena. As an index of causes which, if not corrected, must always operate to keep Korea at her present level, it served a useful purpose.

Unable themselves to cope with the revolt, the Korean authorities called upon China for assistance. It was rendered with a precipitancy which smacked of preconcerted arrangement. The "timely notice" demanded by the Tientsin Convention to be given to Japan was of the briefest and most perfunctory character. Moreover, the curt announcement was accompanied by the statement that China had sent this aid to "the tributary country." Japan would have been more than human if she had not taken up the gage thus carelessly thrown down. She also sent troops, and in doing so she acted clearly within the rights secured to her by covenant and by custom. No nation has greater interests in Korea to protect than she, and none has suffered more in the past under similar circumstances. To guard against a repetition of injury was merely the exercise of ordinary prudence. Besides, there has been no concealment of the fact that the Japanese Government perceived in these events an opportunity for the permanent amelioration of Korean affairs. An isolated agrarian revolt might have been easily suppressed; the problem in this case was rather to extinguish the causes which had led to the constant recurrence of such revolts in Korea, and thereby to relieve that country of the necessity of calling upon either Japan or China for aid. This was the view of the case which the Japanese government frankly presented for China's consideration. They invited the Chinese government to join them in devising some plan whereby the administration of Korean affairs might be so improved as to place them upon a just and stable basis. They claimed no right that they did not concede equally to China; all that they asked was a fair and equitable adjustment of difficulties which threatened the interests of both countries. China's answer was confined to a simple demand for the withdrawal of the Japanese troops. The revolt was suppressed, she claimed, and there was no longer any necessity for the presence of foreign troops in Korea. The details of this negotiation, so characteristic of Chinese

diplomacy, would be ludicrous, were it not for the tragic consequences which have followed. The Chinese troops had hardly landed in Korea, certainly they had not fired a shot against the rebels, when apparently the promptitude of Japan in following China's example took the Chinese and their Korean abettors by surprise, and the rebellion was suppressed. Then came the demand for the withdrawal of the troops; and the iteration of that demand has been the sole reply which China has deigned to make to Japan's proposals. It is the only answer she has made to the powers which intervened in the interests of both parties to effect an amicable adjustment of the differences between them. If at one time during the progress of the negotiations she seemed to yield to representations made in the interests of peace, the result has proved that it was merely to gain time to prepare for the conflict which she considered inevitable, and which she apparently was determined to do nothing to avoid.

Japan, if she had complied with that demand, would have stultified herself. Not only would there have been no assurance that the revolt which had been so miraculously suppressed would not have broken out again with a violence redoubled by the weakness which the Korean government had shown, but the certainty would have remained that the same causes would have produced the same effects, and that again and again Japan would have been called upon to encounter the same risks with the same bootless results. Is it therefore a matter of surprise that she resolved to reach the root of the difficulty, and to exterminate it once and for all, with China's assistance if possible, but, if not, by the exercise of the power which is of right hers as the one most vitally interested? Her attitude may be summed up in a word. She has expressly disavowed any idea of territorial aggrandizement, and she has no designs upon the independence of Korea. On the contrary, the consummation and the perpetuation of that independence are the very objects for which she is striving. In retaining her troops in Korea—the point upon which most stress has been laid—she has not only kept within the strict letter of her rights as defined by her compact with China, but she has taken the most effective means of carrying out the spirit and the purpose of its obligations. In doing this she has been forced into a war which she has used every honorable means to avoid. It would not be becoming in her friends to

anticipate the result of that war, but in view of all that has been asserted, this much may be said: that no fear of domestic revolution or disturbance has forced her to this issue, and that she will use whatever advantage fortune may bring her with justice and moderation.

D. W. STEVENS.

MR. MARTIN:

To WESTERN nations at least, the most interesting and significant question at issue in the "Chino-Japanese war in Korea" is the resultant "Progress" or "Extermination" of modern civilization in the "Hermit Kingdom"; the crux of the present fight between the Tokio and Pekin governments. Especially is it of interest to all Americans, for to the United States is due the credit of having "opened up" to the world the "Land of the Morning Calm," as, indeed, they formally "opened up" Japan.

The entire world must be fully awake to the fact that the success of Japan in Korea means reform and progress—governmental, social, and commercial—in that unhappy country, measures already introduced and urged by the Japanese, but rendered almost failures both by the inertia and lack of public spirit in the natives, and a more or less active opposition on the part of China. The success of the Chinese means the forcing back of the Koreans to Oriental sluggishness, superstition, ignorance, and anti-foreign sentiment and methods. It is a conflict between modern civilization, as represented by Japan; and barbarism, or a hopelessly antiquated civilization, by China. The one is upholding the "laws of nations"; the other maintains to the bitter end its imperious ideas of vassal states. That knowledge should command certain sympathy, it would seem, for our little friends from the "Land of Gentle Manners," as Sir Edwin Arnold calls Japan.

It is difficult to define the exact nature of this quarrel. Both nations have for a long time claimed a suzerainty in Korea. It has been acknowledged to both by the continual payment of tribute, an excess, however, to China. Of late years this tribute has ceased, and the independence of the peninsula has been practically acknowledged by the toleration of her treaties with foreign nations and the sending abroad and receiving at Seoul of diplo-

matic envoys. China has been making repeated efforts to change all this by protests at the Korean court, by efforts to re-establish the annual tribute to herself, and, finally, by placing a definite espionage over its monarch and his advisers in the person of a "resident," or virtual official reporter. Japan never yielded to China, even in the times of its existence, the right of these exactions—exactions she herself claimed and received hundreds of years ago—and has silently, but none the less fervently, yearned for conditions that would enable her to defiantly forbid them. She now feels herself in such readiness; it is the popular desire of the government and of the people, the enthusiastic demand of men and officers anxious to demonstrate, not entirely in a selfish way, their entire fitness to handle the empire's modern army and navy, whose tactics they have "at their fingers' ends," so to speak.

The universal service system used on the European continent is that on which the Japanese army is organized. Its men are well trained and full of that *esprit* so essential to the soldier. But they are not hardy, a result of the immoral practices of the country, and enter service in a more or less weakened condition, while their small stature is prejudicial to Western minds. They are, as a result of this physical reduction, however, agile and active, and might be likened to the Chinamen as athletes to giants. That these qualities are universal enough to be regarded as trifling was evidenced some years since by a prominent member of the Japanese Legation in Washington when witnessing the expert climbing of our cadets at Annapolis. His indifferent criticism was, "We have monkeys in our land that could do better." The Japanese fleet is now almost too well known to speak of. Her ships of war, of which there are about fifty modern steam vessels, are seen in every port in the world, and many of them rank among the fastest. Many foreigners are among its officers, and her affection for and sympathy with us were shown as usual in the selection of an American as the first foreigner to command one of her squadrons. Her coffers are sufficiently well filled for present needs, while her credit abroad is good.

Opposed to her the Chinese army is also well drilled and trained and composed of marvelous marksmen, whether with bow or rifle. Time and again I have seen wonderful target practice by her mounted archers: riding at headlong gallop they

would rarely fail to hit a small ball lying on the ground; and the accuracy of their men with the native rifle, which has neither stock nor sight, hence no shoulder-aim, but which rests on the hip to be discharged and is lighted by a fuse, is most extraordinary. Where such personal skill exists, the mixture of ancient and modern equipment in its army can scarcely be deplored as creating an inefficiency.

During the war of 1842, a typical Chinaman, in command of a Chinese war junk, boarded one of the British gunboats before hostilities began and asked to see the captain. On meeting that officer the Chinese commander proceeded to remark that he, himself, was a "good flen" of the British captain and he had no doubt that the latter was also a "good flen" to him. Under these circumstances he made the proposition that since it was evidently undesirable that one "good flen" should injure another "good flen," when the impending attack began each captain should have his guns loaded with "fire-physic" only, and "no balls." This, he insisted, would make "plenty fire, plenty smoke, plenty noise," and the incidental advantages would be obvious and mutual. There is also a ludicrous, and probably authentic, story of the make-believe man-of-war, with a funnel and smoke, but no engines—constructed by the Chinese on one of the rivers of which the British were trying to force the passage, intended, without doubt, as a ruse to alarm the smaller foreign craft, and to deter it from passing up a stream, in the upper waters of which so formidable an antagonist awaited them.

The political atmosphere of China is so rarely disturbed by any break in its conditions or demands from "abroad," the two methods above cited fully illustrating the general lack of serious contemplation of any *casus belli*, that, as in the recent case with the Japanese, her enemies come upon her in the night season to find her "lamps untrimmed." This inertia has been ascribed to all sorts of causes. Official debauchery and corruption running rife over land and sea, misappropriation of millions voted by the throne for the army and navy budgets, an unquenchable conceit and overestimate of their own military and naval capacities—all have been urged as reasons for the lethargic condition of this mass of much despised civilization. These conclusions of a speculative, often uninformed, and usually prejudiced world at large as to their innocuous desuetude are not wholly correct.

The Chinese are a superlatively peaceable nation, else by what force are these vast masses of human beings kept from flying at each other's throats and indulging in the luxury of mutual extermination? Her millions teem. The density of population and the tangled community of interests would, it would seem, lead to ever-recurring quarrels and strife, in this land of too many provinces, too many prefectures, too many districts, too many villages, too many families, too many persons. Wherever there is a sufficient expanse of water, her warriors may be found on large squadrons of junks; wherever there are mountains, millions burrow their way into defiles and recesses, troops armed with shield and spear, bow and arrow. She is not asleep. A few hours' outing will show one squads of soldiers armed with Remington breech-loaders, match-lock men, and trim steam gunboats mounting Krupp breech-loading cannon. A night's repose at the wayside inn or temple will be broken at early dawn by the rattle of musketry or the roar of cannon at their target practice. I am sure that no conditions of non-readiness have influenced her in the seeming apathy or hesitation as recently manifested. Their ideal warrior is not ours. But then is she not to us a land of contrarieties? In educating her officers she encourages personal prowess and skill rather than any instruction in military tactics or manœuvring or in any of the requisites of a strategist, and little attention is paid engineering, fortifications, or even letters in general. To the eyes of a westerner the sight of long lines of warriors in petticoats is not a reassuring one. And an umbrella or two and frequent fans up and down the ranks are not conducive to a conviction of soldierly vigor. The character for "brave" always found written on the backs of their uniforms instils a doubt by its assertion, though it was an unkind witticism of some writer that it "was placed on the back because there an enemy would see it oftenest." But their overwhelming numbers and the tough fiber of the troops are facts offsetting the brilliant but less solid qualities of the Japanese.

The central figures of the war are, of course, H. E. Li Hung Chang and Count Hirobumi Ito—Prime Ministers of their respective countries, and men, I do not hesitate to say, well matched in cleverness, versatility, and shrewdness, though the former is by nature and experience a thorough commander, while Count Ito is purely the veteran politician and diplomatist without military

record. The two noblemen are personal friends, and H. E. Li was probably influenced in his tardy war action by a hope of maintaining peace through diplomatic and personal efforts with Count Ito. They have both run serious risks owing to their suspected leaning to foreigners, and in the case of H. E. of China narrowly escaped the fate of a mighty Chinese mandarin many years ago, who was degraded to the ranks for his "knowledge of and sympathy with Barbarians," as we are contemptuously called. Yet the highest honors of these two men are in great part due to the results of their unaltering faith in the value of foreign policy, of foreign principles of progress, and of foreign arms.

Korea, the cock-pit, is a poor struggling, strutting little kingdom with vaulting ambition and empty treasuries. Its long arm stretches out into the sea as if imploring protection from the grasping nations behind it.

China's exactions, Russia's ambitions, Great Britain's objections, are all old stories to the public. It is certain that the last two great powers are watching developments with jealous eyes, for the seaports of Korea are to each much coveted prizes. Russia is impatient to secure on her seaboard a desirable terminus for the great "Trans-Siberian Railway," instead of that now contemplated at Vladivostock, a port closed by ice four months of the year, and she is prepared to go to every extent to prevent any interference by Great Britain or any other power, if such interference conflicts with her interests. I am not sure that she has not stirred up the present strife that she might fish to her own advantage in troubled waters. England dreads any territorial aggrandizement for Russia, the probable result of a continued struggle, and I believe her already indirect effort to bring the war to a close will be followed up by earnest endeavors to induce the United States or Germany to arbitrate. Japan undoubtedly has her eyes on Korean territory, though her war-cry is "reform." Success now means a foothold there, and she will take it and as much more as she can get. Korea's safety seems to lie in her own weakness and the jealousies of great powers.

HOWARD MARTIN.

OUR LITTLE WAR WITH CHINA.

SOME HITHERTO UNWRITTEN HISTORY.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL PEIRCE CROSBY, U. S. N.

A FEW books on religion thrust into the hands of a young, fanatical, and impulsive man once came near causing the dismemberment of a great empire, and actually brought about a grave difficulty between that country and our own.

In 1850, affairs in China, especially along the seacoast, were in a bad condition. The country had then hardly recovered from the exhaustion and expense of the opium war with England, pirates ravaged its borders and rivers, and the reign of the young Emperor Tau Kwang was ushered in by widespread famine and pestilence. In addition to this, the sentiment of the people was especially bitter against foreigners, whom they considered responsible for the introduction of missionaries, the opium traffic, and other things which they had been brought to place in the same category as horrid evils, and the Emperor was regarded with dislike and suspicion on account of his inability to resume again the inviolate exclusiveness which had once characterized the Celestial Empire. Unable to conciliate or help his subjects, the young man at last retired to his palaces and passed a life of idleness and pleasure, leaving the offices of the government in hands that were unskilful and corrupt. The natural sequence of this was that the land was abandoned to misery and vice, a condition that had often in Europe paved the way for great social reformations. In this case the reformer was a remarkable man named Hung Sew-tsuen, then less than forty, who had, in his twentieth year, gone to present himself at an annual examination at Canton, and there fallen under the influence of Lenng A-fah, a preacher and colporteur, who had put into his hands a number of books compiled from or explana-

tory of the Scriptures. At first these books had little effect on the young man, and his reading thereof was careless and superficial; but in 1847 a friend urged them again upon his attention, and together the two made an exhaustive study of the principles of Christianity. Their idolatrous early education made it impossible for them to clearly understand all that was before them, but, bearing in mind the horrors of the time and the advantages of a strict moral discipline for the suffering people, they became fired with religious enthusiasm and began to preach the creed as they understood it. Converts were widely made, the attempts at oppression were firmly and successfully resisted, and finally, with numbers growing continually, they were encouraged to attack and destroy the temples and priests of idolatry wherever found. The Emperor, becoming alarmed, despatched a body of Imperial troops against them, but these were defeated with slaughter in 1850, and the "Tai-ping Rebellion" gained head. The rebels started off on a march of conquest, subdued the provinces of Kwang-si and No-nan, and, in March, 1853, took the flourishing city of Nanking. Up to this time their discipline had been thorough and valuable. Their punishment of crime was swift and severe. But now it became evident that there was too much political corruption, haughty fanaticism, and heathenism mixed with their efforts at Christianity.

The world had been thrilled with the news that came from Nanking of this wonderful movement, begun, officered, and led by "heathen from the wilderness." It seemed as if a new nation had been born and as if the prophecies of Isaiah were about to be realized. Now the tide turned; their discipline grew lax; a campaign against Peking failed; they were expelled from the neighborhood of Shanghai and Ningpo, and their forces were scattered and demoralized. The last sad scene of all the bright promise they had given was in 1864, when the remnant of their host was defeated and butchered, and Hung Sew-tsuen died by his own hand in the hour of the destruction of all his hopes.

It was at Shanghai, in 1854, that our little difficulty occurred. At this time the rebels were in full force in the vicinity, and twenty thousand of the best drilled and most experienced of the imperial troops occupied a race-course near the city, fortifying it and using it as a camp, whence they made frequent sallies against the rebels. At the mouth of the river was a fleet of war junks and

other vessels, under the command of Admiral Ho, of the Imperial Navy, while higher up by their respective consulates were two English men-of-war and the U. S. S. "Portsmouth," commanded by Captain John Kelly, of our own service.

The opium smuggling which had occasioned so much embarrassment to the Chinese Government was now going on about as usual, and Admiral Ho and the civil authorities on shore were doing all in their power to put a stop to the illegal traffic. The presence of rebels and the assistance furtively given them at times by foreign merchantmen, together with the intense hatred of the Chinese toward foreigners, made the authorities very arbitrary, and some of their actions were not only unjust, but beyond the proper scope of their powers. Everything was done to annoy the English and American boats as they passed between the ships and the shore, and several times the foreign quarter of Shanghai was invaded by bands of ruffians, composed of hangers-on of the imperial camp and sometimes of the soldiers themselves. This spirit of rancor and the lack of protection afforded aliens by the native powers at last roused the foreign consuls to meet together and take measures among themselves for the safety of their own and their fellow-citizens' interests. The Taoutae, or Governor, was accordingly informed that, as he could not protect the foreigners, they would protect themselves, and the men of the community armed themselves and stood ready for desperate emergencies.

About this time Captain Kelly, of the "Portsmouth," was informed that a pilot-boat, manned by Chinese, but flying the flag of the United States, had been boarded by a boat from the Chinese man-of-war "H. Compton," the flag hauled down, and her crew taken on board that ship, made fast to the rigging by their long queues, and promised an early execution the next morning. Captain Kelly promptly despatched Lieutenant John Guest (who afterward distinguished himself in our Civil War) to inquire into the outrage and demand the proper reparation. Mr. Guest proceeded on his mission in a boat manned by eleven armed men, and boarded the "Compton" alone, having previously instructed his sailors to follow him at once should he give a certain signal. On finding the captain, Mr. Guest imperatively demanded the release of the prisoners, inquired by what right they had been taken from a vessel flying the American flag,

and promised a strict investigation in regard to the hauling down of the flag itself. A few surly replies followed from the Chinese captain, and his followers began to handle their muskets and press toward the American officer, their fierce yellow faces gleaming with hatred and anger. Mr. Guest promptly ordered his men on board, and, catching the captain by the collar presented his pistol at his head, and promised him instant death if a shot were fired. This settled the business, and Mr. Guest returned to the "Portsmouth" with the pilot-boat and her crew.

The next day Captain Kelly had an interview with our Consul and informed him that he must demand reparation for the insult to the flag, and that the imperial Chinese ship "Compton" should be required to hoist the American flag at the fore royal masthead and fire a salute in open day. In about two weeks the Consul wrote to Captain Kelly announcing that the Governor would not answer his communication except verbally, and that he (the Consul) therefore referred the matter to Captain Kelly's attention. The "Portsmouth" at once got under way and dropped down among the whole Chinese fleet with the intention of capturing the "Compton"; but before any demonstration was made the captain of that ship came on board the "Portsmouth" and announced that he had orders from the Governor to make any reparation that Captain Kelly desired. That officer responded that if his previous demand were not complied with he would either capture or sink the "Compton" in the midst of her consorts. The salute was fired the next day.

This episode so exasperated the Chinese that from this time forward the imperial troops kept constantly annoying the foreigners, who were in the habit of taking their afternoon walks and rides out on the race-course. The Governor was again appealed to by the consuls, but they were informed that it was not the regular troops that committed these acts, but a troop of camp followers, and that the Chinese Government had no authority in the matter. Things continued as before, getting worse daily, until finally a body of the imperialists attacked a gentleman and lady, wounding the gentleman in seven places and forcing the lady to fly for her life, pelting her with bricks and mud as she ran. Other foreigners were fired on and attacked at the same time, and a small guard of English marines who turned out to the assistance of the fugitives were being roughly handled, when

Captain Kelly, hearing of the occurrence, landed a force of armed sailors and the marauders were driven back to their camps. Captain Kelly then attacked them again, and, being heavily reinforced by the English marines and soldiery and a body of militia hastily recruited among the Americans in the colony, captured and burned the nearest camp.

The next day the consuls officially notified the Chinese authorities of what had occurred, and informed them that if all the camps in the vicinity of the race-course were not evacuated by 4 p. m. of that day they would be captured and burned to insure the safety of the foreign residents. Reply was promptly made that the camps in question were occupied by 20,000 Imperial troops and it would be well for the foreigners to reflect before undertaking desperate measures. "Accordingly," says Captain Kelly, in one of his letters, with a delightful simplicity which is worthy of comment, "we landed at three o'clock, the English numbering 200 sailors and 50 volunteers and the American force consisting of 75 seamen and 25 armed American residents."

The English and American commanders then went forward to reconnoiter, accompanied by their respective consuls. After they had made a careful examination of the work before them, Captain Kelly proposed that they should attack in separate bodies, the English advancing by the right, and the Americans by the left flank. At this time Captain Kelly was joined by thirty armed American merchant sailors who placed themselves under his command. Captain Kelly's proposal being agreed to by the English commander, Captain O'Callahan, the little party took up its position within 200 yards of the imperial batteries.

The Americans had brought two light fieldpieces with them, and at 4 P. M. precisely these began throwing shells into the camp, an example which was soon followed by Captain O'Callahan, who opened a sharp fire of musketry. No return being made from the enemy's battery, Captain Kelly ceased firing and ordered a charge. The English again followed his example, and when the allies came within fifty yards the Chinese opened fire. The first volley killed one and wounded four of the Americans, but the gallant little party advanced so steadily and kept up so accurate and incessant a fire that on their quickening their pace and advancing right up to the breastworks the Chinese broke and fled in disorder. The volunteers, now fearing that they

would be too late to participate in the victory, left their guns and went rushing to the assault. Seeing the Americans without the protection of their fieldpieces, the enemy again opened a heavy fire and forced them to retire to the shelter of the guns.

At this juncture Lieutenant Guest was ordered to make a flank movement with the "Plymouth's" men and reach the camp under cover of some mounds on the left, while the howitzers fired grape, from their position, on the course, which was still swept by the fire from the camps and embankment. Lieutenant Guest's party quickly reached the mounds, and their fire put the imperialists again to flight, but the ditch being found impassable, the camp could not be entered until reached by the English, who, having gallantly taken the position before them, fired the part which the Americans had deprived of its defenders.

Captain Kelly now moved his force to the north end of the course to hold in check any body which might advance from the Soo Chow camp and so cut off the return of the English, who were compelled to march the length of a little stream before they could regain the course. His arrival was in good time, for he at once descried the banners of a large party advancing to the path by which O'Callahan must retreat. The guns opened again, and with such effect that the enemy retreated without getting within musket range, and the conflict was over, although large shot from the war junks in the river now began to whir over the heads of the attacking party and plough up the ground at their feet.

One of the American gentlemen who comprised the volunteer force which served the guns, writes in regard to this occasion:

"So far as so raw a recruit as myself could judge, the volunteers showed under fire the courage of old soldiers, but we all conceived an especial admiration for the gold-banded gentry, as we saw the indifference with which Captain Kelly and his officers walked about when the pattering upon the earth and the whistling in the air showed that nearly every square foot had its bullet."

Captain John Kelly was a capital seaman, but a quiet, peaceable, harmless appearing gentleman, and few meeting him in ordinary life would have suspected him of having been one of the leaders in so gallant and desperate an exploit as this, where less than four hundred men routed and destroyed the fortified camp of twenty thousand trained, hardened, and well-equipped soldiery.

PEIRCE CROSBY.

THE PEASANTRY OF SCOTLAND.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR W. G. BLAIKIE, D. D., LL. D.

PROBABLY it was the "Cottar's Saturday Night" of Burns, reinforced perhaps by Sir Walter Scott's "Davie Deans," that gave definite form to that conception of the Scottish peasantry which for a long time has held possession of the general mind. It is doubtful, however, whether at any time such men were more to the general mass than stars of the first magnitude are to the other lights of the firmament. The sample was better than the stock. All that could be said for the mass of the people was that there were influences at work in their up-bringing that tended to produce an industrious, intelligent, thrifty, self-controlled, and godly people; on the whole, these influences were fairly efficient, while in select cases they culminated, and gave us the Christian heroes whose memory we delight to honor. It was the strong hand of religion that was the leading force, the fear of God, fed by Covenanting memories, gave a giant's strength to conscience; it absolutely annihilated the idea of self-indulgence in its common forms; it set plain men "to scorn delights and live laborious days"; and yet it did not leave them indifferent to the rewards of industry or careless of success in life.

Of course there were exceptions. Too often John Barleycorn relaxed the moral sinews, enfeebled the will, and left the character self-indulged, flabby, and good for little or nothing. But there was enough of the better spirit to put a stamp on the peasantry generally; to give a character of its own, for example, to the "Black Watch" and other crack regiments of the army, and to insure success for Scottish emigrants in colonies and foreign countries. "The Scot Abroad" was a sturdy customer, notwithstanding his weaknesses and prejudices, and bore the stamp of the national motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit.* In England the Scot had a kind of monopoly of gardening and other em-

ployments that demand special skill and intelligence. There is a story of an Aberdonian, head-gardener to an English nobleman, who was once asked how it happened that his countrymen usually filled such situations. "Oh," he replied, "you English are good enough at ordinar' things; but for gardeners, and ministers, and a' kinds o' head-wark, it's *hiz* ye maun come to!"

How is it now? The nineteenth century has been a terrible revolutionist, and in some respects it has made "the olden time" very olden indeed. Has it revolutionized the Scottish peasant? Carlyle believed it had; his grand old father was, he thought, *ultimus Romanorum*, the last of a noble race. But Carlyle looked with prejudiced, not to say jaundiced, eyes. What misled him was that peasants of the James Carlyle and David Hope breed, though they shone as constellations or groups, shone only here and there; in their own neighborhood they may have left no successors; but it by no means followed that there were no such stars in other parts of the sky. "*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*," and there have been grand specimens of Scottish peasantry since the days of the Ecclefechan mason. Neil Livingstone, tea pedlar, the father of the great missionary explorer, was quite worthy to stand beside James Carlyle; and so was John Paton, of Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire, stocking weaver and afterwards colporteur, the father of Dr. John G. Paton, now famous as one of the most chivalrous and successful of modern missionaries. That little Torthorwald cottage, with its "but and ben" and closet between, lay very near the gate of heaven; the "but," the scene of the clatter and rattle of half a dozen noisy handlooms; the "ben," of the whole family life; and the mid-room, of daily communion with heaven, where the pathetic echoes of the old man's trembling voice would occasionally be heard pleading as if for life, but from which he would emerge "with the happy light of a new-born smile that seemed to be always dawning upon his face." The outlook from "A Window in Thrums" reveals men and women of similar type; simple but not stupid; inflexible in their sense of duty; their earnings often falling far below even "the living wage," and yet with a dignity of character arising from their interest in things unseen that poverty could not destroy. If Carlyle had taken a wider survey, he would have found stars of the first magnitude still shining in Scotland, if not in Ecclefechan.

Not a few such instances could be produced, unknown to fame, illustrating a thirst for knowledge, a laborious diligence, a self-denying heroism, a moral and spiritual elevation hardly eclipsed in former days. Of all the old features, perhaps the thirst for knowledge retains its strength best. Where parents see a love and aptitude for learning in any of their sons, they are still as willing as of old to do their utmost to gratify it. We know the case of a minister of the gospel, who, besides being a devoted preacher and pastor, has done good literary work, and who came to study for the ministry under the following circumstances. His brother and he were converted at the same time, and both were seized with an intense desire to become preachers of the gospel. In Scotland, the necessary studies require at least seven years, and the parents, at the utmost, could help but one of the brothers. Each was willing to surrender his own wish and help the other, but the difficulty was to decide which was to be taken and which left. They agreed to refer the matter to their minister, but as he thought their gifts and graces equal he could not decide. At last it was resolved to decide the case by their ages, but it was to the younger that this gave the advantage, as both were beyond the customary age. The elder helped his brother, but remained in his own occupation, and both are now, in their way, serving their Master. Mr. Crockett, in his story entitled "The Stickit Minister," has worked out this line with some painful additions; the self-denying youth who gave up the ministry to help his brother to study medicine died of illness caused by his hard work and exposure, and did not even enjoy the gratification of finding his brother grateful for his noble sacrifices.

Cases are not uncommon of young workingmen struggling like David Livingstone to teach themselves the elements of Latin, and cherishing the hope that by careful saving of their wages they may be able to attend college and get a liberal education. The example of old John Brown of Haddington, the famous author of "The Self-Interpreting Bible," has still its followers. The son of a poor weaver, and compelled through poverty to engage himself as a shepherd, with miserable emoluments, he contrived to gain a fair acquaintance with Latin and Greek. Eager to possess a copy of the Greek Testament, he got a friend to take charge of his flock for a day, and at night set out on foot for St. Andrews, a distance of twenty-four miles, to make his pur-

chase. In the bookseller's shop were some gentlemen, one of whom, amazed that such a boy should make such a purchase, said to him, "Boy, if you can read that book I'll give it to you for nothing." He acquitted himself to admiration, and returned like Jacob's son from Egypt, with his purchase and his money to the bargain. A case of a farm-boy who had taught himself the rudiments of Latin, and who, under the guidance of a neighboring clergyman, is preparing for a university, is known to the present writer, and doubtless there are many more such. But the way of advancement for such youths is now easier than it was, chiefly through the institution by private benevolence of what are called "Grammar School Bursaries," the object of which is to enable promising lads to gain by competition sums of money to help them in their studies; the fact that these are gained by competition taking away the semblance of charity and preserving their independence undamaged.

There have been several notable instances of late years of Scotchmen in the poorest conditions of life making their names illustrious by their contributions to natural science. Hugh Miller belongs to a past generation; but within the easy recollection of the present we have had Thomas Edward, Robert Dick, and John Duncan. Two of these, Mr. Edward and Mr. Dick, have had their biographies written by Mr. Samuel Smiles. Edward, who was the son of a private soldier, and himself a working shoemaker, through an irrepressible passion for natural history, collected many specimens and discovered new species which he classified, described, and exhibited. He was made a Fellow of the Linnæan Society and of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh, and obtained from the Queen a pension of £50 a year. Dick, a self-taught geologist and botanist, was a baker in Thurso; and Duncan, whose achievements in science were commemorated in *Good Words* in the days of Norman Macleod, was, if we remember rightly, a weaver in an Aberdeenshire village. We fear that this worthy man was too like other prophets who get but scant honor in their own country; but on one occasion he bade fair to get more honor than he desired. Some idle lads having taunted him that, with all his science, he could not get fruit to grow on a solitary juniper bush, he told them to come back in autumn, and they would see. Meanwhile, understanding how to fertilize the juniper seeds, he brought from a distance the needed pollen, and

when the lads came to see, lo and behold, an ample crop of berries! They thought he must be verily a warlock.

The practice of family worship is undoubtedly much less common than it once was, but it is by no means extinct even in the poorest class. And the deep earnestness of the olden time is also met with. It is the happiness of the present writer to be acquainted with not a few men in country districts, usually small farmers and mechanics, who have been called to the office of "elders" in their congregations, and who are held in profound respect for their moral integrity and high character, as well as for their consistent Christian profession. Neither has it been his lot to come in contact with many who were hypocrites. That there are such no one could deny; but they do not bear that proportion to the ranks of honest men that one would infer from what one reads in fiction. From novels one would suppose that a pronounced religious man was just as likely to be a hypocrite as not; this, I am convinced, is quite untrue.

But apart from particular instances it has been made abundantly evident, from the recent history of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, that the great body of the Scottish peasantry have not lost their interest in matters of religion. Fifty years ago, when the Free Church gave up the emoluments derived from the State, there were cases without number of both men and women risking and even losing their whole means of support, as the Covenanters did in former days, out of regard to conscientious conviction. It was when he heard of the ministers marching to Canonmills that Lord Jeffrey said he was proud of his country, and that in no other land would such a sacrifice have been made to principle; but throughout the whole country there might have been found common men and women of the like spirit, farmers who lost their farms, tradesmen their custom, servants their places, teachers their schools, governesses their situations, in the same cause; not to speak of the bitter scowl and furious scoldings to which they were exposed when the gentry chose to open fire upon them. The times are quieter now, but deep in many a heart sleeps the olden spirit, only needing to be roused to show itself capable of the same sacrifices as before.

Somehow the typical representative of the godly cottar has always been a man; but it needs hardly to be said that such men

would have been much more rare but for their godly mothers before them. And many is the noble life of toil and struggle that such mothers have led. There comes across me the recollection of a poor woman known to me some years ago, the wife of a drunken husband and the mother of a large family, who used to struggle from early morn to past midnight in a crowded, stuffy apartment, adding to the employments of wife, mother, nurse, cook, and housemaid, that of the dressmaker for her neighbors in order to keep her family respectable. Never a murmur did I hear from her lips; on she went, serene, patient, ever-plodding, and not without hope; nor, I may add, without reward; for at the eleventh hour her husband was reclaimed, and some of her children turned out splendidly.

Some years ago a beautiful picture of a peasant mother was given to the world by her daughter, the author of a prize essay on the Sabbath, which was published under favorable auspices. "I owe all to my parents," she said, "but especially to my mother; her earnest and indefatigable exertions, in the face of difficulties which would have appalled any common mind from attempting such a task, together with her ceaseless watchfulness, secured for us such an amount of knowledge and formed in us such habits as raised us above the temptations that usually beset youth in the humble walks of life." The income of the family was small, and the number of the children was unusually large; and, moreover, their home was situated so far from church and school that they were unable to attend either. Here was a case where in ordinary circumstances the children must have grown up like heathens and savages. But through the tact and care of the parents it was quite otherwise. The mother used to take the children one after another four times a day, and give them a short lesson, even though she might be standing at the wash-tub. The lessons she would teach them were not an amusement, but a serious business that must not be trifled with. Moreover, she trained them to understand from their very infancy, that the great God of heaven had sent them to her and their father to be taken care of, loved, and taught; and that God would be highly displeased with her if she allowed them to be untruthful, disobedient, or quarrelsome. A prompt and cheerful submission to parental control was the first habit the parents sought to form; other good habits were added with comparative ease. Every

one was trained to be useful. If the mother had to supply the place of schoolmaster, the father in like manner had to be pastor on Sundays. After family worship, he would give them a hymn or passage of scripture to learn, and in fine weather the summer-house or the clump of trees near their cottage would furnish the requisite place of study. During the afternoon the mother would read to them or they would read all round some suitable book. And books were very scarce. Once, a leaf from a hymn-book was found on the edge of the burn, and nothing could show better the scarcity of the printed page than the avidity with which it was seized and the hymn committed to memory.

Quite recently a shepherd's wife, whose path to the far-away church lay through a meadow along the banks of a quiet stream, remarked to her minister that, instead of finding the way long, she could have wished it longer, for she seemed to be walking along the twenty-third Psalm—"He leadeth me beside the still waters."

We have given samples of a class of peasantry still to be found in the country districts of Scotland, although it is not so common as before. For many things have contributed to change the people's habits, and to change them for the worse.

One of these things is the creation of large estates and large farms, and the diminution of the number of crofts and small holdings. In former days a great part of Scotland consisted of small properties, often farmed by their owners. Where the properties were larger, they were divided into small farms, the tenants of which constituted what may be called the "cotter" population. The trend of things for the last two centuries has been towards enlargement both of properties and farms. Large proprietors, eager to increase their territories, have been on the watch for small properties, and have generally acquired them whenever they came into the market, mortgaging them heavily for the price. Till quite recently the law allowed proprietors to make strict entail of their property to their own offspring from generation to generation, and this was commonly done, for it raised the status of a family when it owned a fine estate that could not be alienated. Now, however, there are legal facilities for breaking entails, and in consequence several large estates have been broken up.

Still, however, the property of the soil in Scotland is in very few hands, and some of our noblemen own enormous tracts. And

with large properties there have come large farms. In some Highland districts the policy of evicting crofters and small farmers, and turning their land into huge sheep farms and deer forests, was carried out in many cases with the most ruthless severity. In other parts of the country the change has been effected more quietly, but with the result that in many districts small farms are not to be got; no man can be a farmer unless he has command of a large amount of capital.

These changes have been much against the peasantry. For a young man starting life as a laborer or farm servant, there is no outlet now in such districts, no way of improving his condition; he must be a laborer to the end, dependent on the farmer who employs him; and when through years he becomes unfit for hard labor, his prospect is truly dark; indeed he has no prospect at all. Young men in such circumstances prefer going into our towns in the hope that they may find more promising employment there: or perhaps they emigrate to the colonies or the United States. It is the universal lamentation that our rural population is decreasing, while the towns are growing; for the towns are neither so healthy nor so favorable to moral and spiritual character. A friend writes me that twenty-five years ago two of his relatives who began life as farm servants contrived, by extraordinary economy, to save £600, through which they were enabled to rent first one farm, then another, of 130 acres. These were rare cases even twenty-five years ago, the difficulties being overcome only through the extraordinary energy of the young men, and to-day the difficulties would be still greater; but in days of old the transition from laborer to small farmer was comparatively easy, and while the prospect gave an impulse to the laborer it satisfied him when it became a reality; and the same prospect lay before his sons.

I am afraid that it cannot be said that the same thrifty habits prevail now among our peasantry that were so marked in former times. Scotland was miserably poor a hundred and fifty years ago; although with the exception of outlying Highland districts, it now presents little difference from England. In those days unless people were thrifty they could not live. With the growth of wealth the ideas of the common people have become higher, and I fear thrift has become rarer. The present writer was much surprised, on occasion of a recent visit to a part of Aberdeenshire

with which he had been connected long ago, to observe a great change in the social life of the people. They were better housed, better clothed, and better fed. In many cases—cases of farmers renting perhaps a hundred acres—instead of the wretched "but and ben," with the clay floor and the box-bed, there were nice cottages of several apartments, curtained and carpeted, with photographs and other works of art on the walls and a piano in the parlor. For myself I rejoice in such improvements, nor do I think that their effect is necessarily hurtful to character. On the contrary, I believe with Dr. Chalmers that the desire for a better style of life is a wholesome stimulus to the poor, and that it is favorable rather than otherwise to the improvement of the character. Still those who are much among the poor believe that thrift is not now practised as it might be, and from this obvious evils ensue. Where wastefulness gets a footing there is a temptation to the mother to go out to work in order to increase the earnings, leaving the family to the care of some small girl who can be hired for a trifle. There is also a temptation to send the children out to earn their living by anything that offers, instead of apprenticing them to a trade and thus providing for the future. Drunkenness, too, has played terrible havoc in too many cases with our working people, and though the country population are comparatively free from that vice, yet those who go to settle in towns are terribly exposed to its insidious advance, and when they fall under its influence, become as bad as any.

We cannot enlarge on other influences that have tended to modify the character of our peasantry. Our railways and telegraphs, unifying our little country, and obliterating local and provincial landmarks; our cheap press, flooding us day by day with all kinds of news, and telling us how we should think and act and feel in reference to everything; the rapid spread of fashions in dress, superseding the "mutches" and "mittens" of former days, and making the dress and appearance of all degrees much more alike; the political privileges conferred on the whole people, compelling them to think and act on matters common to them and those of higher station; the enlarged scope of education in the Board schools, opening up new avenues of knowledge and quickening dormant faculties—have all had a sensible influence on the Scottish peasantry. The unsophisticated simplicity of former days has given place to a more wide-

awake outlook—to more regard for interests and rights that were little thought of in days of yore. This, too, cannot be complained of; and if only deep principle lie at the bottom of the character, it cannot do harm. But it makes the situation more risky, and probably increases the number that fail in the battle of life.

In social matters, the great battle of the future in Scotland must be connected with the land. Smaller properties, smaller farms and more numerous allotments to laborers are everywhere needed. Happily a feeling is alive in all classes that something ought to be done to check the exodus from the country districts and make rural life more attractive to the young. Whether the parish councils that will soon be in operation will effect much in this direction remains to be seen. The sentiments of the present Prime Minister (Lord Rosebery), recently expressed in reply to an address from the London County Council, and the views he cherishes in reference to the relations of the several classes of society to each other, entitle him to very cordial thanks at the hands of all friends of the people, and if carried out would have a wonderful effect in checking revolutionary tendencies and promoting the stability and prosperity of the country.

W. Garden Blaikie.

CONCERNING ACTING.

BY RICHARD MANSFIELD.

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN once attended a performance of Shakespeare's *Tempest* as presented by an actor of great reputation. He stated afterward that in spite of the magnificence of the production, which he described at great length, he would prefer seeing the play in a barn, provided the actors engaged spoke their words clearly, and with sense and feeling. I am quite of Mr. Andersen's opinion. The extravagance of the stage to-day is alarming. It is not only alarming : it is the ruin of the pure drama. There seems to be a perversion of the advice concerning the mirror and nature entirely in favor of inanimate objects, and we are called upon to admire the ingenuity of the master carpenter and the fidelity of the scene painter, to the almost entire extinction of the art, *pur et simple*, of the actor. What is the art of the actor ? It is the expression in voice, in word, in face, and in form of the emotion born of the situation devised by the author. The voice must be the voice of the peculiar individual portrayed by the actor, attuned to the emotion, it must be either harsh or gentle, winsome or repellent, powerful or feeble, but it must never betray the limit of the organ. The words, no matter what the voice may be, must be comprehensible. That is the first duty the actor owes the author, at least. The eye, the mouth, the figure, must be in harmony.

An actor, in portraying various characters diametrically opposite, has no right to offer his own personality in each. That is not the art of acting. The business sense of a man who has learned that the more the public is familiarized with the individuality of an actor the greater his popularity, is a poor excuse for bad acting.

The true student will merge himself in the character he presents, and he will present each creature as he conceives him, or as the author has painted him. A man who cannot so envelop himself in the robe of the part, who cannot be this man to-day and that man to-morrow, no matter how smart a fellow he may be, cannot be considered an actor.

There are numberless professions open to clever people without voices and without other necessary requirements for the stage. They may be statesmen, and some actors of reputation seem to enjoy an ability in that direction far beyond any qualification for our art; they may be priests and parsons; they may be barristers and lawyers—in all these parts they need never rob the public of a view of their own estimable personality; upon the stage they must. It is absurd for Fagin to be Romeo, and Romeo, Benedict—you may label them, but there is no deception, and the art of the actor is deception.

Time was when an actor declaimed the lines of Shakespeare, and that was enough. It isn't enough to-day. The world does not stand still, nor does the art of acting. Declaiming is not acting; the actor must pretend to be what he is not; he must be what he pretends to be. There is a royal road to success—it is humbug. There is no royal road to success on legitimate lines:—it means endless labor, heart-ache, sorrow, and disappointment. If you desire to be an actor, you must choose the latter—you will be welcome. The actor, lives for his art; the world may see the pictures he paints, the lessons he inculcates; he breathes life into them for a moment; they fade away and die; he leaves nothing behind him but a memory. The actor has no connection with scenery and mechanism, he does not perceive them—he should not know that they surround him; the picture of the place, be it what it may, is the creation of his fancy, and what he sees there he contrives to communicate to his audience. He can, if he will, bring with him the salt air of the sea, the perfumed atmosphere of the boudoir, the flower-scented zephyr of the grove, or the dank breath of the cloister. His day is study, his evening the result. He should have no opinions to buy, no critics to placate, no axes to grind or wires to pull. You can buy opinions one way or another, you can win hosts of friends, you can grind axes and pull wires, and achieve wealth and fame, but you will not achieve art! And the crowd of sycophants and cour-

tiers cannot still the voice within that tells you every hour, "You're a lie!"

Do not be led away by men who tell you to be original—in other words, to be odd and eccentric and to attract attention to yourself by these means. Do not strive to be original; strive to be true! If you succeed in being true, you will be original. If you go forth to seek originality, you will never find truth. If you go out to seek truth, you may discover originality. Do not be dazzled by the success of chicanery or charlatanism. You will not find it satisfying, for, however much you may impress others, you will never believe in yourself, unless you are insane. The mediocre actor generally enjoys popularity, he offends no one and arouses no jealousies—and mediocrity is easy of comprehension. The merchant will tell you that the rarest products are unsalable.

The actor who plays to the groundlings, who has a good word for every one, who has never racked his nerves or tortured his soul, who has not earned his bread and salt with "*Kummer und Noth*," who has not realized the utter impossibility of ever accomplishing his ideal, who is not striving and searching for the better in art, who is content to amass wealth by playing one part only; the actor, in short, who is not unsatisfied, is a poor fool of an actor.

It is impossible for an actor to attempt an arduous rôle and having done his full duty to be as unruffled and calm and benign as a May morning.

The very centre of his soul has been shaken; he has projected himself by force of will into another being, another sphere,—he has been living, acting, thinking another man's life, and you cannot expect to find him calm and smiling and tolerant of small troubles, dumped back on a dung heap after a flight to the moon.

If, when the curtain has fallen, you meet this clever calculating and diplomatic personage, know that you are not in the presence of an actor. He is, no doubt, a thousand times more pleasant to encounter, more charming in society, *gratissimus* to the fatigued, harassed, often humiliated and misunderstood newspaper hack,—but he is not an actor.

The actor is *sui generis*, and in the theatre not to be judged by the ordinary rules applied to ordinary men. The actor is an extraordinary man, who every evening spends three hours or more in fairyland and transforms himself into all kinds

of odd creatures for the benefit of his fellow men; when he returns from fairyland, where he has been a king or a beggar, a criminal doomed to death, a lover in despair, or a haunted man, do you fancy the aspect of the world and its peoples is not tinged with some clinging color of his living dream ?

It is an open question whether the true actor should be seen in society (Edmund Kean held that he should not), or whether he should remain a mystery to his fellow men. The writer is of the opinion that there is no reason why an actor off the stage should not behave like an ordinary mortal and enjoy as much as he may the pleasures of life. But the writer is also of the opinion that there is no necessity for an actor to bear about him the pungent odor of the *coulisses*. There is no claim on him to deport himself in any other wise than an honest man when he walks abroad. He can refrain from calling attention to himself by means which would be ridiculed if employed by other men. He need not wear his hair long, or gaze fixedly into vacancy, or pretend to be lost in poetic thought, or stride or pose, or wear odd garments. He may, in short, behave like a man, unless he has made up his mind to demean himself into a perambulating advertisement.

The actor's art will be more widely honored by thinking men when they discover in the actor the unostentatious manners of a simple gentleman. Men will not blame the actor for eccentricities or idiosyncrasies which he may have inherited, or for which nature or ill health is responsible; they will accept them as they accept them in other friends, but they will be swift to perceive their assumption for a purpose.

Aside from the personal opinion of individuals the public has no concern whatever in the private life of the actor ; it belongs to him as much as it belongs to the lawyer, the painter, the writer, or the architect, or to any other free-born citizen.

The stage is the actor's studio and gallery of exhibition ; away from it his deeds are of no moment, and many actors would be less known and others more popular if the world judged the actor only by his work.

Society, as a whole, cares very little for art. True art without the humbug is as little tolerated in society as a nude figure.

Concerning the condition of the Drama in Europe, the writer recently discovered in a French MS. by an unknown writer

the following fairy tale and he has taken some pains to translate it. The MS. is evidently not complete, for it breaks off abruptly, but none the less it may chance to interest :

L'ENFANT DRAME DE LA RECLÂME.

"About thirty or forty years prior to the conclusion of the 19th Century a child was born in London, in England, to a certain Monsieur de la Reclâme. This gentleman had married a young lady in his own station of life, a Demoiselle Regardez-moi. The infant had a number of godparents. They were indeed so numerous it is impossible to name them all. The most popular was a Japanese idol, a hideous and grotesque personage, but an extraordinary favorite in the salons of the wealthy ; M. Impressioniste, who was received and admired everywhere for the reason that nobody understood what he talked about ; Messieurs Jaundice and Longhair, who were always arm in arm, and many others. There were also godmothers : Madame Mère-Romaine, a stout lady who had lived at the French Court and who wore a garment which resembled a sack. She had four daughters. The eldest, Miss Chin, was a middle-aged, angular person who arranged her faded yellow hair in a tuft over a low forehead and whose chin seemed to say forever to the rest of the body, 'Come along, follow me.'

"The second sister was named 'Grasp.' She was a faded flower, and the process of several divorce suits had slightly tarnished the lustre of her early beauty. This young person had an engaging manner of throwing out her hands as if to snatch something, and she rarely frequented any house where draperies which she might clutch were not hung in profusion, The other two girls were twins and were called Cling and Flop, and all four sisters were generally followed by long-haired and pale-faced youths who spoke like women and wore corsets.

"The infant had other sponsors, and I must not forget a renowned virtuoso who could whisper to a piano, sit upon it, tickle it, beat it, dust it with his hair, and all the while extract from it the most heart-rending melodies.

"Not many moons after the birth of the child, Monsieur and Madame de la Reclâme were receiving their friends in their suburban villa. It was Saturday evening. Monsieur de la Reclâme had published, to his entire satisfaction, a weekly

journal called 'Paul Pry,' of which he was the proprietor and editor, and he was now enjoying, in the bosom of his family and of his numerous contributors, the full delights of an easy conscience and of lawful crime. Long lines of carriages stretched like the serpents of Laocoon from his door, for although no one acknowledged the acquaintance of Monsieur de la Reclâme, nobody dared to refuse his invitation, and as Madame de la Reclâme's drawing-rooms were shrouded in Cimmerian darkness, it was easy to be present without detection. The guests having departed and the servants having withdrawn, the lights were turned up, and Monsieur de la Reclâme produced from a cupboard a flacon of rare liquor which had been presented to him by a young orphan girl, concerning whom he had generously suppressed a very valuable paragraph. The clock in the church near by, in which Monsieur and Madame de la Reclâme owned a pew, had just chimed twelve, when these estimable people were disturbed by a violent noise in an adjacent pantry. Both the lady and gentleman sprang in alarm to their feet. A voice at Monsieur de la Reclâme's elbow said quietly:

"'Do not disturb yourself and do not be afraid,' and the worthy couple beheld a gentleman, who had a red face and a bald head and who was in full evening dress.

"'Sir!' exclaimed Monsieur de la Reclâme, 'this intrusion! I must beg you——'

"'Pardon me,' said the stranger, 'for my somewhat unceremonious entrance. I am a Genie of whom you have no doubt heard. My name is Venale—and I always come in through the pantry.

"'I am here,' continued the Genie, pouring himself out fully a tumbler from the flacon before Monsieur de la Reclâme and imbibing the liquor with a gentle sigh, 'I am here to speak to you about your boy, whom I destine for the highest honors, providing you agree to my terms.'

"'Sir,' replied Monsieur de la Reclâme, 'I am highly sensible of the honor you do me, but I have already decided upon a profession for my son, that of a wealthy man.'

"'Pardon me,' said the Genie somewhat coldly, 'you are probably unaware that you owe all your good fortune to me, and that by the simple process of turning my back upon you, you would be utterly ruined; however, I will overlook your impertinence this

time, as I am excessively fond of you, but you must give me a decisive reply at once, because I have a supper engagement with a prominent public man.'

"Monsieur de la Reclâme being now thoroughly frightened, assured the Genie that he would consent to anything the Genie proposed.

"'Very well, then,' said the Spirit. 'I shall claim the right to christen your son, and I shall bestow upon him the ancient name of 'Drame,' and since you have been so hospitable and obliging, I shall obtain from my intimate friend the Prime Minister the title of Baron, and your son will, therefore, rejoice your heart as Baron Drame de la Reclâme.'"

"Both the overjoyed parents were about to give full expression to their gratitude when, by a slight movement of his hand, the Genie pocketed Monsieur de la Reclâme's gold repeater which had been lying on the table at the publisher's elbow.

"'I never accept words,' said the Genie haughtily. 'From this day forth I shall watch over your son. I shall guide every step of his life. I shall be wherever he is. I shall rule his destiny. Above all I shall make him renowned. Baron Drame de la Reclâme will surpass, will supersede, all who have ever borne the name.'"

The last words, spoken with great majesty, were accompanied by an action which embraced two solid silver candelabra and the Genie disappeared.

Here the MS. has been torn, mutilated, and is no longer legible.

RICHARD MANSFIELD.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AËRIAL NAVIGATION.

BY HIRAM S. MAXIM. Sept. 94

IN 1890 I tried a series of experiments with a view of ascertaining how much power was required to perform artificial flight. An account of these experiments written by myself, and entitled "Aërial Navigation—The Power Required," appeared in the *Century* Magazine of October, 1891. The apparatus used in these experiments was constructed with great care and was provided with all sorts of delicate instruments which enabled me to ascertain definitely the exact power required for performing artificial flight on the aëroplane system driven by screw propellers.

As is well known, when one flies a kite the cord holds the kite against the wind. The wind passing on the under side of the kite strikes it at an angle and raises the kite into the air. If the wind be blowing at a high velocity—say 35 miles an hour—the kite will lift from one pound to five pounds per square foot, according to the angle at which it is held in the air. If the angle be slight, the amount of strain on the cord necessary to hold it against the wind will be found considerably less than the weight of the kite and the load which it is able to lift, particularly so if the cord pulls in a horizontal direction instead of at an angle. It is also well known that if a kite be propelled in a calm through the air, say at the rate of 35 miles an hour, the effect is exactly the same. Suppose now, instead of the cord for holding the kite against the wind or for propelling it against still air, that a screw propeller should be attached to the kite and that it should be driven by some motor. If the screw propeller could be made to give a push equal to the pull of the kite, and if the machinery for driving it should be no greater than the weight that the kite would be able to carry, we should have a veritable flying machine.

In my first experiments to ascertain the power required, the aëroplanes employed were formed of thin pieces of wood, the under side being slightly concave and the top side slightly convex. These aëroplanes I was able to propel round a circle 200 feet in circumference at a speed say from 20 to 90 miles an hour, and with the planes at any desired angles. When the inclination was 1 in 14 it was found that a thrust of 5 pounds on the screw would lift 14 times 5 pounds, or 70 pounds, on the plane. It was also found in these experiments with a plane set at an angle of 1 in 14, that as much as 133 pounds could be carried with the expenditure of 1 horse power. These experiments, which were very full and complete, and which embraced many different kinds of screw propellers and aëroplanes, demonstrated that a two-bladed wooden propeller with a pitch slightly greater than the diameter, was the most advantageous, the propelling power being very great and the loss by slip comparatively small. Narrow aëroplanes slightly concave on the under side, set at a slight angle and driven at a high speed, were found to be the most efficient, and any distortion or bagging of the aëroplane increased enormously the power required.

Having ascertained experimentally the power required, I at once commenced experiments with a view of developing the necessary motive power. Everything considered, I believed that steam power would be more efficient for the weight than any other source of energy. First I made two pairs of compound engines, the high-pressure cylinders being 5 inches in diameter, the low-pressure cylinders 8 inches in diameter, and all having a stroke of 12 inches. In order to make the engines as light as possible, the cylinders were made about $\frac{3}{32}$ inch thick, of a high grade of fluid compressed steel. The valve chambers and passageways were made of seamless steel tubes, the whole being neatly riveted together and brazed with silver-solder.

The crank shaft was of comparatively large diameter, but hollow, and of highly tempered steel. All the piston and valve rods, and also the framework of the engine, were constructed of hard and thin tubular steel. When the engines were finished they were found to weigh 300 lbs. the pair, or 600 lbs. in all. The high-pressure cylinder was made with a considerable amount of clearance, so as to avoid danger if water should go over with the steam, and the piston valves were made to cut off at $\frac{3}{4}$ stroke,

while steam was cut off in the low-pressure cylinder at $\frac{5}{8}$ stroke. Believing that on some occasions I might require to put on a tremendous spurt, I placed a kind of an injector valve between the high-pressure steam directly from the boiler and the exhaust from the high-pressure cylinder. This injector was provided with a spring valve regulated in such a manner that in case the boiler pressure should rise above 300 pounds to the square inch, instead of blowing off steam at the safety-valve, the steam would open a passage directly into the low-pressure cylinder, and, as the passageway was annular and arranged to be more or less large in proportion to the steam passing, the steam in falling from a high to a comparatively low pressure was made to do a certain amount of work on the exhaust steam, thus increasing the pressure in the low-pressure cylinder without greatly increasing the back pressure in the high-pressure cylinder. This is a new feature, which, I think, has never been used on a compound engine before.

The first steam generator was constructed of a very large number of small and thin tubes. It was constructed so as to admit water at one end of the series and to draw steam from the other end, and to so regulate the fire as to convert about 90 per cent. of the passing water into steam. This boiler was of great lightness, not weighing without its casing more than 300 pounds, and was heated by 50 square feet of flame; but it was found impossible to so regulate the fire and the water supply as to have comparatively dry steam without destroying some of the tubes. If twice as much water as is evaporated was pumped through the boiler, it stood the heat fairly well; but upon any attempt being made to reduce the quantity of water, some of the small tubes, which were of copper, would invariably burst. This boiler was, however, remarkable because steam could be raised in about ten seconds, and on some occasions an ample supply of steam was made to run the engines up to 300 horse power.

The first boiler having failed, I at once determined to make a boiler on a new plan, but before doing so I tried a series of experiments so as to be sure of my ground in my second attempt. I obtained a quantity of copper tubes $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch diameter, $\frac{1}{60}$ of an inch thick, and 8 feet long. Four of these were connected together and provided with a forced circulation; they were then placed in a white-hot furnace and made to evaporate at the rate of $26\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of water per square foot per hour at a pressure of 400

pounds to the square inch. Having stood this test, a single tube was placed in a white-hot furnace similarly connected, with a view of finding the bursting pressure under steam. It exploded 1,650 pounds to the square foot. Some hundreds of tubes were then tested with one ton per square inch pressure of cold kerosene oil, and as none of them showed any signs of leaking, the new boiler was constructed of these tubes. The general form was somewhat similar to the water-tube boilers employed on torpedo boats in France and England, except that the tubes were relatively much longer for their diameter and had twice as many bends in them, and to insure circulation a down-take for the water outside of the firebox was provided. The feed-water in coming from the pump passed through a very elaborate network of fine copper tubes immediately over the boiler and at a pressure 30 pounds greater than the boiler pressure. A spring valve nozzle was interposed between the feed-water heater and the down-take for the water in such a manner that the escaping force of the water operated powerfully on the surrounding water in the down-take, and thus secured a very rapid circulation through the long and slender tubes which formed the main heating surface of the boiler. This new boiler has proved itself to be very efficient indeed ; the network of very fine tubes which forms the feed-water heater greatly reduces the temperature of the escaping products of combustion, so that the heating of the top of the casing of the boiler is never great enough to burn paint off the smokestack. The new boiler was first tested to 410 pounds cold water pressure, and then to 325 pounds steam pressure. Having completed the new boiler it was placed in position, and experiments commenced with petroleum burners. The new boiler had a very much reduced firebox. Whereas the first experimental boiler had what might be called 40 square feet of grate surface, the new boiler had only 28 square feet. In ordinary boilers heated by petroleum the furnace is supplied with one or two very powerful jets, burning against brickwork or fireclay. This, of course, would be quite out of the question with a flying-machine boiler. Moreover, with such a light boiler it was not advisable to have a very intense flame ; what was necessary, of course, was a very large and even flame, so as to heat all tubes equally. The first burners experimented with worked all right for about 100 horse power ; but whenever any attempt was made to increase the flame,

great unevenness in the flame occurred, some parts of the firebox being filled with flame, while other parts had no flame at all. After much experimenting I finally decided to use naphtha, 72 degrees Beaumé.

The naphtha was pumped into a small and exceedingly light vertical boiler, where it was heated with a flame generated from part of its own contents arranged in such a manner that whenever the pressure of the gas or the vapors of petroleum exceeded 50 pounds to the square inch the flame was automatically shut off, while if the pressure fell slightly below this the flame was turned on so that, no matter how much gas or vapor was drawn from the boiler, the pressure remained constant. This small boiler was suspended by springs in such a manner that whenever the weight of the contents exceeded 40 pounds, it moved the boiler slightly downwards, which operated upon an escapement on the pumping mechanism in such a manner that when the weight was greater than 40 pounds the stroke of the pump was diminished; while if the weight was less than 40 pounds the stroke was increased. This apparatus was found to work admirably ; and no matter how much or how little gas was drawn from the generator, the weight of liquid and pressure of gas always remained constant. The vapor was led from the generator through a pipe in the furnace, where it became superheated, and then was blown through a species of an injector into the furnace, sucking a large quantity of air through a suitable opening, which could be regulated so as to make the gas of any desired density.

Many burners were experimented with, the first one having as many as 14,000 jets ; the one finally adopted had 7,650 burners, and was so arranged that any amount of gas might be consumed without any unevenness, smoking, or blowing. Having perfected my boiler, my gas generator, and my pumping apparatus, so that all worked smoothly and automatically, I attached a pair of very large and carefully made linen-covered wooden screws to the screw shafts. These screws were 17 feet 10 inches in diameter, and had a slightly increasing pitch, the mean pitch being rather more than 16 feet. It will be understood that the boiler was placed upon a platform about 8 feet wide and 40 feet long ; that the engines and screws were held by strong tubular brackets above the rear end of this platform, and that the whole

was mounted on four steel wheels ; that there were springs interposed between the axletrees of these wheels and the platform ; and also that there were vertical tubes and wires attached to the platform which held the large aëroplane, which is about thirty feet by fifty feet, in position.

At the same time that the experiments were going on with the burners and boilers, a railway track 1,800 feet long was being laid, and the framework of the machine was being brought to a state of completion. Upon moving the machine on to the track, tying it up and attaching it to a dynamometer, I filled the boiler with water, got up steam with a slow fire in about three minutes and started my engines, when everything was found to run very smoothly indeed.

With 200 pounds pressure to the square inch, the thrust of the screws was about 1,400 pounds, but by running the pressure up to 325 pounds to the square inch, the thrust of the screws went up in the first instance to 1,160 pounds, and finally in a later trial to 1,260 pounds. These experiments should have been tried on a railway track of considerable length, but as I was only able to get a clear track of 1,800 feet, it was found necessary to provide suitable mechanism in order to bring the machine to a state of rest without injury. The best apparatus for this purpose was found to be a series of very strong ropes stretched across the track, each end of the rope being attached to a capstan, and each capstan being provided with a strong plank which acted as a fan. This apparatus stopped the machine without the least shock.

The first experiments were tried without any cloth on the framework and it was found that when the machine was liberated it started off very quickly, in fact so quickly that it nearly threw down any one who was standing upon it.

After having tried several experiments with the naked framework, the main aëroplane was put in position and a few runs made, but the bagging and distortion of the cloth was such that it required the full power of the engines with a screw-thrust of 2,000 pounds to drive the machine at the rate of 25 miles an hour, and the lift did not exceed the thrust of the screws. This aëroplane was then removed and a new one substituted. The second aëroplane was made of two thicknesses of cloth completely inclosing the framework and arranged in such a manner that a

portion of the air could pass through the lower side and produce a slight pressure of air between the two thicknesses. The top side would therefore bag upwards and take the lift, while the bottom side having practically the same pressure on both sides would remain perfectly straight and would not be distorted in the least by running.

The first experiments with this new aëroplane were tried with a screw-thrust of about eight hundred pounds, and the lifting power was actually more than with the old aëroplane with two thousand pounds thrust. Upon increasing the screw-thrust to one thousand two hundred pounds, the lift of the aëroplane was greatly increased, so that the front wheels barely touched the track. I saw that it would not do to run at a greater speed, so I put on some very heavy wheels, weighing six hundred pounds each, which I believed would keep the machine on the track, even if I ran the engines at full speed. I then greatly increased the thrust of the screw, and, finally, ran over the track with a screw thrust of about fifteen hundred pounds; but, unfortunately, I met a slight gust of wind coming from an opposite direction, which lifted the front end of the machine, wheels and all, completely off the track.

This accident, although it did not injure the machinery in the least, showed the weak points in the platform and framework of the machine, and I determined to rebuild it completely and to discard the heavy wheels. While the machine was being rebuilt I put up on each side of the railway track and about 10 feet from the rails a second track (inverted) of heavy wooden joists, and provided the new machine with four additional wheels placed at such a height that when the machine was raised one inch clear from the lower railway track, these new wheels on outriggers would engage the lower side of the joists and thus keep the machine from going off the track. This arrangement has been found to work exceedingly well. It is certainly a great improvement on the old heavy wheels, which not only made the starting and stopping of the machine more difficult, but also failed in keeping it on the track. The upper rail enabled me to make a large number of runs and to note carefully with suitable instruments exactly how much the machine lifted at various speeds. Having finished a series of experiments and ascertained the lift of the main aëroplane with a great degree of nicety, I placed the fore and aft rud-

ders, which were intended to steer the machine in a vertical direction, in position, and made several runs with these rudders at different angles. They were found to work exceedingly well, and I was able to depress or elevate either end at will. The machine had been provided with ten auxiliary aëroplanes, which consisted of balloon cloth stretched very tightly on frames, and which could be placed one above the other (superposed) on each side of the machine if required. Of these ten aëroplanes only four were actually used, the lower ones which extend on either side of the machine 30 feet, and the upper ones which extend 27 feet each side of the main aëroplane and which bring up the total width of the machine to 104 feet. These long and comparatively narrow planes were found, as expected, to be more efficient foot for foot than the main aëroplane.

The first trials with these planes in position were made on the 31st of July last on a perfectly calm day, and three runs were made, the first with 150 pounds pressure of steam per square inch. The speed was 26 miles an hour and the maximum lift 2,750 pounds. The second run was made with 240 pounds of steam. The speed recorder on this occasion failed to work, but it is probable that the speed was 35 miles an hour. The maximum lift was 4,700 pounds. Then everything was made ready for a final test with practically the full power of the engines. Careful observers were stationed on each side of the track, and I took two men with me on the machine, the duty of one being to observe the pressure gauges, and that of the other to observe and note the action of the wheels on the upper track. The machine was tied up to a dynamometer, the engines started at a boiler pressure of 310 pounds and with a screw-thrust of a little more than 2,100 pounds. Upon liberating the machine it darted forward with great rapidity while the screws rotated at a terrific rate. I turned on slightly more gas and the pressure almost instantly rose to 320 pounds to the square inch and blew off at the safety-valve at that pressure. After running a few hundred feet, the machine was completely lifted off the lower rails, and all four of the upper wheels were engaged on the upper or safety rail. After running a few hundred feet in this position, the speed of the machine greatly increased and the lift became so great that the rear axle-trees holding the machine down were doubled up and the wheels

broken off. The machine then became liberated, the front end being held down only on one side. This swayed the machine to one side, brought it violently against the upper rails, and stopped it in the air, the lift breaking the rails and moving them outward about ten feet. Steam was, however, shut off before the machine stopped. The machine then fell to the earth, imbedding the wheels in the turf, showing that it had been stopped in the air, had come directly down, and had not moved after it touched the ground. Had this last experiment been made with a view to free flight, and had the upper rail been removed or the wheels taken off, the machine would certainly have mounted in the air and have travelled a long distance, if necessary. As it was, the lift certainly exceeded the full weight of the machine, the water, the fuel, and the men by 2,000 pounds, and was far beyond the registering limit of the dynagraphs, the pencil being drawn completely across the paper on the recording cylinders.

These experiments at Baldwyn's Park are the first that have ever been attempted with a machine running in a straight line. The prime object of these experiments has been to demonstrate whether it is possible or not for a large machine to be constructed sufficiently light, powerful, and efficient to actually lift into the air its own weight and the weight of one or more men. All other flying machines which have ever been built in the world have persistently stuck to the earth, and this is the first occasion in which a machine has ever been made to raise itself clear of the earth. It has been admitted by all scientists that as soon as a machine could be made with motors powerful enough to actually lift it in the air, aërial navigation would become practical. I have demonstrated that a good and reliable motor can be made with sufficient power for its weight to drive a flying machine, that a very heavy flying machine may be made to raise itself in the air with water, fuel, and three men on board; and that it may lift, in addition to all this, 2,000 pounds. It now only remains to continue the experiments with a view of learning the art of manœuvring the machine; and for this purpose it will be necessary for me to seek some large, open, and level plain, and to commence by making flights so near to the ground that any mistake in the steering cannot result in a serious mishap.

HIRAM S. MAXIM.

IN DEFENCE OF HARRIET SHELLEY.

BY MARK TWAIN.

III.

It is 1814, it is the 16th of March, Shelley has written his letter, he has been in the Boinville paradise a month, his deserted wife is in her husbandless home. Mischief had been wrought. It is the biographer who concedes this. We greatly need some light on Harriet's side of the case, now; we need to know how she enjoyed the month; but there is no way to inform ourselves; there seems to be a strange absence of documents and letters and diaries on that side. Shelley kept a diary, the approaching Mary Godwin kept a diary, her father kept one, her half-sister by marriage, adoption, and the dispensation of God kept one, and the entire tribe and all its friends wrote and received letters, and the letters were kept and are producible when this biography needs them; but there are only three or four scraps of Harriet's writing, and no diary. Harriet wrote plenty of letters to her husband—nobody knows where they are, I suppose; she wrote plenty of letters to other people—apparently they have disappeared, too. Peacock says she wrote good letters, but apparently interested people had sagacity enough to mislay them in time. After all her industry she went down into her grave and lies silent there—silent, when she has so much need to speak. We can only wonder at this mystery, not account for it.

No, there is no way of finding out what Harriet's state of feeling was during the month that Shelley was disporting himself in the Bracknell paradise. We have to fall back upon conjecture, as our fabulist does when he has nothing more substantial to work with. Then we easily conjecture that as the days dragged by Harriet's heart grew heavier and heavier under its two burdens—

shame and resentment: the shame of being pointed at and gossiped about as a deserted wife, and resentment against the woman who had beguiled her husband from her and now kept him in a disreputable captivity. Deserted wives—deserted whether for cause or without cause—find small charity among the virtuous and the discreet. We conjecture that one after another the neighbors ceased to call; that one after another they got to being "engaged" when Harriet called; that finally they one after the other cut her dead on the street; that after that she stayed in the house daytimes, and brooded over her sorrows, and night-times did the same, there being nothing else to do with the heavy hours and the silence and solitude and the dreary intervals which sleep should have charitably bridged, but didn't.

Yes, mischief had been wrought. The biographer arrives at this conclusion, and it is a most just one. Then, just as you begin to half hope he is going to discover the cause of it and launch hot bolts of wrath at the guilty manufacturers of it, you have to turn away disappointed. You are disappointed, and you sigh. This is what he says—the italics are mine:

"However the mischief may have been wrought—*and at this day no one can wish to heap blame on any buried head*—"

So it is poor Harriet, after all. Stern justice must take its course—justice tempered with delicacy, justice tempered with compassion, justice that pities a forlorn dead girl and refuses to strike her. Except in the back. Will not be ignoble and *say* the harsh thing, but only insinuate it. Stern justice knows about the carriage and the wet-nurse and the bonnet-shop and the other dark things that caused this sad mischief, and may not, *must* not blink them; so it delivers judgment where judgment belongs, but softens the blow by not seeming to deliver judgment at all. To resume—the italics are mine:

"However the mischief may have been wrought—and at this day no one can wish to heap blame on any buried head—*it is certain that some cause or causes of deep division between Shelley and his wife were in operation during the early part of the year* 1814."

This shows penetration. No deduction could be more accurate than this. There were indeed some causes of deep division. But next comes another disappointing sentence:

"To guess at the precise nature of these causes, in the absence of definite statement, were useless."

Why, he has already been guessing at them for several pages, and we have been trying to outguess him, and now all of a sudden he is tired of it and won't play any more. It is not quite fair to us. However, he will get over this by and bye, when Shelley commits his next indiscretion and has to be guessed out of it at Harriet's expense.

"We may rest content with Shelley's own words"—in a Chancery paper drawn up by him three years later. They were these : "Delicacy forbids me to say more than that we were disunited by incurable dissensions."

As for me, I do not quite see why we should rest content with anything of the sort. It is not a very definite statement. It does not necessarily mean anything more than that he did not wish to go into the tedious details of those family quarrels. Delicacy could quite properly excuse him from saying, "I was in love with Cornelia all that time; my wife kept crying and worrying about it and upbraiding me and begging me to cut myself free from a connection which was wronging her and disgracing us both; and I being stung by these reproaches retorted with fierce and bitter speeches—for it is my nature to do that when I am stirred, especially if the target of them is a person whom I had greatly loved and respected before, as witness my various attitudes toward Miss Hitchener, the Gisbornes, Harriet's sister, and others—and finally I did not improve this state of things when I deserted my wife and spent a whole month with the woman who had infatuated me."

No, he could not go into those details, and we excuse him; but, nevertheless, we do not rest content with this bland proposition to puff away that whole long disreputable episode with a single meaningless remark of Shelley's.

We do admit that "it is certain that some cause or causes of deep division were in operation." We would admit it just the same if the grammar of the statement were as straight as a string, for we drift into pretty indifferent grammar ourselves when we are absorbed in historical work; but we have to decline to admit that we cannot guess those cause or causes.

But guessing is not really necessary. There is evidence attainable; evidence from the batch discredited by the biographer and set out at the back door in his appendix basket; and yet a court of law would think twice before throwing it out, whereas

it would be a hardy person who would venture to offer in such a place a good part of the material which is placed before the readers of this book as "evidence," and so treated by this daring biographer. Among some letters (in the appendix-basket) from Mrs. Godwin, detailing the Godwinian share in the Shelleyan events of 1814, she tells how Harriet Shelley came to her and her husband, agitated and weeping, to implore them to forbid Shelley the house, and prevent his seeing Mary Godwin.

"She related that last November he had fallen in love with Mrs. Turner and paid her such marked attentions Mr. Turner, the husband, had carried off his wife to Devonshire."

The biographer finds a technical fault in this; "the Shelleys were in *Edinburgh* in November." What of that? The woman is recalling a conversation which is more than two months old; besides, she was probably more intent upen the central and important fact of it than upon its unimportant date. Harriet's quoted statement has some sense in it; for that reason, if for no other, it ought to have been put in the body of the book. Still, that would not have answered; even the biographer's enemy could not be cruel enough to ask him to let this real grievance, this compact and substantial and picturesque figure, this rawhead-and-bloody-bones, come striding in there among those pale shams, those rickety spectres labelled WET-NURSE, BONNET-SHOP, and so on—no, the father of all malice could not ask the biographer to expose his pathetic goblins to a competition like that.

The fabulist finds fault with the statement because it has a technical error in it; and he does this at the moment that he is furnishing us an error himself, and of a graver sort. He says:

"If Turner carried off his wife to Devonshire he brought her back, and Shelley was staying with her and her mother on terms of cordial intimacy in March, 1814.'

We accept the "cordial intimacy"—it was the very thing Harriet was complaining of—but there is nothing to show that it was Turner who brought his wife back. The statement is thrown in as if it were not only true, but was proof that Turner was not uneasy. Turner's *movements* are proof of nothing. Nothing but a statement from Turner's mouth would have any value here, and he made none.

Six days after writing his letter Shelley and his wife were to-

gether again for a moment—to get remarried according to the rites of the English Church.

Within three weeks the new husband and wife were apart again, and the former was back in his odorous paradise. This time it is the wife who does the deserting. She finds Cornelia too strong for her, probably. At any rate she goes away with her baby and sister, and we have a playful fling at her from good Mrs. Boinville, the "mysterious spinner Maimuna"; she whose "face was as a damsel's face, and yet her hair was gray"; she of whom the biographer has said, "Shelley was indeed caught in an almost invisible thread spun around him, but unconsciously, by this subtle and benignant enchantress." The subtle and benignant enchantress writes to Hogg, April 18: "Shelley is again a widower; his beauteous half went to town on Thursday."

Then Shelley writes a poem—a chant of grief over the hard fate which obliges him now to leave his paradise and take up with his wife again. It seems to intimate that the paradise is cooling toward him; that he is warned off by acclamation; that he must not even venture to tempt with one last tear his friend Cornelia's ungentle mood, for her eye is glazed and cold and dares not entreat her lover to stay:

Exhibit E.

. . . . . .

"Pause not! the time is past! Every voice cries 'Away!'
Tempt not with one last tear thy friend's ungentle mood;
Thy lover's eye, so glazed and cold, dares not entreat thy stay:
Duty and dereliction guide thee back to solitude."

Back to the solitude of his now empty home, that is!

"Away! away! to thy sad and silent home;
Pour bitter tears on its desolated hearth."

. . . . . .

But he will have rest in the grave by and bye. Until that time comes, the charms of Bracknell will remain in his memory, along with Mrs. Boinville's voice and Cornelia Turner's smile:

"Thou in the grave shalt rest—yet, till the phantoms flee
Which that house and hearth and garden made dear to thee erewhile,
Thy remembrance and repentance and deep musings are not free
From the music of two voices and the light of one sweet smile.'

We *cannot* wonder that Harriet could not stand it. Any of us would have left. We would not even stay with a cat that was

in this condition. Even the Boinvilles could not endure it; and so, as we have seen, they gave this one notice.

"Early in May, Shelley was in London. He did not yet despair of reconciliation with Harriet, nor had he ceased to love her."

Shelley's poems are a good deal of trouble to his biographer. They are constantly inserted as "evidence," and they make much confusion. As soon as one of them has proved one thing, another one follows and proves quite a different thing. The poem just quoted shows that he was in love with Cornelia, but a month later he is in love with Harriet again, and there is a poem to prove it.

"In this piteous appeal Shelley declares that he has now no grief but one—the grief of having known and lost his wife's love."

Exhibit F.

"Thy look of love has power to calm
The stormiest passion of my soul."

But without doubt she had been reserving her looks of love a good part of the time for ten months, now—ever since he began to lavish his own on Cornelia Turner at the end of the previous July. He does really seem to have already forgotten Cornelia's merits in one brief month, for he eulogizes Harriet in a way which rules all competition out:

"Thou only virtuous, gentle, kind,
Amid a world of hate."

He complains of her hardness, and begs her to make the concession of a "slight endurance"—of his waywardness, perhaps—for the sake of "a fellow being's lasting weal." But the main force of his appeal is in his closing stanza, and is strongly worded:

"O trust for once no erring guide!
Bid the remorseless feeling flee;
'Tis malice, 'tis revenge, 'tis pride,
'Tis anything but thee;
O deign a nobler pride to prove,
And pity if thou canst not love."

This is in May—apparently toward the end of it. Harriet and Shelley were corresponding all the time. Harriet got the poem—a copy exists in her own handwriting; she being the only gentle and kind person amid a world of hate, according to Shelley's own testimony in the poem, we are permitted to think that the daily letters would presently have melted that kind and gentle heart and brought about the reconciliation, if there had

been time—but there wasn't: for in a very few days—in fact before the 8th of June—Shelley was in love with *another* woman!

And so,—perhaps while Harriet was walking the floor nights, trying to get *her* poem by heart—her husband was doing a fresh one—for the other girl—Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin—with sentiments like these in it:

Exhibit G.

"To spend years thus and be rewarded,
As thou, sweet love, requited me
When none were near.
. . . thy lips did meet
Mine tremblingly; . . .

Gentle and good and mild thou art,
Nor can I live if thou appear
Aught but thyself." . . .

And so on. "Before the close of June it was known and felt by Mary and Shelley that each was inexpressibly dear to the other." Yes, Shelley had found this child of sixteen to his liking, and had wooed and won her in the graveyard. But that is nothing; it was better than wooing her in her nursery, at any rate, where it might have disturbed the other children

However, she was a child in years only. From the day that she set her masculine grip on Shelley he was to frisk no more. If she had occupied the only kind and gentle Harriet's place in March it would have been a thrilling spectacle to see her invade the Boinville rookery and read the riot act. That holiday of Shelley's would have been of short duration, and Cornelia's hair would have been as gray as her mother's when the services were over.

Hogg went to the Godwin residence in Skinner Street with Shelley on that 8th of June. They passed through Godwin's little debt-factory of a bookshop and went upstairs hunting for the proprietor. Nobody there. Shelley strode about the room impatiently, making its crazy floor quake under him. Then a door "was partially and softly opened. A thrilling voice called, 'Shelley!' A thrilling voice answered, 'Mary!' And he darted out of the room like an arrow from the bow of the far-shooting King. A very young female, fair and fair-haired, pale indeed, and with a piercing look, wearing a frock of tartan, an unusual dress in London at that time, had called him out of the room.'

This is Mary Godwin, as described by Hogg. The thrill of the voices shows that the love of Shelley and Mary was already

upwards of a fortnight old; therefore it had been born within the month of May—born while Harriet was still trying to get her poem by heart, we think. I must not be asked how I know so much about that thrill; it is my secret. The biographer and I have private ways of finding out things when it is necessary to find them out and the customary methods fail.

Shelley left London that day, and was gone ten days. The biographer conjectures that he spent this interval with Harriet in Bath. It would be just like him. To the end of his days he liked to be in love with two women at once. He was more in love with Miss Hitchener when he married Harriet then he was with Harriet, and told the lady so with simple and unostentatious candor. He was more in love with Cornelia than he was with Harriet in the end of 1813 and the beginning of 1814, yet he supplied both of them with love poems of an equal temperature meantime; he loved Mary and Harriet in June, and while getting ready to run off with the one, it is conjectured that he put in his odd time trying to get reconciled to the other; by and bye, while still in love with Mary, he will make love to her half-sister by marriage, adoption, and the visitation of God, through the medium of clandestine letters, and she will answer with letters that are for no eye but his own.

When Shelley encountered Mary Godwin he was looking around for another paradise. He had tastes of his own, and there were features about the Godwin establishment that strongly recommended it. Godwin was an advanced thinker and an able writer. One of his romances is still read, but his philosophical works, once so esteemed, are out of vogue now; their authority was already declining when Shelley made his acquaintance. That is, it was declining with the public, but not with Shelley. They had been his moral and political Bible, and they were that yet. Shelley the infidel would himself have claimed to be less a work of God than a work of Godwin. Godwin's philosophies had formed his mind and interwoven themselves into it and become a part of its texture; he regarded himself as Godwin's spiritual son. Godwin was not without self-appreciation; indeed it may be conjectured that from his point of view the last syllable of his name was surplusage. He lived serene in his lofty world of philosophy, far above the mean interests that absorbed smaller men, and only came down to the ground at intervals to pass the

hat for alms to pay his debts with, and insult the man that relieved him. Several of his principles were out of the ordinary. For example, he was opposed to marriage. He was not aware that his preachings from this text were but theory and wind; he supposed he was in earnest in imploring people to live together without marrying, until Shelley furnished him a working model of his scheme and a practical example to analyse, by applying the principle in his own family; the matter took a different and surprising aspect then. The late Matthew Arnold said that the main defect in Shelley's make-up was that he was destitute of the sense of humor. This episode must have escaped Mr. Arnold's attention.

But we have said enough about the head of the new paradise. Mrs. Godwin is described as being in several ways a terror; and even when her soul was in repose she wore green spectacles. But I suspect that her main unattractiveness was born of the fact that she wrote the letters that are out in the appendix-basket in the back yard—letters which are an outrage and wholly untrustworthy, for they say some kind things about poor Harriet and tell some disagreeable truths about her husband; and these things make the fabulist grit his teeth a good deal.

Next we have Fanny Godwin—a Godwin by courtesy only; she was Mrs. Godwin's natural daughter by a former friend. She was a sweet and winning girl, but she presently wearied of the Godwin paradise, and poisoned herself.

Last in the list is Jane (or Claire, as she preferred to call herself) Clairmont, daughter of Mrs. Godwin by a former marriage. She was very young and pretty and accommodating, and always ready to do what she could to make things pleasant. After Shelley ran off with her part-sister Mary, she became the guest of the pair, and contributed a natural child to their nursery—Allegra. Lord Byron was the father.

We have named the several members and advantages of the new paradise in Skinner Street, with its crazy book-shop underneath. Shelley was all right now, this was a better place than the other; more variety, anyway, and more different kinds of fragrance. One could turn out poetry here without any trouble at all.

The way the new love-match came about was this. Shelley told Mary all his aggravations and sorrows and griefs, and about

the wet-nurse and the bonnet-shop and the surgeon and the carriage, and the sister-in-law that blocked the London game, and about Cornelia and her mamma, and how they had turned him out of the house after making so much of him ; and how he had deserted Harriet and then Harriet had deserted him, and how the reconciliation was working along and Harriet getting her poem by heart; and still he was not happy, and Mary pitied him, for she had had trouble herself. But I am not satisfied with this. It reads too much like statistics. It lacks smoothness and grace, and is too earthy and business-like. It has the sordid look of a trades-union procession out on strike. That is not the right form for it. The book does it better ; we will fall back on the book and have a cake-walk :

"It was easy to divine that some restless grief possessed him ; Mary herself was not unlearned in the lore of pain. His generous zeal in her father's behalf, his spiritual sonship to Godwin, his reverence for her mother's memory, were guarantees with Mary of his excellence.* The new friends could not lack subjects of discourse, and underneath their words about Mary's mother, and 'Political Justice,' and 'Rights of Woman,' were two young hearts, each feeling towards the other, each perhaps unaware, trembling in the direction of the other. The desire to assuage the suffering of one whose happiness has grown precious to us may become a hunger of the spirit as keen as any other, and this hunger now possessed Mary's heart; when her eyes rested unseen on Shelley, it was with a look full of the ardor of a 'soothing pity.'"

Yes, that is better and has more composure. That is just the way it happened. He told her about the wet-nurse, she told him about political justice ; he told her about the deadly sister-in-law, she told him about her mother; he told her about the bonnet-shop, she murmured back about the rights of woman; then he assuaged her, then she assuaged him; then he assuaged her some more, next she assuaged him some more; then they both assuaged one another simultaneously; and so they went on by the hour assuaging and assuaging and assuaging, until at last what was the result ? They were in love. It will happen so every time.

"He had married a woman who, as he now persuaded himself, had never truly loved him, who loved only his fortune and his rank, and who proved her selfishness by deserting him in his misery."

I think that that is not quite fair to Harriet. We have no certainty that she knew Cornelia had turned him out of the

* What she was after was guarantees of his excellence. That he stood ready to desert his wife and child was one of them, apparently.

house. He went back to Cornelia, and Harriet may have supposed that he was as happy with her as ever. Still, it was judicious to begin to lay on the whitewash, for Shelley is going to need many a coat of it now, and the sooner the reader becomes used to the intrusion of the brush the sooner he will get reconciled to it and stop fretting about it.

After Shelley's (conjectured) visit to Harriet at Bath—8th of June to 18th—"it seems to have been arranged that Shelley should henceforth join the Skinner Street household each day at dinner."

Nothing could be handier than this; things will swim along now.

"Although now Shelley was coming to believe that his wedded union with Harriet was a thing of the past, he had not ceased to regard her with affectionate consideration; he wrote to her frequently, and kept her informed of his whereabouts."

We must not get impatient over these curious inharmoniousnesses and irreconcilabilities in Shelley's character. You can see by the biographer's attitude toward them that there is nothing objectionable about them. Shelley was doing his best to make two adoring young creatures happy: he was regarding the one with affectionate consideration by mail, and he was assuaging the other one at home.

"Unhappy Harriet, residing at Bath, had perhaps never desired that the breach between herself and her husband should be irreparable and complete."

I find no fault with that sentence except that the "perhaps" is not strictly warranted. It should have been left out. In support—or shall we say extenuation?—of this opinion, I submit that there is not sufficient evidence to warrant the uncertainty which it implies. The only "evidence" offered that Harriet was hard and proud and standing out against a reconciliation is a poem—the poem in which Shelley beseeches her to "bid the remorseless feeling flee" and "pity" if she "cannot love." We have just that as "evidence," and out of its meagre materials the biographer builds a cobhouse of conjectures as big as the Coliseum; conjectures which convince him, the prosecuting attorney, but ought to fall far short of convincing any fair-minded jury.

Shelley's love-poems may be very good evidence, but we know well that they are "good for this day and train only." We are

able to believe that they spoke the truth for that one day, but we know by experience that they could not be depended on to speak it the next. That very supplication for a rewarming of Harriet's chilled love was followed so suddenly by the poet's plunge into an adoring passion for Mary Godwin that if it had been a check it would have lost its value before a lazy person could have gotten to the bank with it.

Hardness, stubbornness, pride, vindictiveness—these may sometimes reside in a young wife and mother of nineteen, but they are not charged against Harriet Shelley outside of that poem, and one has no right to insert them into her character on such shadowy "evidence" as that. Peacock knew Harriet well, and she has a flexible and persuadable look, as painted by him :

"Her manners were good, and her whole aspect and demeanor such manifest emanations of pure and truthful nature, that to be once in her company was to know her thoroughly. She was fond of her husband, and accommodated herself in every way to his tastes. If they mixed in society, she adorned it; if they lived in retirement, she was satisfied; if they travelled, she enjoyed the change of scene."

"Perhaps" she had never desired that the breach should be irreparable and complete. The truth is, we do not even know that there was any breach at all, at this time. We know that the husband and wife went before the altar and took a new oath on the 24th of March to love and cherish each other until death—and this may be regarded as a sort of reconciliation itself, and a wiping out of the old grudges. Then Harriet went away, and the sister-in-law removed herself from her society. That was in April. Shelley wrote his "appeal" in May, but the corresponding went right along afterward. We have a right to doubt that the subject of it was a "reconciliation," or that Harriet had any suspicion that she needed to be reconciled and that her husband was trying to persuade her to it—as the biographer has sought to make us believe, with his Coliseum of conjectures built out of a waste-basket of poetry. For we have "evidence," now—not poetry and conjecture. When Shelley had been dining daily in the Skinner Street paradise fifteen days and continuing the love-match which was already a fortnight old twenty-five days earlier, he forgot to write Harriet; forgot it the next day and the next. During four days Harriet got no letter from him. Then her fright and anxiety rose to expression-heat, and she wrote a letter

to Shelley's publisher which seems to reveal to us that Shelley's letters to her had been the customary affectionate letters of husband to wife, and had carried no appeals for reconciliation and had not needed to :

BATH (postmark July 7, 1814).

MY DEAR SIR : You will greatly oblige me by giving the enclosed to Mr. Shelley. I would not trouble you, but it is now four days since I have heard from him, which to me is an age. Will you write by return of post and tell me what has become of him? as I always fancy something dreadful has happened if I do not hear from him. If you tell me that he is well I shall not come to London, but if I do not hear from you or him I shall certainly come, as I cannot endure this dreadful state of suspense. You are his friend and you can feel for me. I remain yours truly, H. S.

Even without Peacock's testimony that "her whole aspect and demeanor were manifest emanations of a pure and truthful nature," we should hold this to be a truthful letter, a sincere letter, a loving letter ; it bears those marks ; I think it is also the letter of a person accustomed to receiving letters from her husband frequently, and that they have been of a welcome and satisfactory sort, too, this long time back—ever since the solemn remarriage and reconciliation at the altar, most likely.

The biographer follows Harriet's letter with a conjecture. He conjectures that she "would now gladly have retraced her steps." Which means that it is proven that she had steps to retrace—proven by the poem. Well, if the poem is better evidence than the letter, we must let it stand at that.

Then the biographer attacks Harriet Shelley's honor—by authority of random and unverified gossip scavengered from a group of people whose very names make a person shudder : Mary Godwin, mistress to Shelley ; her part-sister, discarded mistress of Lord Byron ; Godwin, the philosophical tramp, who gathers his share of it from a shadow—that is to say, from a person whom he shirks out of naming. Yet the biographer dignifies this sorry rubbish with the name of "evidence."

Nothing remotely resembling a distinct charge from a named person professing to know, is offered among this precious "evidence."

1. "Shelley *believed*" so and so.

2. Byron's discarded mistress says that Shelley told Mary Godwin so and so, and *Mary* told *her*.

3. "Shelley said" so and so—and later "admitted over and over again that he had been in error."

4. The unspeakable Godwin "wrote to Mr. Baxter" that he knew so and so "from unquestionable authority"—name not furnished.

How any man in his right mind could bring himself to defile the grave of a shamefully abused and defenceless girl with these baseless fabrications, this manufactured filth, is inconceivable. How any man, in his right mind or out of it, could sit down and coldly try to persuade anybody to believe it, or listen patiently to it, or indeed do anything but scoff at it and deride it, is astonishing.

The charge insinuated by these odious slanders is one of the most difficult of all offences to prove; it is also one which no man has a right to mention even in a whisper about any woman, living or dead, unless he knows it to be true, and not even then unless he can also *prove* it to be true. There is no justification for the abomination of putting this stuff in the book.

Against Harriet Shelley's good name there is not one scrap of tarnishing evidence, and not even a scrap of evil gossip, that comes from a source that entitles it to a hearing.

On the credit side of the account we have strong opinions from the people who knew her best. Peacock says:

"I feel it due to the memory of Harriet to state my most decided conviction that her conduct as a wife was as pure, as true, as absolutely faultless, as that of any who for such conduct are held most in honor."

Thornton Hunt, who had picked and published slight flaws in Harriet's character, says, as regards this alleged large one:

"There is not a trace of evidence or a whisper of scandal against her before her voluntary departure from Shelley."

Trelawney says:

"I was assured by the evidence of the few friends who knew both Shelley and his wife—Hookham, Hogg, Peacock, and one of the Godwins—that Harriet was perfectly innocent of all offence."

What excuse was there for raking up a parcel of foul rumors from malicious and discredited sources and flinging them at this dead girl's head? Her very defencelessness should have been her protection. The fact that all letters to her or about her, with almost every scrap of her own writing, had been diligently mislaid, leaving her case destitute of a voice, while every pen-stroke which could help her husband's side had been as diligently preserved, should have excused her from being brought to trial. Her

witnesses have all disappeared, yet we see her summoned in her grave-clothes to plead for the life of her character, without the help of an advocate, before a disqualified judge and a packed jury.

Harriet Shelley wrote her distressed letter on the 7th of July. On the 28th her husband ran away with Mary Godwin and her part-sister Claire, to the Continent. He deserted his wife when her confinement was approaching. She bore him a child at the end of November, his mistress bore him another one something over two months later. The truants were back in London before either of these events occurred.

On one occasion, presently, Shelley was so pressed for money to support his mistress with that he went to his wife and got some money of his that was in her hands—twenty pounds. Yet the mistress was not moved to gratitude; for later, when the wife was troubled to meet her engagements, the mistress makes this entry in her diary:

"Harriet sends her creditors here; nasty woman. Now we shall have to change our lodgings."

The deserted wife bore the bitterness and obloquy of her situation two years and a quarter; then she gave up, and drowned herself. A month afterward the body was found in the water. Three weeks later Shelley married his mistress.

I must here be allowed to italicise a remark of the biographer's concerning Harriet Shelley:

"That no act of Shelley's during the two years which immediately preceded her death tended to cause the rash act which brought her life to its close, seems certain."

Yet her husband had deserted her and her children and was living with a concubine all that time! Why should a person attempt to write biography, when the simplest facts have no meaning to him? This book is littered with as crass stupidities as that one—deductions by the page which bear no discoverable kinship to their premises.

The biographer throws off that extraordinary remark without any perceptible disturbance to his serenity; for he follows it with a sentimental justification of Shelley's conduct which has not a pang of conscience in it, but is silky and smooth and undulating and pious—a cake-walk with all the colored brethren at their best,

There may be people who can read that page and keep their temper, but it is doubtful.

Shelley's life has the one indelible blot upon it, but is otherwise worshipfully noble and beautiful. It even stands out indestructibly gracious and lovely from the ruck of these disastrous pages, in spite of the fact that they expose and establish his responsibility for his forsaken wife's pitiful fate—a responsibility which he himself tacitly admits in a letter to Eliza Westbrook, wherein he refers to his taking up with Mary Godwin as an act which Eliza "might excusably regard as the cause of her sister's ruin."

MARK TWAIN.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE CONCEITED SEX.

It is usually agreed that man is the more conceited, and woman the vainer, sex. The superficial mind, indolently content with the surface of things, accords a ready hospitality to a distinction that spares it the trouble of thinking. The more strenuous mind of the social philosopher will not be put off with mere tags and labels. It grants the external distinction, but it insists on looking below externals. It asks whether the emotions which we call conceit and vanity are not in essence the same, borrowing the color which seems to differentiate them from the vessel that holds them. Water is water whether contained in a red vase or a green. Yet in the one case it looks red, in the other green. And so with conceit or vanity. At bottom it is simply the love of admiration. In the male sex this passion becomes a demand, in the female it is simply a desire. The more highly developed members of the male sex are conscious of the fact that they have no superiors in the whole range of organic life. But the most gifted woman always has the more gifted man to look up to. Hence man at his best proudly feels that admiration is his due; woman at her best merely hopes that it is. *He* can only look around on his equals or down on his inferiors. *She* must always look up. It is the difference in attitude that constitutes the apparent difference in the emotion. Conceit asks for admiration as a right, vanity craves it as a boon.

But here we must stop and make another distinction. In its beginnings conceit or vanity is a virtue, not a vice. It is the conscious sense of *noblesse*, obliging man to live up to his *noblesse*. It is the desire for admiration, keeping woman up to the plane of pleasing. In other words, it is a most powerful incentive to right-seeming and right-being. Exactly where the virtue shades off into a vice is a nice question to determine. But in a broad and general way we can say that whenever the consciousness of deserving admiration or the desire for admiration is overweening and overwhelming; whenever it is a lie or the cause of lies; whenever it induces the individual to be offensive, overbearing, or ridiculous; whenever it leads to the sacrifice of principle, honor, and self-respect; whenever it entails the discomfort of others—then it is a vice, and is properly stigmatized by the unpleasant name of conceit or vanity.

Now, in which sex is the inordinate love of admiration attended with the greater loss of principle, truth, and self-respect—in which does it take on the more offensive, overbearing, and ridiculous shape? That the conceit of man is more overbearing than the vanity of woman is self-evident. For man is the stronger sex, and it is the tendency of ill-directed strength to be overbearing. Undoubtedly this is a condition of

mind that is unpleasant and vexatious to other minds which are brought in contact therewith. But at least it has the merit of truthfulness. At least the man believes in himself. He credits himself with the qualities upon which he conceits himself. The fact may not be a fact; to him, however, it is a fact. But a woman's vanity is never entirely truthful, never entirely sincere. It is the wild desire to impress by appearing to be something which she is not, and which she instinctively knows she is not. It is a confession of weakness in the very attempt to put on a show of strength.

A vice that is based upon an honest misconception of fact is infinitely less harmful than a vice that is based upon a wilful distortion of fact. A lie is really the only great crime that a human being can commit. Well and wisely did the old theologians, when casting about for a name which should hold up the enemy of mankind to the uttermost detestation, brand him and stigmatize him forever as the Father of Lies. And because the vanity of women is founded upon untruth, it is more offensive and ridiculous, and entails a greater loss of principle, of honor, of self-respect, than the conceit of man.

Is it not the universal struggle of woman to look like something else than herself? The maid wants to look like her mistress, the matron like a maiden, the brazen strive to appear innocent, the innocent to appear brazen. It is not viciousness, but this same perversity of vanity, which makes the girl of the period (or, in still more modern slang, the *fin-de-siècle* girl) seek to imitate the manners and the appearance of the harridan on the streets. The blonde dyes her hair dark, the brunette bleaches it. Paint and powder are called in to conceal the defects of nature or the ravages of time. Belladonna dilates the pupils until they are larger than life. Tight corsets cramp the waist into impossible smallness. High heels give the low-statured a deceptive appearance of height. Pads fill up with falsehood the deficiencies of outline, and serve to prove that, with women at least, figures do lie. But these are commonplaces, you say. So much the worse for the sex if they are so frequent as to grow into the recognized commonplaces of life. But after all, you insist, they are mere harmless vanities. Not a bit of it. In all but intention, they are actual crimes of a very grievous sort. A crime is an offence against the designs of nature. Nature has two great ends in view—first, the progress and perfection of the race, and, second, the comfort of the individual on the journey upward. She looks with loathing upon any one who deliberately blocks her in the attempt to secure either end. She ruthlessly uses all means to clear them out of her way, and arms us with scorn and wrath so that we will aid her. Hence our hatred of crime and criminals; hence the laws which society has made against them.

Now, woman is doubly guilty, inasmuch as by outraging the true canons of dress, she both sacrifices the comfort of the individual and jeopardizes the higher evolution of the race. She forfeits her own health by taking poisonous drugs for her complexion, by using poisonous drugs on her hair, by the sudden change of clothing which that curious misnomer "full dress" entails. She forfeits her own comfort by squeezing her waist into tight corsets and her feet into tighter shoes. But it is her own individual comfort, you say, her own individual health that she sacrifices; she is a martyr to fashion. No, not a martyr, for the very word fashion indicates that women sin in this way because other women do so. Every woman, therefore, is responsible for the discomfort of the whole sex. No, not a martyr, because there are other than individual interests, other than sex interests, at stake.

If woman sacrifices her health, she thereby impairs her powers of maternity, she entails suffering upon posterity, and the possibilities of weaknesses that may plunge her descendants into errors and crimes.

In fact, there is nothing wanting save malicious intent to make the woman of the period the most frightful criminal in existence. That absence of intent would go far to absolve her in any court of morals. Ignorance of the law excuses no man, but we must allow it to excuse woman, because she is not an entirely rational being. It is her reason that is at fault, not her conscience. She means well, only she does not know. Her very vanity, harmful as it is, has an altruistic motive, a motive, moreover, that is flattering to the other sex. She sacrifices her comfort, her health, in order that she may attract men, or, rather, some particular man. Heine, who knew women, and who, like other students of the sex, loved them so dearly that he recognized all their faults, once remarked of authoresses that, when they write, one eye is on the paper, and the other on some man. To be sure, he makes an exception of the Countess Hahn-Hahn. But he explains that she only has one eye. He owns that male authors have their prejudices, that they write for or against something, for or against an idea, for or against a party, "but women always write for or against some particular man, or, to express it more correctly, on account of some particular man." Now, what is true of authoresses is true of women in all relations of life.

We have described this as an altruistic motive. Unfortunately it is not always so. The desire to attract does not always mean the desire to please, to comfort, to add to the happiness of the person in view. Or even if that is an incidental object it is not always the result, from the perplexing contrast often presented between woman's intentions and their outcome. The main object of women is conquest, power, supremacy. They want man at their pretty feet. They like to torture him, as naughty children torture flies. They like to play with him as cats play with mice. The metaphors are not perfect. Children, even naughty children, are superior to flies. Cats are superior to mice. But women find elation in the very fact that it is the superior being whom for the moment they are dominating by wiles and cunning.

If Samson were not so very strong, Delilah would not rejoice so much at contemplating his temporary weakness. If Merlin were not the wisest of men, Vivien would not take such supreme delight in making a fool of him. The vanity of women, being false in essence, rejoices in such reversal of the real condition of things. This is true not only of the Helens and Cleopatras who have sacrificed their own countries and plunged nations into bloodshed in the effort to make men love them, but of the thousands of coquettes and jilts and shrews who, from circumstances beyond their control, have been obliged to content themselves with the humbler rôle of making commonplace men miserable in a commonplace way.

In all these cases it is the spectacle of weakness allowed to triumph over strength, because of that very strength. The mastering force of a great passion makes man chivalrously submissive to the object of his passion. The weaker party, dressed in the brief authority willingly relinquished by the stronger, is liable to be the cruel tyrant which weakness in power has always proved; not that woman is cruel consciously and of malice prepense. Man, when he is a tyrant, is a mere brute, coarsely indifferent to the sufferings of others; but woman, when intoxicated by the wine of vanity, has no suspicion of the exquisite nature of the tortures

which she can and does inflict upon the man whom she loves, provided he also loves her. Love and hate are so closely allied!

A clever Frenchman has said, and with some truth, that in England woman is the inferior of man, in France she is his equal, and in America his superior. Indeed, man in this country has deferred to her so long that woman is beginning to think she has the force that compels deference, and not the weakness that woos it. She has fought her way into so many avenues of intellectual effort hitherto closed to her, that she is beginning to look upon the very citadel as hers. She has even, in her exalted moments, vague, sad dreams of a good time coming when the coarse masculine intelligence which has so long mismanaged things in this world will be replaced by the finer intuitions and nobler instincts of the oppressed sex. In short, the vanity of woman in this day, when she is so strenuously imitating the masculine animal whom she despises so deeply, is beginning to assume a masculine tinge; it is a sort of *pseudo*-conceit.

With man the contrary is the case. Doubt is in the air. There is an upheaval of old traditions and conventionalities. Not only the superstructure, but the very foundations, of old faiths and old beliefs are threatened with annihilation. With no firm ground to stand upon, the self-confidence of the past has vanished. Disbelief in everything involves disbelief in one's self. A suspension of judgment on all disputed questions, on all questions that can possibly be a subject of dispute, leads to a suspension of judgment as to one's own ability to grapple with such questions. *Agnosco*, "I do not know," that is the attitude which the more advanced man of to-day schools himself to assume. But *agnosco* is never a word that could issue from the lips of a woman, especially an advanced woman. She "knows it all." She is always cock-sure, without the slightest apprehension of the conditions of rational certainty. She is a passionate advocate. But she has no conscience, either in attack or defence. The angels are always on her side, the devils against her. If she is irreligious, she is a shrieking atheist who sees only imposture and fraud in the great faiths that rolled out from the hearts of nations. If she is religious, she knows that doubt is devil-born, that humbly to confess your inability to cope with the mystery of existence is wilfully and with proud and wicked defiance to close your eyes to the light which she sees and which, therefore, you ought to see. One virtue must indeed be conceded to her. Whether she is championing the advocates of the Higher Criticism or whether she is pointing out the absurd and dangerous errors of Darwin or Spencer, she does it with the impartiality of one who has never read them, or, having read, has not the slightest comprehension of their real meaning.

Above all things, the advanced woman is a great reader of character. She dispenses with all the absurdly tardy methods of observation, comparison, analysis. She is ready at a glance to classify every new variety of man or woman. The air of infallibility with which she will discuss the inner emotions, the secret springs which move the actions of any mere chance acquaintance, illustrates her eagerness to simulate knowledge where the requisite conditions of accurate information are absolutely and obviously wanting. Of the endless diversity of individual temperament, of the intricacies and contradictions of human nature, of the abysmal depths of personality, she has no conception. She translates everything outside of herself into terms of her own consciousness. She imputes her own modes of thought and feeling to other individuals, just as the primitive savage

projects himself, his sentiments, and his intentions into even the inanimate world around him. In her heart she despises logic. She is conscious that her intuitions are far superior to any mere mental process. Yet no woman of spirit ever submitted without an explosion to the imputation of being illogical. Why should she? Was it man or woman who invented that most elementary of all formulas,—so simple, so beautiful, so easily adjusted to every argument that might arise,—"It is, because it is"? And with all his boasted superiority, has man ever mastered the true principle of logical fence, that if you want to say a single word upon a subject you must start off with a thousand upon another subject which has no possible relation thereto?

The advanced woman of to-day, in short, is as conceited and self-confident as can be. Elate with the sense of her capacity to do many things which her grandmother would have deemed impossible, she is ready to do anything that man has done. Her only complaint is that she is still debarred from many things which she could do quite as well, if not better than man. Yet we were right in calling her conceit a *pseudo*-conceit. Its strident and blatant arrogance has an underlying sense of impotence that is at once humorous and pathetic. Dr. Johnson's oft-quoted saying that a woman preaching is like a dog standing on its hind legs—the wonder isn't that it is done so well, but that it is done at all; this saying is ungallant and unfair. It is a coarse exaggeration of the truth. Let us allow for the coarseness and the exaggeration, and with this allowance still use it for our purposes. You might imagine a dog imbued with human consciousness standing on its hind legs and shouting out with great glee, "See I can do this as well as a man." But you could never imagine the counter-proposition—you could never imagine a man shouting, "See, I can do this as well as a dog."

Now, a woman's shrill self-assertiveness has the same qualities of conscious weakness and infirmity. She is continually boasting. She is continually drawing attention to her own performances and comparing them with those of man. At the Chicago Exposition she must even have a Woman's Pavilion, for the exploitation of the sex. Imagine a man's pavilion at the same fair! The glory of the lily is one thing and the glory of the oak is another. Woman can never be the equal of man in either physical or mental strength so long as she is handicapped by the burden of possible maternity. Nature does not lay a burden of that kind on any creature without taxing all the energies, mental and physical, to contribute to its support. Nor do we agree with George Eliot's misogynist, that woman shoulders this burden "in a poor makeshift sort of a way; it ha' better ha' been left to the man." As the mother of the race, man, it must be conceded, would be a failure. Not only physically, but mentally and morally he is unfitted for so holy, delicate, and beautiful a mission. As the leader and the fighter in the battle of life, woman would also be a failure. Her vanity costs her much at present, it costs the human race much. Do not let her add to that cost by the *pseudo*-conceit of an assumed mental equality with man. Let her beware of adding to the failures of life a creature who has thrown aside beauty and not assumed strength, who has ceased to be a woman and has not learned to be a man.

WILLIAM S. WALSH.

TENDENCIES OF THE TURF.

EVERY nation has had its ruling sport. At present, so far as the great cities in this country, England, and France are concerned, the racing of thoroughbred running horses is the most prominent pastime. It is what

the Olympian games were to Greece, or what the combats in the gladiatorial arena and chariot races were to Rome; what the bull-fights are to the Spanish peoples in Europe or South America. It may be said that more people are interested in baseball or tennis in this country than are followers of the races. Cricket or tennis may enlist more devotees in England than racing. We are glad to believe that both propositions are true, and also that the class who uphold the contests of ball field and court are more greatly benefited by their recreation, and show greater refinement, as a class, than the race-going public. Still the fact remains that horse-racing is one of the "fashionable" diversions in cities like New York. No contests of baseball, tennis, cricket, rowing, rifle-shooting, yacht-racing, athletics, or football draw such crowds as go to see the Suburban Handicap run at Coney Island, the Derby in England, or the struggle for the Grand Prix of Paris. In the vicinity of New York there is racing on every fair day from early in May until November or later. Jerome Park, Morris Park, Sheepshead Bay, and Monmouth Beach are supplemented by other less reputable racecourses in supplying the demand for excitement and diversion. Racecourses at Saratoga, Chicago, Louisville, Washington, Detroit, and other large cities also find a paying patronage.

To people who never analyzed the attractions of the turf it may seem inexplicable how horse-racing should maintain such a hold on the public. Owing to the atmosphere of gambling that surrounds the sport many people will never enter a racecourse. They judge of the character of the diversion by what they read, by what they imagine, by what they see of its results, by its devotees. When we account for its popularity it will be easy to see whether or not the turf deserves patronage. We enter into this analysis knowing that the question is already prejudged by most readers, but yet with the hope that so prominent a phase of present-day life is worth consideration. We must remember that some people of wide and excellent reputation attend the races, occasionally at least; that the crowds present each year grow larger; that a costly new course has this year been added to New York's attractions, that another at Saratoga is proposed, and thus the sport appears to be gaining in favor.

The big racecourses at first attract people out of curiosity. As a spectacle alone one might say that it were worth while to go once to see the thoroughbreds, like lean greyhounds, spring into a mile and a half struggle for stakes which reach twenty and even forty thousand dollars. The brilliant line of mounted jockeys, resplendent in colored silk, the long and broad oval or straightaway track, the grand-stand, black with people and fluttering with ribbons and banners, all combine to make an attractive scene. This might suffice to give one a fair return for his fifty cents or one dollar admission fee, his half-day of time, his railroad fare to and from the track. But one would not go many times to see this sight, however pretty. Day after day the spectacle is the same. The same lean, nervy horses, or ones almost the same in appearance, are ridden; the same colors adorn the rounded shoulders of the white or colored jockeys; the same flags flutter, and the same crowds clamor on the stand. One who has carried a season-pass to a track, and believes himself a lover of good horses, may conscientiously aver that the races as a mere spectacle soon become so drearily monotonous as not to tempt one to walk a block to see them. Yet the public, if they do not gamble, have no part to play but that of spectators. They must remain passive, and are not spurred to imitation as in watching

athletic games, for instance. "Ah," says the racing enthusiast, "you must take an interest in the several horses. Just look at Salvator going to the post now."

Well, one who has read columns in praise of some wonder of the turf will naturally have an interest in such a racing-machine. To see Salvator run a mile in one minute thirty-five and a half seconds, lessening by several seconds the world's record for a mile; or to see Firenzi lower her own best record of 2:34 for a mile and a half, as was done recently, may be memorable for any of the twenty to thirty thousand spectators. But one cannot see Salvator and Firenzi race every day. Even if one did, the repetition would soon breed a desire for a change, though it be for a race between a cow and a donkey. Then, how could one possibly take an interest in the individuality of each of the several hundred other horses in training? No, it is impossible to foster such a multiplicity of graduated interests that in each race one shall know which horse he wishes to come in first and which second. "But," says the racing enthusiast, "just put five dollars in the mutual pools for some horse to win and another to run second, and you will feel the keenest interest." This frank admission is a most important key to the popularity of racing. If the man who goes to the races out of curiosity, for recreation, or because it is "the correct thing," once descends to betting on a horse to "increase his interest," he is very likely to become one of the nervous, anxious throng who follow the races daily from May to November, winning and losing, each pitted against all the rest, and praying to the goddess of Luck to keep his savings on the increase and that of his fellows on the decrease.

It is not necessary to recount the evils of gambling. They are trite, but their depth of misery will never be told. Health, friends, reputation, home, happiness, and life itself are virtually cast in the balance. Fortune can win all of these from the man, who, if he wins, may only double his money! Verily, Fortune asks tremendous odds. Watch that nervous man running his eye over the horses in the paddock! He fancies his favorite is out of condition and he races back to the betting stands to place a bet on some other horse. He fights for a footing with crowds of others, at last secures his ticket, runs to the homestretch, and his heart thumps more violently than that of the poor brute who struggles home under whip and spur—beaten! Such is his daily life: to-day exalted by luck, to-morrow depressed by the same demon. How long can he stand the strain? How long will his family? If there are pleasures and innocent features in racing it is certainly a sad mistake that its corner-stone should be gambling. The apparently indispensable adjunct of betting is kept up at all the racecourses. If bookmakers are arrested they are bailed and otherwise protected by the racing associations.

One might mention other influences which give impetus to the popularity of racing. The newspapers give not only a column to three columns daily to this sport, but they send some of their brightest writers to describe the details of the contests, men who can write entertainingly about the most monotonous series of scrambles in dust and mud. After the element of gambling the racecourses depend most largely perhaps on the support given them by the press. An indorsement of considerable weight is added by many members of the fashionable and wealthy class who drive to the races in four-in-hands and otherwise display their wealth on the race-tracks.

The apology for racing is that it furnishes recreation. But recreation is not wholly a good thing, if it is productive of evil results. Some of the patrons of the turf might perhaps be worse employed were it blotted out. Others would doubtless be in better avocations. One may say that evil in race-going depends on the man and his financial and physical ability to stand dissipation, or his moral ability to stand temptation. A half-holiday spent in watching thoroughbreds run, by the sea-shore, spent as a relief from business routine looks harmless enough. But if it leads to years of blind stumbling after the false gods of Chance, even the first step can hardly appear innocent. Supporters of the turf claim that racing leads to a betterment of the country's stock of horses by the use of imported thoroughbred sires, by careful selection in breeding, etc. But, conceding there is some truth in this, the turfmen must admit that, after all, the thoroughbred is pre-eminently fit only for racing. We can raise typical saddle horses, trotting horses, carriage horses, draught horses, without any further infusion of thoroughbred blood. Few people want racers or hunters. The cast-off colts and aged horses from the racing stables bring low prices, for the reason that thoroughbreds are not especially fitted for any other use. They are apt to be obstreperous in harness, often fiery and unreliable for any use. It can be claimed that a part thoroughbred may make a good trotter or saddle horse; and Senator Stanford, of California, had great faith in thoroughbred blood infused into the American trotter. Without pursuing the subject further, it need only be said that if thoroughbred blood is valuable in breeding horses for other than racing purposes it will be found out and used without regard to racing; and it may be fully as effective if the best colts and horses have not their stamina and vitality pounded out by a racecourse career. But we are considering especially the moral aspects of the turf.

This leads to the final consideration we have to offer for the making up of a verdict on racing. Are horses abused on the turf? Is cruelty practised? If cruelty is practised, why do not humane societies interfere? This last query we leave to the societies. The first two questions can be answered by quotations from the very writers who help support the turf by their entertaining reports in the newspapers. To be sure the heaving flank, the bleeding sides, and ridged bodies that register the whip's activity, are not often dilated on. Such sights are too common for the chronicler to pay attention to, except occasionally. Moreover they can hardly be made attractive even to the hardened, "horsey" taste of the inveterate racegoer. No one likes the sight of blood, and here are gently-bred ladies looking on! Tell them not to look at the tired, dusty, bloody brute. He will be washed, bandaged, and doctored up for another race.

Every race-goer knows that in nearly every race one or more of the horses are spurred until their sides bleed, whipped for a good part of the last furlong, and made to strain every nerve, tendon, and blood-vessel in the effort to mould the decrees of Chance. Occasionally a horse breaks neck, or limb, or fetlock-joint, snaps a tendon, bruises a joint, or otherwise hurts himself irremediably. Many a man who admires good horses and a fair race would attend races if horses were not so cruelly lashed, spurred, and driven to their last atom of endurance. "Those little whips and spurs may look harmless," said an old horseman, "but they are made to hurt." Horsemen know that most horses will run very close to, if not fully up to, their utmost ability without whip or spur. Would it not be better to drop from the races all animals who must needs be tortured to make them extend themselves? It would tend to the

breeding of a more willing, stout-hearted race of horses. If whips are necessary to start a horse up, why not restrict jockeys to a light piece of rattan or a rope's end, instead of allowing the use of the villainous, cutting catgut, whalebone, and steel? Spurs should be abolished altogether.

One of the superior attractions of a trotting race is that it is rarely expedient to whip a horse. A good trotter will do his best without a whip, and the latter will only make him break and run. Indeed, as an exhibition of a strong inherent trait and careful training in the animal, and skill in the driver, trotting races may claim marked superiority over running races.

But to sum up. Gambling and a cruel, blunting abuse of animals are obvious and ugly blots on any showing that the turf can make as a beneficial source of recreation. It is not expected that the popularity of racing —transient though it may be—will be much affected by this review. We may only help some to form opinions or to strengthen ones already formed. If the turf is an evil, one should give it no half-indorsement. If it is only half bad it should be reformed. As in dealing with the liquor traffic, it may not be most expedient to employ prohibitive measures. There is one weapon that is resistless, and which any one may wield to some extent, and that is public sentiment. If that can become moulded into rigid law for the prevention of gambling and cruelty on racetracks, then, as regards all its innocent features we heartily say, "Long life to the Turf!" Racing as a spectacle is so passive a recreation that it can never rank in beneficial results with games or sports which are actively participated in. But there is a way of trying conclusions of speed between horses which is sportsmanlike, gentlemanly, and unselfish, which has regard for a horse's feelings and powers, and which is not a mere money-getting scheme. May such racing prevail over the odious practices now prevalent!

C. H. CRANDALL.

THE READING OF POOR CHILDREN.

FOR a long time I have had exceptional opportunities of watching the reading of the children of a poor city neighborhood. Every week-day evening for half an hour after dinner (7 to 7:30) the parlors of the Andover House are open to children who wish to take books home to read. Our entire library is contained in a single revolving bookcase, but in the course of a little over a year it has somehow supplied more than 200 children with more than 2,500 books.

All along the demand for fairy stories has been phenomenal. It has come from boys and girls alike, without distinction of age. How far this is characteristic of the children of working people I do not know. Our young people are, for the most part, of Irish parentage, and we attribute much of their passion for the imaginative to this Celtic strain. Strangely enough (it may be because their critical faculties are not sufficiently developed to admit of fine discriminations) they much prefer books that are all fact to those that are a blending of fact and fancy. Thus, histories are second only to fairy tales in popularity. By histories ("war books" the boys call them) must be understood American histories, and always, by preference, those dealing with the Civil War or the Revolution. In fact, the appetite for American history is so ravenous that the two or three dry historical text-books which have somehow crept into the shelves have been greedily devoured.

Books of travel and adventure have a considerable vogue, less, however,

than would naturally be expected, in view of the fact that the majority of the library patrons are boys. Of the 2,500 copies mentioned, 353 have been books of pure adventure, and 282 books of travel. That the numbers of fairy tales and histories recorded are only 382 and 314 respectively is a splendid illustration of the way in which unexplained figures may lie. The truth is our supply both of fairy books and war books has been shamefully meagre, while the supply of books of travel and adventure has been ample. Daily association and talk with the children leaves no room for doubt that, with their choice allowed free range, fifty per cent. of the entire output would have been fairy stories, and at least half of the remaining fifty per cent. "war books." Stories of school and home life, manuals of games and sports, funny books, ballads and narrative poems, and adaptations of natural and applied science are received with some degree of interest. The old favorites, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Swiss Family Robinson*, *Arabian Nights*, *Tom Brown*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *Mother Goose* charm here as everywhere. Of the standard novelists Cooper, Scott, and Dickens are read, but with no great degree of ardor.

Calls for special books may often be traced to changes of programme at the theatres. Thus a temporary demand was created for *Oliver Twist*, *Rip Van Winkle*, the *Merchant of Venice*, the *Three Musketeers*, and even for Tennyson's *Becket*. The reason for such other special calls as Erckmann-Chatrian's *Citizen Bonaparte*, Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables*, Scott's *Marmion*, the lives of Havelock, Clive, Grattan, and Sir Francis Drake, George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, and Tom Moore's *History of Ireland* can only be surmised.

The eagerness with which gaudily covered, copiously illustrated quartos are seized and borne away, regardless of their contents, shows an appreciation of the pictorial, and is, on that account, little (if at all) to be deplored. Still we are glad to have the occasional chance which the rebinding of the quartos gives, to insist that pictures and colored paper, do not make a book. And this lesson has its effect. Certain unpretentious duodecimos, which were hardly looked at in the beginning, have at last become prime favorites. It is interesting to note that the girls reads boys' books with avidity, while the boys will not knowingly touch girls' books. If a boy gets a girls' book home by mistake, he hurries it back with the frankest expressions of disgust.

Some amusing things happen. The few boys who cannot read take out books as assiduously as the others, with a heroic determination to be "in the swim"; furthermore, the same willingness appears, as in adult Boston society, to feign admiration for the books approved by the social leaders (in this case the leaders of the "gangs"). A boy was heard advising his younger brother to take out the "Tale of Troy." "Dat's de book you'se wants ter git," he said, "dat'll tell yer all about New York an' de Bowery." Another boy whom I had noticed gazing longingly at the top shelves, on which the works of Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, etc., were ranged, sidled up to me with an abashed appeal that he be allowed to take out "a work." Plainly he looked on works as something too high and mighty for such as he. His "work" secured, he displayed a fine scorn for the boys who took out "pitcher books," because they were not "high enough in school" to read "works." Of course, many of these children get hold of and read sensational newspapers and the worst sort of paper-covered literature. For all that, their taste is, on the whole, still healthy. It will remain so if

plenty of the right sort of books are brought into their midst and kept there. They know there is a public library, but they have not learned to use it, deterred, no doubt, by distance, the red tape of giving references, the inconvenient obscurity of the catalogue, and the danger of incurring fines. Our little case of books leads up naturally to the Public Library, and by taking from there, on our cards, occasional books for the children, we may be able in time to stimulate them to take out cards of their own. This would be a distinct and permanent gain.

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

RESTLESS FRENCH CANADA.

IT was a French Canadian premier who declared, amid deafening plaudits, that the last gun in defence of British connection would be fired by a French Canadian gunner. His ardor was rewarded by his sovereign, who promptly created him a knight and aide-de-camp on her personal staff. The Dominion has not grown very old since that patriotic period was pronounced, and yet it is from the lips of two prominent leaders of the French Canadians, the one a Liberal ex-premier, the other a Conservative ex-lieutenant-governor, that the severing of the imperial tie, and separation from the British flag, are urged, with more or less eloquence of phrase. True both statesmen are out of a job at present. It is also true that the voice which pleaded with such rhetorical effect for the continuance of the old relationship belonged to one who occupied a high and lucrative office. A few years ago no responsible Canadian leader would have faced the electors with the cry of Independence. To day no English leader would attempt it. And yet the loyalty of French Canada seems, on the surface, to be sincere. A chief, high in the esteem of the French Liberals, once said, "France gave us life, but England gave us liberty, freedom, and self-government." The outburst caused applause, and there was waving of handkerchiefs, while the more emotional in the audience shed tears. Not long ago Frechette's drama of "Papineau" was produced in Quebec City. The heroic and patriotic passages, of which there are many in the play, were applauded. The English military officers, prototypes of those remarkable warriors familiar to the spectators of an Irish drama, were, of course, hissed whenever they presented themselves. Their loyal sentiments were greeted by the youths in the galleries with execrations loud and deep. The feeling evoked doubtless was inherited from their cradles. And yet those half-grown boys would willingly fight to maintain the Canadian constitution. The devotion of the French Canadians, as a whole, to Great Britain, despite the invectives of the demagogues, is strong. The Church, always wise where her own interests are concerned, encourages British connection, and teaches her flock to obey the laws and respect the authorities. In 1837 the Church sided with the English oppressors. At an earlier time, when the marauder appeared on the scene, and put temptation in the way, the powerful arm of the hierarchy was raised aloft, and again it triumphed. The Church in Canada understands her people. She thinks for many of them. But her own safety is her first thought. The peace of Paris gave civil liberty to the people of Quebec, but, says Parkman, "the conqueror left their religious system untouched, and through it they have imposed upon themselves a weight of ecclesiastical tutelage that finds few equals in the most Catholic countries of Europe. Such guardianship is not without

certain advantages." "But," he adds, "when faithfully exercised it aids to uphold some of the tamer virtues, if that can be called a virtue which needs the constant presence of a sentinel to keep it from escaping; but it is fatal to the mental robustness and moral courage; and if French Canada would fulfil its aspirations it must cease to be one of the most priest-ridden communities of the modern world."

The dead-lock between Upper and Lower Canada, in 1865, was the real father of confederation. English Protestant Ontario and French Catholic Quebec were at loggerheads continually. Practically, there were two premiers. Complications arose frequently, and union with the other provinces became a necessity. Two years later Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entered the confederacy, and there was peace for a time, a coalition government being the result of the compact. Later, the other provinces, saving the colony of Newfoundland, became part of the Dominion. After a quarter of a century of union, during which two rebellions in the Northwest broke out and were suppressed at great cost, Canada finds herself with a problem which cannot be solved off-hand. It involves nothing less than the future of the British Possessions on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. Imperial Federation having died still-born, may be dismissed. In the brightest days of the project no feasible plan was ever proposed by the apostles of the movement, and though opinion was much against the idea in English Canada, French Canada produced but one supporter of the cause, and he was lukewarm, and begged for completer information. Three other plans are suggested, viz.: The continuance of the present Colonial system, Independence, and Annexation to the United States. The *status quo* is favored by the English generally. The French Canadian clergy—moving ever deliberately towards change of any sort—likewise desire to keep intact the present state of things. A million French Canadians are already domiciled in the States. They are frugal and industrious and make good citizens. The Church, however, would keep them at home, but they naturally go whither they can better their fortunes. Life in the Republic, the *curés* think, is far more liable to temptation than life in the little Canadian parishes. Certain it is, the exiled French Canadian youth loses much of that veneration and respect for the clergy which he had always at home, where he doffed his cap to the holy father as he passed him on the road, and the sombre soutane filled a large place in his eyes. The Church, too, is his first consideration, and his religious duties, learned at school, are never neglected. Across the border, however, he lives under less restraint. He follows the fashions with greater care. He attends mass, of course, but the absence of the full uniform of his ecclesiastical adviser in the streets has an effect upon him which is not enthralling. In fact, he soon learns the American art of not venerating the cloth, and this the home clergy greatly dislike. The Church in Canada is secure so long as British connection continues. The people are held in closer communion with it, and no priest would advocate an alteration of the present colonial system.

Independence and annexation may be coupled together, for the adoption of the former would surely lead to the latter.

A generation ago, Baron Lisgar stated in Halifax that should Canada desire separation from the Mother Country, England would not fire a gun to restrain her. He spoke with the full authority and consent of the Colonial Office. His speech was received with mortification by the loyal Nova Scotians, but the wound was soothed when Lord Dufferin arrived in

Canada. This distinguished diplomat immediately began to undo the mischief wrought by his predecessor. He preached the doctrine of British connection and national unity, and urged Canada to be true to the empire and to herself. His successors in turn have taught the same lesson, and of late years the British press, which for decades had practically ignored Canada and the Canadians, have opened their columns for the discussion of Canadian questions. In contrast is the conduct of the Parisian press, which, though they attract the French Canadian heart, yield nothing in return. In France a commissioner for Canada is maintained, and he fills his office worthily, but a French newspaper rarely refers to the life, aspiration, and movement of the distant colony, which once belonged to France.

The pleading for change comes mainly from the French leaders. The rank and file, and particularly those who live in the country, are content to take things as they are. But the leaders demand change whenever they can find a real or a fancied grievance. A year ago, a French leader advocated annexation, but he had been deposed from a high position. His law partner, who had no sins to answer for, was not so open. He only aspired to independence, "not for the satisfaction of a vain sentiment, nor for the gratification of an ideal dream, but because I see also in independence the safeguards of our dearest interests." His chief in Parliament was no less outspoken. And later, we have Mr. Joseph Royal, an ex-lieutenant-governor, demanding independence, and telling us that annexation may, with surety, come afterwards. Another French orator wants Quebec Province to have independence alone, to go out of the Canadian union, and set up an establishment on the banks of the St. Lawrence, "looking to no other beacon of salvation than the citadel of Quebec." Of course, this is sheer nonsense, but it gives an idea of the restless spirit which prevails.

The weakness of French Canada in the Confederation is owing to the tendency of her people to live apart from their English compatriots. They lack the spirit of unity, and the desire to build up a healthy national feeling. They fight persistently to gain petty objects, while the large aims are abandoned. They will quibble over a question of language, and allow the English to win the best things, under their very eyes. Political feeling runs high, and during an election campaign their press ring with vituperation. The editors are quick to invoke the aid of the courts against their contemporaries, while the politicians are as often found defending themselves from charges of slander as they are in bringing causes against their rivals in the same field. The French nurse the idea that the English do not like them. This, however, is wrong. The English see much to admire in their French fellow-citizens, and strive always to cultivate friendly relations with them. But so long as the French people of Canada permit demagogues to inflame their passions, and force them to pull down, instead of building up, the fabric created in 1867, just so long will crises such as the one now raging over the sectarian schools prevail, and destroy that harmony on which so much depends. Independence would put Canada at the mercy of the United States. Annexation would inevitably follow. And the United States would, at once, erect each province into a State, and Quebec would lose what she treasures and values most, the conservation of her laws, her language, and her institutions. The official language of the State of Quebec would be English. The Church would suffer an eclipse, or at least be shorn of much of her power. The Stars and Stripes, and not the tri-color, would fly from the house-tops, and *la mère patrie* would sink, in a few years, to a memory of

the past, when Britain allowed her French colony to do what it pleased, say what it liked, and think what it had a mind to, without uttering a protesting word. Annexation may be the Dominion's political destiny, but it will not be French Canada which will benefit the most by the change of flag and of constitution.

GEORGE STEWART.

THE GOOD-GOVERNMENT CLUBS.

THE importance of the so-called Good-Government Clubs of New York City, as factors in solving the problem of municipal reform, cannot now be denied. Their growth has been so rapid, and the position which they occupy, with relation to the two great national party organizations in the city of New York, is so little understood by the outside public, that it may interest the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to learn something of these clubs and the results they confidently expect to achieve.

In the first place, it should be understood that the Good-Government Clubs are local organizations, composed of voters in the city of New York, who desire to obtain for their city permanent reform in its government. They derive their membership from all classes and are strictly non-partisan, so far as national politics are concerned. Each club is designated by a letter of the alphabet, and has its headquarters in some particular ward or assembly district of the city. The members residing in a district belong to the club of that district, and such members as may from time to time change their residence are transferred to the club covering the district into which they may move. Each club has its own constitution and board of officers, the constitutions of all the clubs being similar as to their fundamental principles. The members are elected and pay an entrance fee and annual dues. No one is eligible to membership who does not sincerely subscribe to the principles of the Good-Government Clubs.

All the clubs so far organized are banded together under what is known as the Constitution of the Confederated Good-Government Clubs. This constitution provides for a permanent central committee, called a Council, composed of representatives chosen annually by the clubs in the confederation. The powers of this council are prescribed by the constitution, and are confined to dealing with such matters as affect the whole of the city of New York. This leaves to each club complete autonomy in dealing with matters affecting its especial district, and encourages, as well as strengthens, local pride. Several of the clubs already occupy comfortable clubhouses, and everything is done to promote social intercourse among the members. There is a wide diversity in the methods pursued by the clubs in strengthening their organization in their respective districts. They are governed more or less by the conditions and requirements of the locality in which the club may be situated. The work of organizing clubs is still going on in districts of the city not already covered, and the present indications are that by the autumn there will be at least one Good-Government Club in every one of the thirty districts of the city.

To all those who have carefully studied the subject of municipal government in the United States, and the causes that have produced the corrupt and wasteful methods of administration now prevailing in our cities, it has become most evident that "party politics" lies at the root of the evil. It will not be necessary for me to take up space here in setting forth the vari-

ous facts and arguments leading up to this conclusion. Every disinterested student of political questions, since municipal reform first became a matter of public interest, has given his testimony to the same effect. The evidence produced before investigating committees has time and time again proved beyond all question that permanent reform in the government of our cities is an impossibility so long as this evil remains. Yet the ignorance, indifference, or partisanship of the average voter in our large cities has, up to this time, rendered futile all efforts on the part of would-be reformers to eliminate party politics in voting for municipal officers. At times when corruption and extravagance in the administration of our city government have become so flagrant as to arouse public sentiment to an exasperated pitch, the citizens have elected what were popularly known as "reform candidates." These "reform candidates" have, as a rule, been honest men, who assumed office with the sincere intention of giving good government to their city. In some few cases they have fulfilled this good intention, and so long as they have held office their administration has been honest, and corruption has been suppressed. In the vast majority of cases the so-called "reform candidates," on assuming office, have been able to do little or nothing in the way of bettering the prevailing state of affairs. In no case has there been any permanent reform accomplished by these spasmodic upheavals of public sentiment, and to-day we are still confronted with the question: What shall be done to secure permanent good government in our cities? The answer of the Good-Government Clubs is: No effort to secure permanent reform in our city government can ever be successful until the national party organizations, as such, shall keep their hands off municipal affairs, and the citizen shall cease to be bound by national party ties when voting for municipal officers. To pursuade the voters of New York city that this answer is theoretically true, and, having thus persuaded them, to induce them to act accordingly, are the chief purposes of the Good-Government Clubs. In other words, the founders of these clubs believe that securing reform legislation and electing good men to office will not, of themselves, be sufficient to secure permanent reform unless such good men are nominated and elected upon municipal issues alone, and without regard to the issues that divide the national parties. They further believe that through no local organization of a national party can this result be brought about, for the following reasons: 1st. Such organizations must necessarily be guided and controlled by party expediency in selecting a candidate for municipal office. 2d. Such candidate, however honest and able, must be more or less interested in, if not pledged to, the building up and strengthening of the organization that nominated and elected him. 3d. The citizen in voting for such a candidate is apt to be influenced more by the fact that he is the nominee of the national party to which such citizen may belong, than by any consideration of fitness in the candidate himself.

It may be objected that the above reasoning, if true, applies equally to all candidates for public office, whether municipal or national, and that the system of party nominations is a necessary incident to party government. While not denying this, I would point out that this system, which may be a necessary evil inseparable from our scheme of State and federal government, becomes a totally unnecessary and much greater evil when applied to municipal government. The issues upon which the two great national parties are divided are not the same as, and have legitimately no relation to, the local issues that should divide the citizens of a city. Under the pres-

ent system of national party nominations, the citizen, in casting his vote for municipal candidates, is compelled to vote upon issues other than those affecting the best interests of his city, and in the name of party loyalty is asked to sacrifice the welfare of his city for the benefit of the national party to which he may belong.

It has often been asserted, and with truth, that municipal government is essentially a business, and should be conducted like any other large business. Legally every city is a corporation, with all the rights and liabilities of a corporation. In this its government differs fundamentally from our State and federal governments. Its interests as a corporate body are separate and distinct from those of the State, and should be kept so. How can this distinction be practically maintained, if its executive is chosen without regard to these interests, and its officers elected solely with a view to the bearing such election may have on State and national politics?

Convinced of the truth of this proposition, the Good-Government Clubs are organized for the purpose of persuading the public to accept it. Knowing that organization is essential to political success, they have determined to build up a permanent citizens' party, to the end that every voter having at heart the best interests of the city may, in voting for municipal candidates, be actuated solely by considerations of personal fitness in the candidate and the local issues he represents. That such a purpose is impossible of realization we do not believe. Every day is bringing home to the citizens of New York the plain fact that only by some such method can we hope to rescue our city from its present degradation. The wonderful, almost spontaneous, growth of these clubs in various sections of the city proves this.

At a recent convention of the Good-Government Clubs held in New York city sixteen clubs, aggregating a membership of five thousand, were represented by formally elected delegates. This convention adopted a platform setting forth the principles to which the clubs stood pledged, and ending with the following appeal:

"We earnestly appeal to all citizens to unite in support of these principles and in the election of officials who will administer the city government without reference to national party politics."

The Good-Government Clubs concern themselves solely with municipal affairs, and their members are at liberty to be as strongly partisan as they please in State and national politics. Lifelong Republicans and lifelong Democrats are working side by side in these clubs, with the single purpose of rescuing this city from the clutches of the national party organizations, and removing the administration of its affairs from the influence of party politics. When it is taken into consideration that the first of these clubs has been in existence for little over a year, and that most of them were organized within the last six months, the rapidity with which this idea of organized independence in municipal politics has spread is a most encouraging indication of the strength of the movement. That these clubs are powerful factors in the coming municipal campaign is even now admitted by the leaders of all political organizations, however much they may be opposed to our theories and deride our purposes. We are fully prepared to meet with defeat at first, and will not be discouraged should we be beaten at the polls next November. The Good-Government Clubs have come to stay.

PREBLE TUCKER,
Secretary of Council of the Confederated Good-Government Clubs.

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ISSUES OF THE COMING ELECTIONS.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM L. WILSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, AND THE HON. T. B. REED, EX-SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MR. WILSON:

THE results of the elections of 1890 and 1892 placed the Democratic party in control of the Federal Government on the Fourth of March, 1893. Although a period of thirty-two years had elapsed since its last possession of such control, and other and very difficult public questions were now to be met and dealt with, its fundamental and historic principles were as directly applicable to current issues as they ever had been in the more than hundred years of the party's existence. Since 1874, with two conspicuous and warning exceptions, the American people had given the Democrats supremacy in that branch of Congress which is directly chosen by themselves. Under other parliamentary governments, supremacy, in the popular branch of the legislature, would have carried with it, virtually, the full lawmaking power, and in most cases the executive power also. But under our constitutional system political revolutions must be longer and more persistent to make the will of the people potential for change in both of these departments; and with one vote in Nevada, equal, so far as the Senate is concerned, to one hundred votes in New York or Penn-

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sylvania, it is possible to conceive of a permanent inability of a vast numerical majority of the American people to put into law their wishes and their decisions at the polls. Now that we are about to go to the country again for the election of a House of Representatives, and in one-third of the States for the election of Legislatures which are to choose United States Senators, the issue is presented to the people whether they shall continue the Democratic party in power or shall turn over the next Congress to the Republicans. Such an issue should, and I believe will, be settled not by such criticism as that of Senator Lodge in his paper on "The Results of Democratic Victory" in the September number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, or by like railing in Republican papers against the deeds or omissions of their opponents, but upon a review of past experience with both parties, and from a knowledge of the general policies and tendencies of each when intrusted with power.

When the people voted the Democratic party into power, after long and deliberate debate, they did so because, as President Harrison admitted in his last message, they were in favor of a "new policy." That policy included not only a reversal of much past Republican legislation, but reform, through closer responsibility to the people, in the administration of the government generally. The chief reforms called for by the popular revolution may be thus summarized; *first*, a repeal of the Sherman Act for the purchase and storage of silver bullion; *second*, a repeal of the Federal Election Law; *third*, an administration of our pension system alike just to the soldier and to the taxpayer, and which should carefully discriminate between justice and liberality to the one, and profligacy and partisanship at the expense of the other; *fourth*, greater economy in public expenditures; *fifth*, an extension of the reform of the civil service; and *lastly*, but preëminently, the repeal of the McKinley Bill, and a return to tariff taxation for revenue only. So long and so important a catalogue seems like "reformation in a flood," and any party which could carry out such a programme, even under the most favorable circumstances, should deserve the gratitude and support of the people. But no fair man will sit in judgment upon the efforts of the Democratic party who does not recognize that it has been hampered by two great obstacles, at every stage of its work, for which it was not itself at all responsible. The first was that its control of the Senate proved to be

more nominal than real. In a full Senate it would have had a majority only by the casting vote of the Vice-President. With the existing vacancies in the Senate it could spare but one vote, and still have a majority. And no one will deny that party fealty sits rather lightly on more than one Senator accredited to the Democratic party. The second was that the party came into power when the sky was already darkening with the clouds of a financial storm, and that the storm soon broke in great fury, despite the faithful efforts of the administration to allay it.

Of course partisans like Mr. Lodge are quick to charge the new administration with the resulting disasters, but other people have longer and better memories. For months before the Harrison administration ended, the Treasury was in great pecuniary straits. New taxes or new issues of bonds would have been needed to meet ordinary running expenditures, had not the Sherman law passed to the available cash of the Treasury more than fifty million dollars deposited by the National Banks for the redemption of their notes, and had not Secretary Foster, by a change of bookkeeping, still further increased that cash by twenty million dollars of token and subsidiary coin, not before treated as a Treasury asset. The Secretary himself frankly informed the Ways and Means Committee, just prior to March 4, 1893, that additional income of at least fifty million dollars a year would be needed for the easy running of the government. Moreover, the free gold in the Treasury began steadily to diminish from the date of the passage of the Sherman law.

It was under these supremely grave and difficult circumstances that the Democratic party took the reins of government for the inauguration of its "new policy." The long threatening financial panic came and soon hardened into a severe commercial crisis. For neither was the Democratic party responsible, nor for the vicious laws which, if they did not beget the panic and the crisis, certainly quickened their coming and added to their fury. Its work had to be undertaken, therefore, amid those "counsels of calamity" which, as Mr. Burke said, "are seldom wise," and in the face of a rising outcry from partisans like Senator Lodge, who use the logic of Goodwin Sands and Tenterden Steeple, to charge that the physician himself was the cause of the very ills he was called upon to cure or to alle-

viate. Let us consider, briefly, how far the Democratic party, in spite of these obstacles, has succeeded in effecting the several measures of reform demanded of it by the people when they put it into power.

And first as to the repeal of the Sherman Law. This repeal was promptly urged by the President upon the extra session of Congress, which he had called for that purpose, and was as promptly carried through a Democratic House under Democratic leadership, although, it is but fair to add, not as a strict party measure. Whatever benefit was to be had from such repeal, so far as the existing panic was concerned, was lost, however, by the long delay in the Senate; and right here I may say, both as to this delay and the almost culpably long consideration of the tariff bill in that chamber, that they were chiefly due to the refusal of the Senate to adopt any rules providing for the termination of debate. It being one of the earlier traditions of the Senate when its numbers were much fewer than they are now, that no Senator would speak on any matter except with the purpose of serious discussion, there was little need for such rules in former years. But the reason for such unlimited debate having long ceased, and the absence of such rules having led to gross abuses, it is intolerable that the popular will should be postponed or thwarted in that body so long as any Senator chooses to prevent a vote on a pending question, by any sort of disquisition on any imaginary subject. More than one excessive rate in the new tariff bill was forced into it by the threat of Mr. Quay and other Republican Senators to speak indefinitely; and thus the right to vote had in fact to be purchased by conceding unjust and unneeded taxes on the people. And for this impotency of the Senate as a legislative chamber, it is well known that the responsibility rests with the Republican as much as with the Democratic Senators. Moreover, it must be recalled that but for the resolute stand of the President there would not have been an unconditional repeal of the Sherman Law, but some sort of compromise measure unsatisfactory to the country and inadequate to the crisis. Senator Lodge makes bold to assert that the President himself was inclined to favor such compromise until he learned of the unyielding position of Senator Hill. This assertion, ventured by a Republican Senator, is entirely contrary to the understanding of those who were in Mr. Cleveland's counsels, and who, by virtue of their connec-

tion with the repeal measure, had a right to know what his position was at every step in the long struggle.

The removal of the Sherman Law from the statute-books was a distinct command of the Democratic platform, and must be considered a great achievement for the Democratic administration. By such removal alone could the way be cleared for the future adoption of a wise and sound financial system. The law was a standing menace to such a system, and was satisfactory to neither the gold-standard nor the free-silver advocates.

Next in order was the repeal of the statutes providing for federal supervision of elections. These laws were a part of the Republican policy of intermeddling with State affairs, and pass into history along with the alien and sedition laws of the old Federalists, and the far more monstrous Force Bill from which we so narrowly escaped in the Fifty-first Congress. So also with Mr. Cleveland's inauguration there came a better administration of the pension laws—a most necessary and healthy reform which has been firmly and sturdily carried forward by Secretary Smith and Commissioner Lochren in the face of great clamor and misrepresentation from interested parties and partisans. The pension roll has been purged of many fraudulent claimants, and many such claimants have been prevented from getting upon that roll.

These reforms, together with the natural diminution of first payments, have resulted in a decrease of fifteen millions in the annual appropriation for pensions, with a promise of still further reduction without injustice to any meritorious claimant. In neither house of Congress have the committees reported as many private pension bills, so often mere matters of favoritism or of political influence, during the entire session just closed, as each house in former Congresses occasionally passed at a single sitting. This shows a healthier public sentiment and an excellent prospect of redeeming our pension system from the scandals that were gathering so thickly around it during the past administration, when one of Mr. Harrison's Commissioners of Pensions made the famous remark, "God help the surplus!"

As to the ordinary running expenses of the government the Democratic administration is able to show that it has made solid progress in substituting, according to Mr. Jefferson's happy phrase, "economy for taxation." Chairman Sayers, of the Ap-

propriations Committee, whose carefulness of statement no one will impugn, was able to assure the House, at the close of the recent session, that the appropriations for the present fiscal year showed a net reduction of twenty-nine million dollars as compared with those of the last session of the last Congress, although they included eleven millions for rivers and harbors and an increase of over three millions for the navy, and of a like sum for the postal service. Omitting, as we properly may, from such comparison the River and Harbor Bill, which by recent custom is passed only at the first session of a Congress, we would have a net reduction of forty million dollars, with, as Mr. Sayers tells us, no contracts authorized to burden future Congresses, and six hundred offices abolished. Who can affirm, after such a showing as this, that the pledges of economy have not been faithfully met?

As to the reform of the civil service, it cannot be denied that whatever ground had been gained in the past has been firmly held and used as a starting-point for further progress. We have seen nothing like the scandalous looting of the railway mail service which signalized the incoming of Mr. Wanamaker, nor the slaughter of fourth-class postmasters, as in the palmy days of Clarkson. Removals of federal officers before the expiration of their commissions have been much rarer, and Mr. Bissell's introduction of a four-years term for fourth-class postmasters is a great advance upon any of his predecessors.

Lastly, the McKinley Bill has been repealed. True, the bill substituted for it is, and ought to be, a disappointment to tariff reformers in many parts of its schedules, and does not make such a reduction of taxes as the Democratic party has promised to the people. The reasons for this, and the parties responsible for it, thanks to the Democratic press, are well known to every reader in the United States. And nothing is more creditable to the party, or more assuring of continued progress, than its widespread and, apparently, unanimous censure of those who, by combination with the full Republican vote of the Senate, thwarted its efforts for a better tariff-reform bill. The bill which passed, however, with all of its defects and censurable features, contains, even by the admission of its severest critics, a most solid instalment of tariff reform, and will do much towards lightening taxation and securing freer play and larger markets for American industries. But its chief value and importance, after all, lie in the fact

that it marks a change in our tariff legislation and starts us well on the way towards genuine revenue taxes. Every law and every system has its momentum. Protection, left to itself, eventually culminates in prohibition, while the momentum of even an imperfectly framed revenue tariff is steadily towards the goal of commercial freedom.

Such is a list of the reforms achieved by the Democratic party during the last eighteen months. Surely it is no insignificant list which shows economy in expenditure, with a lightening of the taxes which the people pay for the support of their government, and a much greater lightening of the taxes which they pay for the support of private industries; an improvement and purification of the pension system, which was so rapidly degenerating into a national scandal; the wiping out of a law that was fraught with menace to sound finance, and whose repeal opens the way for a proper settlement of that difficult issue; the obliteration of election laws which lay right across the grain of our federal system, and whose enforcement never failed to produce exasperation and bitter feeling, and to involve wasteful and irresponsible expenditures of public money; and a continued advance in the rescue of our civil service from spoils.

Conceding, as I willingly do, that there were unnecessary and harmful delay and some imperfect and bungling work, as in a popular government there always will be, in the accomplishment of these reforms; conceding all that may justly be said in censure of the sugar and other protective schedules of the new tariff, and of the un-Democratic or even sinister influence which moulded them, we may yet ask, with great confidence, why any Democrat should, for these reasons, wish to punish or to abandon his party in the fall election. What good results either to the country or to his party can he expect from turning over the next Congress to the Republican? Not one of the things I have enumerated would they have even attempted to do, with the possible exception of the repeal of the Sherman law, which they themselves put upon us in 1890. Against every other reform, whether accomplished in full or imperfect measure, they have stubbornly fought.

With a Republican Congress there could have been no action on the federal election laws, no repeal of the McKinley bill, not one cent's lessening of public taxes or of the tribute paid by the people to the Sugar Trust and other monopolies; no reduction

in expenditures and no abolition of useless offices. With a Republican administration there would have been no purification of the pension system and no advancement of civil service reform. Leaving out of view the record of the Harrison administration on both the latter questions, we may well ask if the American people have forgotten their experiences since 1874 with Republican Congresses. Twice only in twenty years have they trusted themselves to a Republican House of Representatives, that of 1881, with Mr. Keifer as Speaker, and that of 1889, with Mr. Reed as Speaker and general autocrat. How quickly and tumultuously did they repent of their action, and by what tidal waves of popular anger and disgust—unequalled in our political contests—did they drive both of these Houses out of power as soon as they could get at them!

Did not the last Republican Congress unsettle finances by giving us the Sherman Law; dislocate business and load us with heavy burdens to monopoly by the McKinley Bill; increase appropriations for pensions by the dependent pension bill fifty or more million dollars per year, and introduce general and dangerous demoralization into our patriotic pension system? Did it not also vote bounties and subsidies and new offices, and thus launch us upon a billion-dollar scale of governmental expenditure? Did it not make a stupendous and nearly successful effort to degrade State governments, invade popular suffrage, and embroil sections and races by a force bill? Parties must be judged by their actions when in power, not by their professions when in the opposition.

It is a very easy thing, and for blind partisanship a very delightful thing, to take the seat of the scoffer and mock at the effort of those who in serious spirit undertake the work of administering government and reforming abuses. But despite the jeers of the scoffer and the angry outcries of those who profit by abuses, the work is a noble and patriotic one, and both they who attempt it, and they who do it even imperfectly, deserve the encouragement and support of good citizens. Even if one man or party falters or blunders a little in reforming, it is no reason why such man or party should be made to give way to those who made those reforms necessary. From them there is nothing to hope, but all to fear.

The Democratic party, by principle and tendency, by the tra-

dition of its elders and its steady momentum, tends to economy, to low taxes, to revenue tariffs, immediate responsibility to the people, and no Federal interference with local rule. These are the very essentials of free and pure government. If the people want these things—and surely they need them more than at any other time in their history—that party, and that party alone, is the instrument they must use to secure them. Upon other great issues also the scale turns in its favor. It is as trustworthy as its opponents on the money question, while its ancient financial traditions are sounder than those of any great and long-lived party we have ever had. And what is truly a crowning merit: it is, and ever has been, a national party.

The Republican party, by its traditions and tendencies, the teachings of its leaders, past and present, and its whole history, has a steady momentum toward sectionalism, high government, interference with local rule and local control of elections, extravagant expenditures, heavy taxes, bounties, subsidies, and exorbitant protection. "Ideas of governmental meddling and centralization dominate it; class interests hold it firmly to evil courses." These things are incompatible with free and pure government. The American people need none of these things; only a small minority really desires them.

Except for the one great and now happily dead issue, for which they called that party into existence, they have never found it an instrument of reform. It is possible to bring the Democratic party up to its real principles and true mission and make it contribute immensely to the general welfare and to the perpetuation of free institutions. With the settlement of the slavery question the real mission of the Republican party ended. It could take up no policies and ideas of government except the old and rejected doctrines and ideas of Federalism, and these a free people will never tolerate except for brief intervals. The nearer, therefore, it has been brought of recent years to these principles and tendencies the less popular support it has had, and the more inimical it has shown itself to the general welfare of the country and to the perpetuation of free government. It has introduced the money power into politics, and thus produced the wild and passing vagaries of populism and other isms, which forget that there is no stable liberty except historic liberty, and that of all systems, free government must be a slow evolution out of

the long past, not a creation of the brains of distressed politicians or impracticable philanthropists.

No party can be expected to reform abuses and evils which itself has produced, if in their maintenance rests its only hope of continued power.

The stream of Republicanism is poisoned from its source, and cannot wash away the pollutions which it brings in its own waters. It is vain for the people to expect it to cleanse the government, when it cannot cleanse itself, or hope for any "power divine" to henceforth wash the River Rhine.

WM. L. WILSON.

MR. REED:

CIVILIZATION from its very nature and definition is better than barbarism, and yet there are certain things in barbarism that one longs for on certain occasions. Republicanism is better than Democracy for the very same reason, and yet in the same manner it is a temptation to yearn sometimes for some of the weapons which Democracy uses and which we never seem able to employ. When the Republicans in 1890, with a Committee on Elections composed of the best lawyers and most judicious men of the House, passed upon sixteen cases of disputed elections and recorded their judgments, which were ratified by the House, finding their opponents right in seven cases, seating neither of the combatants in one and giving eight seats to their own side, the air was filled with outcries and the Democratic newspapers were double-leaded and headlined with indignation. In the present Congress the Democratic committee has already unseated three members out of a possible four with an unparalleled disregard of law and justice, and the silent air has reverberated with no remonstrance. No headlines of denunciation adorn our Republican newspapers, and in the House the events are forgotten in a day. Those who do not forget them rather long for some such barbaric sounds as our enemies used to set up upon occasions when they had small right to utter any reproachful language whatever. So in the endeavor to run the House of Representatives without adopting the rules of the 51st Congress, every principle of parliamentary law was overridden, and it was decided that business could be done before the journal was read; that a committee could re-

port business that was never referred to it; that a sergeant-at-arms could hold an order of arrest over members of the House for ten days with power to execute it at his pleasure without any control of the House; that a motion to recommit a special rule was good when made by a Democrat, and bad when made by a Republican; and that motions not dilatory could be ruled out under a provision which related only to dilatory motions and many similar performances. When all these things and many others like them took place it did seem somewhat strange that no proper public condemnation was put upon them, especially as they are likely to become landmarks of oppression hereafter.

However, the causes of public apathy are simple, and on the surface. All things are relative, and the greatness of other events has entirely dwarfed these minor affairs; yet, in the long run, some of these minor affairs may prove troublesome to other generations. Some day, also, this country will awake to the very unhandsome treatment which contested election cases receive, and adopt some system by which justice will be done so that the scandals attached to election cases may disappear.

Of those greater events which have so commanded public attention it is difficult to adequately speak, and yet according to all law, human and divine, there is a perfect case against the Democratic pary. We not only have "a confessing accused," but one who has acted under no duress except that of his own conscience and whose confession has not only been full and complete as to the past, but abundant and superfluous as to the future. President and Senators, members and committeemen, have vied with each other in language about each other which exceeds in warmth and unkindness anything which even partisan prophecy has ever uttered. And the proofs of the correctness of these statements are so abundant that it seems useless to say another word as to the past.

One of our institutions has certainly received a great shock. That this shock is but temporary no good patriot can doubt, and yet it ought to be commented upon, if only for the light which it throws upon the capacity of the Democratic party to govern, which is, after all, the ultimate question now before the people.

Until this last Congress, whatever might be thought of individual members, the Senate as a body has always been reputed dignified, upright, and honorable. It has always commanded

the respect of the people as the great conservative legislative branch. Never until this time has it been subject to universal reproach. When before in the history of this country has the Executive, in a public letter read to the other branch, openly charged the Senate with perfidy and treachery? It is certainly a strange spectacle, this conflict between the President and a Senate under control of his own party. And yet outside the sugar question, for which the President did not reproach them, what had they done except to look out for the interests of their constituents? Has there ever been any reply to Senator Gorman's declaration made in open Senate, that what the Senate did was but the redemption of pledges given during the election by the party managers, and which were absolutely necessary to enable the country to be carried? Senator Gorman's revelations as to sugar and the promises he gave to its friends were only samples of revelations he might have made, and samples of other promises he and his associates had given. Nor were these promises all secret. The hustings in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey rang with assurances that no harm should be done to the industries of the country. When, therefore, the so-called conservatives among the Democrats of the Senate rallied to preserve the interests of their constituents from the ravages of the South, why was that any more treachery and perfidy than the refusal of Mr. Wilson to draft and pass a bill for revenue only? When the platform demanded the extinction of all protection, why was it perfidy to favor protection on the general taxation plan instead of on the free raw material plan? Both coddled the manufacturers and both taxed the people. Why was either of them Democratic when both of them gave the lie direct to the platform? The only moral anybody can draw from this dispute is that whatever Democratic principles may hereafter be discovered to be they were certainly not put into the platform. It was because of the profound faith of our people that the Democratic party did not mean what it said, that we are in this predicament. But when a man does not mean what he says you can never tell what he does mean, except in the sorrowful way in which we are now learning the meaning of the Democratic platform.

The truth is that this dispute between the President and the Senate as to what Democratic principles are is the key to our unfortunate situation. Individual Democrats have principles, but

the party has none. Mr. Wilson was so sure that the sugar part of the tariff was all wrong that he hoped at one time that Congress would never adjourn until the sugar tax was trampled under foot, and yet he himself led that frightful tumbling over each other with which the majority House fixed upon us the very tax he was denouncing. Mr. Wilson on that first occasion did not represent his party, for the very letter of the President which he caused to be read was exceedingly tolerant of sugar, and sorrowed only over protected coal and protected iron ore.

The whole Democratic party except Hill—if it could be called a Democratic party without Hill—in the Senate finds Democratic principle in taxed and monopolized sugar and taxed coal and taxed iron. Free raw material is Democratic principle in the White House, while taxed coal and iron pass muster in the Senate even after the presidential round-up and while Senators are yet quivering under the lash. Even the income tax, the only thing both houses agreed upon, which seems therefore to come nearer being a Democratic principle than anything else, has its maligners inside the party, and the President, forgetting that he advised it in a message, has plaintive regrets that it is part of the act.

It is just this discordant condition of things existing upon every subject to be legislated on which is the cause of this utter failure and collapse of the Democratic party as a governing party. All this arises really from the very nature of things. The President is not abusing the Senate, and accusing his party associates of perfidy and dishonor, of "communism of pelf," or of the other naughty things they have done, simply to amuse the public. The public is amused, but that is not his purpose. Not at all. He abuses them just as aforetime he abused the Republican party, because he does not agree with them any more than he did with us. The Senators did not charge that the President had duped them into the passage of the Senate Bill because they wanted to furnish an exhibition of party discord. They believed what they said, and the discord existed. Each party, believing the other totally wrong, was chafed by the common inability to act together or to act at all. We ought therefore in our reproaches to hit the right mark—the party, not the individuals. Why all this senseless abuse of each other by individual Democrats? It is not the individual Democrat who is wrong; it is the combination.

How can those who do not think alike act together? What possible bond of united action can there be between Mr. Smith, who represents the manufacturing State of New Jersey, the industrial life of which is bound up in its workshops and mills, and a representative from a Southern State, permeated with the traditions of McDuffie and Free Trade? How can Senator Gorman, who knows so thoroughly and practically the industries of West Virginia, agree with Mr. Wilson, who is learned only in the wisdom of the Englishman?

It very often happens that things which are good of themselves are very bad in combination. It has been often demonstrated that individual Democrats are very good men, indeed it is almost too simple a fact of every-day observation to be even stated; and yet the last year and a half shows that a combination of them makes a very unsatisfactory party. It is so elsewhere in nature.

The ox is a most valuable animal, and so is the mule; but yoked up together they make a most incongruous team, neither speedy of foot, beautiful to the eye, nor restful to the mind; nevertheless either is a hard-working, reputable animal made for better things. We ought to frown upon all this use of hard language as to individuals. It is not seemly. Besides this, it obscures the real issue. Suppose the President does feel bad because of coal and iron, is that any reason why he should attack Senator Gorman, who feels well about it? If Mr. Wilson's scheme for a tariff has gone to water, is that any reason why he should be unkind to Democrats of older standing than himself? Only a few years ago he was clamoring for protection to coal, himself. Why not give the erring brother time to repent, as he also has repented? Besides being unseemly, savoring, as it were, of those "selfish feelings" which the President assured us were to be banished from the millennial world he inaugurated, March 4, 1893, these bickerings obscure the real issue, which issue is: Has the Democratic party those qualities which fit it to govern this country at this time? Let us not get ourselves lost in these little minor issues as to the relative blackness of pot and kettle. We might assume that both were black and very smutty if it were not for the dictates of politeness, which forbid people to be disagreeable to each other.

We have had this country under the government of that party

for a year and a half, and what has been the result? I am not going to tell. There is such an embarrassment of riches that one hardly knows which way to turn. If you examine the question of finance from the point of view of the relation between the income and the expenditures of the country, and find as great expenditures as when the country was at the height of its prosperity, you see that even the one virtue the Democracy have striven to adorn by their example does not abide with them, and that as economists they have attained failure so great that it would be conspicuous had there not been worse failures everywhere else. If one wished to comment on the tariff performance there is absolutely no room left. After the President and Gorman and Wilson had lapsed into longed-for silence, there was not left in stock any expressions of reproach and contempt. The entire list had been exhausted. When your enemies have said about themselves all the severe things that could be said, attempts at characterization would be but gleaning in a field swept by conflagration and storm. Nevertheless, while the particulars of this recrimination have ceased to be endurable, the fact of its existence is of the utmost importance to the voting population of the country this autumn and for the next two years.

One important, nay, one indispensable prerequisite, for the good government of this country by a party in power must be that that party shall be agreed within itself. If it is agreed, then you know what it will do. If it be discordant and belligerent, what it will do nobody can tell. We cannot reasonably hope that the harvest may chance to be of wheat or some other grain. Rather is it likely to be tares which need to be burned with unquenchable fire; for the Devil of Discord seldom sows anything else.

Nor can we hope that such a party will continue to do nothing, or, to speak more exactly, to rest on the bad things they have already done.

To put the proposition in the alternative form: Either the Democratic party are agreed as to their future conduct, or they are not. If they are not, then we must, if we continue them in power, take another leap in the dark. We took one in 1892, and with our systems so badly shaken up as they are we are not likely to take another.

If, on the other hand, the Democracy are agreed as to the future, notwithstanding their inability to agree as to the past,

what is that agreement? What is to be the course of these erratic comets in the future? Surely the evidence on this point is abundant. Nobody can doubt or be at a loss.

The President is a leader. Mr. Wilson is a leader. Mr. Mills is a leader, and so, also, are Mr. Cockran and Mr. Tom Johnson leaders. They have differed in the past. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Mills and Mr. President have been ahead of Mr. Gorman and Mr. Brice in the grand march of "tariff reform," but Mr. Cockran and Mr. Tom Johnson have been away ahead of Wilson and Mills, and have not had qualms of "delicacy" over the sugar question like the President. How are they to be in the future? Here, again, one is obliged to hesitate. The average Democratic editor says that at the moment when he is trying to galvanize business into life by his editorials it is most cruel and unpatriotic to say anything which tends to depress affairs and discourage the tendencies of the times. Well, what is there which has a tendency to discourage business and dishearten the country? There is only one answer; the thing which hangs like a pall to-day over business is the speechmaking and letter-writing of Democratic leaders. When Mr. Wilson, in the House, amid applause and cheers on the Democratic side, openly avows his determination to continue the tariff fight "so long as the yoke of monopoly is on the neck of any citizen of this country"; when Mr. Mills, in the Senate, declares that "we" will "sweep the streets of the enemy" and "take everything from him"; and when the President declares that this bad bill is only a vantage-ground for new attacks; and when Mr. Wilson hurries home to assure his constituency that he has lost none of his rancor, and that "the fight will still go on" until all the "strongholds of privilege" shall disappear;—when, I say, all these men unite, amid the applause of their followers, in such expressions, and continue to reiterate them, the Democratic editor labors in vain. Business cannot revive on such terms. Of course, business must move somewhat, the prostrate form must stagger to its feet, because suspended animation long continued is death, and we are not going to die. There is not stupidity enough in this nation to kill it.

But until we are assured that the hands of these destroyers are stricken down, until this country knows that these leaders are bound over to keep the peace, there can be no revival of busi-

ness which will do more than sparsely fill the empty shelves of our retail stores. Prosperity does not perch upon uncertainty. Even if the Gorman-Brice bill be as beautiful as its authors think it is, even if it be deserving of that lofty praise bestowed by its enemies, the praise of superiority over the McKinley bill, it can never ripen fruit as long as these noisy boys are shaking and clubbing the tree. We can have no prosperity, even if the optimists are right, until the silver of these orators' silence and the gold of their speech have been brought to the parity of zero.

How shall this be done? What is the duty of the voter who wants peace and a chance to look about him and see what a new world he is living in, and whether therein be lodging and breakfast? What is the duty of the workingman who has been promised higher wages and more employment, and wants a chance to look about him and see if it is all there? What is the duty of the farmer who was promised the "markets of the world" and wheat at a dollar and a quarter, and who fears that his ears may have deceived him, and that the word of promise has not even been kept to the ear, let alone the hope? What shall these and all other people do?

This is hardly a party question. It is rather a business question. Is there any aspect of it where it seems to be a good thing to keep up agitation to "sweep" somebody "off the streets and take everything from him"? Is this a time to be hunting for "vantage-grounds" for another period of uncertainty and financial devastation? Do we want to be ranting about "strongholds of privilege" by the mouths of the very men who have just voted twenty-two millions to the sugar trust, and are hoarse with wrath because they could not do the same for the coal trust? Are we so in love, in a word, with the last year and a half that we want the next two years to be just like them? Do we want any more of that juggling with words which votes for sugar trusts and weeps over coal trusts and calls little woolen mills and all the little hives of Northern industry—except those that make collars and cuffs—"strongholds of privilege," "yokes of monopoly," "class distinctions," and all that folderol of folly which garnishes the mouths of men who think epithets are ideas?

There are three classes of people, at least, who will not be guilty of any blunders of that sort. The Republicans, who believe in protection, are not going to allow, if they can help it,

what has already gone too far to go farther in the wrong direction. It is true that so long as Mr. Cleveland is President we can do nothing affirmatively. He wants to be worse than his party have acted. But we can help, by electing a Republican House, to give this nation sorely pressed a breathing-space, even if the breathing-space is not of our choosing. There is another class, without distinction of party, who will look at this situation from a business point of view alone. They will say: We want to know the working conditions of this bill; we can never know them if they are disturbed by factional fights between President and Senate, between divisions of the House, which threaten we know not what outcome of uncertainty and disaster. Let us have some peace; and the best way to shut these open and warring mouths, and stop these bickering pens, which are more valiant in vaunting than in veto, is to give Mr. Wilson a chance to lead a minority, and the President a Republican House, so that he can comment on a Democratic Senate to sympathizing people when next he is so inclined.

Last, and not least, is a class of citizens who have always voted the Democratic ticket, and who feel a sense of personal mortification and sorrow because the party which has had the devotion of their like has proved so unworthy of it. Among them will be some of those who think with sadness how twice in their day and generation they have been led far afield by their Southern connections, who by sheer force of numbers and unmindful of interests of their party friends, have forced them into false positions and unhappy situations. To either of these classes of voters the pathway of duty is as clear as a shining light, and, while it cannot lead to immediate prosperity, will give the people that hope which is the forerunner of wise action in the future, that confidence which will help rebuild our shattered fortunes.

At this moment it is hard to see how the bright days before the second reign of Grover Cleveland can be renewed until the same or wiser conditions are re-established. The great motive power of our progress in civilization and comfort is the wide distribution of the wealth of the country which is the result of keeping all our people employed. This it is which constitutes the purchasing power of this country, which has made the mill wheels turn and set the factory machinery in motion. No foreign commerce can make up for that; for whatever we cannot make

because it is made abroad pays no wages to our workmen, to our managers and superintendents, and furnishes no profits with which our millowners and factory companies can extend their plant and employ the builder and his host of employees. When one mill in my district diminishes its payroll 40 per cent., and pays its people $117,000 less per year for 700 hands employed, or more than $168 for each—and that instance is multiplied by thousands—we are no longer taking the strides toward comfort, happiness, and civilization which we had been taking for the thirty years before the fatal mistake of 1892.

Nevertheless we shall survive all this, and the lesson for which we have paid such a terrible price will be a lesson never to be forgotten while this generation lingers on the shores of Time.

THOMAS B. REED.

ASTRONOMY AND RELIGION.

BY SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, K. C. I. E., C. S. I.

GREAT results often spring from very small causes. In the ancient town of Middelburg, in Holland, on a clear autumn day in the year of grace 1606, an old optician named Jan Lippershey had a little job in hand, which was to repair the spectacles of a worthy Mynheer, member of the City Council. He had laid the thick circular glasses to be reset on his work-table, in front of a large old-fashioned mullioned window that looked over the roofs of a flat country in the midst of which rose a church-spire with a clock. The church was about half a league distant and the figures of the clock were small and in the crabbed Gothic character. By the old craftsman's side played his grandchild, who had taken up the lenses and was applying them in an idle mood this way and that to his eye. Suddenly the child uttered a Dutch exclamation of delight and cried, "O grandfather, I can see the hour!" And in effect he had by accident so adjusted the two glasses that a telescopic result was produced; and Jan Lippershey, repeating the experiment, read with facility the time from that casement, holding the glasses in the same manner.

From such a chance moment dated the invention of the telescope; and from that same moment also, a new era of scientific knowledge dawned, which must result, though it has not yet resulted, in a new era of religious thought.

Galileo heard of what the optician's little grandson had found out, and in the year 1609 he constructed the first telescope. It was not much more powerful than the opera-glass which the pilot or the racing-man now employs; but by its aid the illustrious astronomer was the first to view the spots on the sun; to see four moons revolving around Jupiter; to descry mountains and plains

in the moon; to watch the phases of Venus; and to distinguish many stars which had been invisible before. Those earliest observations revolutionized all astral science. Ptolemy and the ancients silently and suddenly abdicated in favor of Copernicus, Galileo himself, and Tycho Brahe. There was come to an end forever that old conceited ignorance which pictured our planet as the centre of the universe, with the moon and stars for night-lights, and the sun the brilliant but humble attendant of the earth. Little as this immense advance in knowledge has been yet realized by the common imagination, the Church of Rome had an instinct of the revolution; but neither her then mighty power, nor any other influence, could prevent a sudden and swift transformation in human ideas. The least informed mind cannot well take itself back now to the time when a Hebrew writer really believed and recorded that at the command of Joshua the moon stood still in the valley of Ajalon, while another inspired scribe could chronicle it as a serious fact that the sun had gone back on its course to prolong the life of King Hezekiah. Galileo, upon whom the prodigious new veracities instantly and imperatively flashed, was compelled by the priests verbally to recant his splendid declarations. But rising from his knees he muttered the famous reservation "*E pur se muove*"; and for all ages to come there was thus created out of that accidental deed of the little Dutch boy at play, a new heaven and a new earth for mankind.

Galileo in his "Sidereal Messenger" made a map of eighty new stars which he had discovered in the constellations of Orion's Belt and the "Sword"; and since then astronomer after astronomer, as is well known, has added various groups and galaxies to the two or three thousand conspicuous stars of the first six magnitudes which can be always seen with the naked eye. It is curious and not complimentary to the good sense of mankind that those stars should have been looked upon as merely intended to spangle the sky and give light at night. As lamps they were always a failure. Sixty times the total starlight on the clearest night would not equal the illumination given by the moon; and thirty-three million times their radiance would be required to equal sunlight. Yet the stars which are seen even by a powerful telescope are now known to be only an insignificant proportion of those actually existing inside "visible space." Telescopic pho-

tography, as practised to-day in all the observatories, reveals, in almost every apparently blank region of the celestial sphere, countless new and distant worlds, lying far beyond all methods of mortal computation and measurement. The only foot-rule with which we can at all estimate the scale of distances in the "visible universe" is light. This travels along the ether at the rate of 186,000 miles in a second, so that the ray which we receive from the sun left his surface eight minutes before it has reached our eyes. By ingenious processes based on complex arithmetic, astronomers have determined the distance of about eighty stars, and the nearest of all of them to our system is *Alpha Centauri*. The radiance of this star takes, however, about four years to reach human vision, while that which we perceive from *Alpha Tauri* or *Aldebaran* was projected from its glittering source twenty-seven years ago; and most of those seen deeper in the night sky are so far off that their present light left them three or four hundred years back. Many are to-day visible whose beams have travelled to our gaze only after a lapse of thousands of years, and there must be radiant streams now on their way from heavenly bodies in the empyrean which will only reach the eyes of our very far off posterity.

To what comparative insignificance do these well-known and well-assured facts reduce the little corner of space in which our own trivial family of planets has its being and its motion! It seems much to say that the earth is distant from the sun ninety-three millions of miles, so that to travel thither at the average rate of a tourist by steam and rail would take an interval of 600 years. And the outside planet of our family, *Neptune*, is two thousand eight hundred and twenty-five millions of miles from the sun, so that we may roughly call the diameter of our flying system in space five thousand six hundred and fifty millions of miles. But vast as this sounds, our solar system sinks into a speck when one reflects that if we should represent the interval between the sun and the earth by one inch, then to put *Aldebaran* into his proper place and proportion our chart would have to be nine leagues wide. At this moment the great work is everywhere advancing of making a photographic picture of the entire visible heavens; all stars down to the fourteenth magnitude are being reproduced. Twenty-two thousand separate plates will complete the planisphere, and it is estimated already that as many as

twenty million distinct stars will appear upon the unparalleled and astonishing map.

It is vain to endeavor to reduce into intelligible or adequate language the vastness of material creation revealed in such a chart; a vastness augmented by the measureless variety of the bodies and systems included in the immense conspectus. Gazing near at hand there are indeed all sorts of absorbing wonders on and around the sun himself; a world of marvels exists in those "rice-grains" upon his surface which look like specks and are all larger than Great Britain, in the "willow leaves," the "granules," the "faculæ," "the spots"; in those scarlet flags of flame called "prominences"; and in the "corona"—which at the time of a solar eclipse are seen stretching for millions of miles outside the orb. Those early theologians who taught that the sun was made to warm and illuminate this our poor little planetary island did not know that only one part in two thousand two hundred millions of his heat and light are received by the earth. The rest, in the boundless prodigality of nature, goes away into space to do, no doubt, much subtle work. And then, besides the sun, there are tantalizing mysteries in

> "That orbed maiden
> With white fire laden
> Whom mortals call the moon."

One side of her we have never beheld, but that which is always turned towards her elder sister is painted in silvers and grays with a landscape of acclivities and levels which nobody really understands. Astronomers say too rashly that there can be no life on the moon because there is no atmosphere there and no moisture. Dead silence must reign over Moonland, they aver, since there is no air to vibrate; barrenness must prevail, since there falls no rain; and the heat of the sun must alternately scorch it, and then be withdrawn, producing a cold greater than any which Professor Dewar can create. Then there are the planets of which we know just a little, as people often do of their own particular families: Mercury and Venus inside our own orbit; Mars outside it; and, beyond him, stately Jupiter, Saturn with his Ring, Uranus, and Neptune. Comparatively near as these are, and presenting well-marked features to the glass, they are yet so far divided and so minute compared to the space they swim in that if the earth were

represented by a football at Hyde Park Corner, Neptune would be such a four-foot globe as an acrobat walks upon, placed at Oxford. Between Mars and Jupiter swarm in the ether those silver bees of the system called asteroids: perhaps the fragments of an exploded planet, the baby children of our system, already 370 in number and increasing with yearly observations. The largest of them, *Vesta,* is but 300 miles in diameter. Beyond Jupiter again, circle those large mysterious planets about which astronomers again foolishly say that they must be lifeless, failing to perceive that life equates itself to its conditions, and that just as lungs are the correlation and the consequence of an atmosphere of oxygen and nitrogen, and gills the adaptation to water as a medium of existence, so there may be creatures on the sun which thrive upon incandescent hydrogen; Moon-people who flourish without air or water; Jovians and Saturnians, well contented with an abode in a state of vapor; and Uranians, with a scheme of body and being unimagined, but suitable to their environments and real as a railway director. Then beyond these, our close neighbors, are the comets, the stars, the nebulæ, the "Milky Way,"—that "river of light and life" which, searched by the glass, presents itself as a fathomless channel of sweeping stars. Inconceivably distant from him, man has yet means today which bring these within the range of his knowledge. The spectroscope, aided by photography, tells us the substance and the chemistry of these remote worlds. Doctor Huggins has found hydrogen in the "nebulæ," and Secchi in certain stars also, while the rate at which they approach or recede can be accurately measured. Thus *Aldebaran* is going away from us at thirty miles a second, and *Gamma Leonis* approaching us at a slightly lower speed. The great telescope of the Lick Observatory, which I myself had the privilege one night of using, has settled the fact that the Nebula of Orion is flying from us at ten miles a second. We know, in fact, enough of this marvellous "visible universe" to be proud and glad of our increasing knowledge, but never to presume upon it as final or sufficient.

Indeed, our best acquaintance with its wonders must always be held provisional. The organ wherewith we are aware of it is an imperfect one, insensible to the colors beyond the red and the violet which certain insects appear to perceive. Light itself is nothing but a vibration of what we call, without understanding

it, the ether; and sight is a sense easily deceived and of very feeble range. It is probable that only a slight exaltation of the power of the optic nerve would present the picture of the starry sky to us in a very different aspect. To our vision the waste of space appears astounding, much as the Pacific Ocean seems far too large for its archipelagoes. The boundless vault looks as though wasted in containing at such enormous intervals the tiny specks that are its worlds and suns. Would it wear anything like so open an aspect if we had better or different eyes? To see the stars at all it is necessary to wait for the darkness of night: to be aware of those crimson fountains of glory streaming into space from the sun, we have to borrow the help of the moon's interposed disc. Since all heavenly bodies exercise an influence, gravitatory and otherwise, upon all other bodies, it is conceivable that a kind of vision may hereafter exist to which their mutual contact and interaction would be perceptible. We see nothing now which is not of the nature to reflect upon our retinas or to project upon them those light-waves of which alone our light-sense can take any cognizance. The fish which dimly perceives a star through the water composed of oxygen and hydrogen is not in a much worse position for reliable astronomical observations than man, with his limited visual spectrum, at the bottom of his ocean of oxygen, nitrogen, and the new gas.

Astronomy has taken, however, an immense start forward in estimating the cosmos since that discovery by the little Dutch boy, which put her sisters, Philosophy and Religion, quite out of step. The spell of habit binds, however, even astronomers themselves. Not only do they use contentedly the phrases consecrated by ancient ignorance such as "sun-rise" and "sun-set," spoken foolishly of an orb which, as far as we are concerned, neither rises nor sets; but most of them cannot shake themselves free from absolutely primitive ideas about life. You shall read them gravely declaring the uninhabitability of the sun, the moon, and the planets, as before remarked, because of physical differences forsooth between those bodies and our earth. They go on contentedly with the old stellar chartography which Ptolemy introduced when he divided the stars into forty-eight constellations, giving to each of them the name of a character in Classic Mythology. Modern astronomers, unwilling or unable to improve upon this, have added about twenty more pagan names

to those of Ptolemy; and even when fantastic figures are not delineated round the groups of stars, the ancient appellations are still retained. No doubt there is a convenience in this, as it helps the "star-gazer" to map out his sky; and a good observer will know the "Lyre," the "Swan," the "Plough," and "Cassiopeia" as well as any teacher of geography the outlines of various states and countries. But no attempt has been made to break away into a new and more adequate astrography, based as it might be on the marvellous symmetries and geometrical collocations of the sky. This subject of astral perspective has indeed engaged singularly little scientific attention. The study which should excite and delight most of all the scientific imagination is content to view its universe as an indefinitely or infinitely expanding hollow sphere, the boundaries of which perpetually recede before the increasing power of the lens or the resolute exercise of inductive reason. But if our experimentalists suspended in a vast glass globe endless numbers of electric lamps of different sizes, and surveyed the illumination from a point inside or outside, how long would it be before chance furnished us with such a shapely arrangement as those of the three jewels in the Belt of Orion; the rhomboid in Charles's Wain; or the measured localization of the stars in the Southern Cross? The best thing that could happen for mankind would be if a great astronomer had been born a poet or a great poet should become an astronomer; for we sadly need newer and nobler ideas in the chief of sciences.

But if, in view of the good and useful work which astronomers are undoubtedly doing in collecting facts and adding to the range of actual knowledge, we excuse them for not rising to the rich sublimity of the cosmic side of their business, it is not so easy to forgive modern philosophy and modern theology. Physical and metaphysical writers are equally to blame for the very slight influence which they have permitted latter-day astronomy to exercise upon their disquisitions. Yet the meaning of the word "metaphysics" would almost appear to suggest that every great enlargement of view in natural science ought to be followed by an expansion of thought in speculative philosophy. "Metaphysics" is a fine sonorous word, like "Mesopotamia," but it merely means that when Aristotle had finished writing about the objects in Creation (*Τὰ φυσικά*) he commenced quite naturally to discourse about "*μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*," or "the things that come

next after objects of creation." Surely that is an obvious sequence, and if our metaphysicians, especially those of the pessimistic school, would saturate themselves with the new truths of astronomy, extending their mental focus to even the present range of the visible universe, we should not read dreary and dismal jeremiads about the origin and end of life, nor in the social field witness such a folly as anarchism raising its selfish and ridiculous banner under the stately march of the stars. Of all the fools' paradises ever built by man, the idlest and the meanest is that one of mere material comfort and easy subsistence without work, which seems to satisfy certain base democratic ideals. If life be what some among our demagogues teach to their stupid and passionate listeners, a threescore and ten years span, spent best if spent in meat and drink and voting, then Carlyle was justified, when gazing on the stars he cried, "Ah, sir! 'tis a sorry sight!" As I myself have written in "Lotus and Jewel":

> "Either the Universe is Chaos, Chance,
> Or else the Universe is Order, law;
> If that, die and let go the drunken dance;
> If this, live and rejoice in love and awe."

In vain has the star-bespangled Night, giver of sleep and rest, comforter of men, revealed under her dark mantle the splendid secret of worlds upon worlds and boundless being, if not even this has sufficed to silence upon the lips of bitter and disbelieving man doubt as to the ultimate rightfulness of nature, whose law of order, evolution, and harmonious issues is written in such large silver letters upon the skies. Nothing, in truth, so much exalts our sense-perception, and at the same time admonishes and humiliates it, as the manifestations of astronomy.

With the tube of the Lick telescope directed into the thickest milky effulgence of the Galaxy, the eye seems to plunge into the actual glory of infinitude and literally to see the illimitable. If there be immutable reasons why we should temporarily live in what we call the "present," amid allusions of time and space—which must be false in the sense of the Hindoo Maya, but need not be fallacious—how could there be devised a nobler consolation, a loftier promise, than in such glimpses which convince the mind of the infinity and immortality that it cannot in this life understand? On such a head there are two notable passages in the New Testament. One is where the great Teacher of Nazareth,

perhaps with his divine eyes fixed at the time upon the shining firmament, said pityingly, "In my father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you." And the other passage is a saying from the same tender and holy lips—"The Kingdom of Heaven is nigh unto you, yea, even at your very gates." Probably these last words, at once so simple and so mysterious, condense a prodigious physical fact. It may well be that the next great secret of existence is hidden from us by a veil so thin that its very thinness makes it impenetrable. A touch, a turn, a change, as slight as when the light pebble lying on the thin ice feels it melt and falls to the bottom, may be all that is necessary to lift the curtain of another and utterly transformed universe which is yet not really another; but this same one that we see imperfectly with present eyes, and think timidly with present thoughts. As Browning sings of his beautiful dream which came so near to realization:

> "Only to break a door of glass,
> Only a bridge of cloud to pass,
> Only one wicked Mage to stab,
> And look you, we had kissed Queen Mab."

So it may be with many, possibly with most, at that natural promotion and permutation called death. Mathematicians talk as of something more solid than a dream in regard of what they call a Higher Space, that of Four Dimensions; and advanced photographers are hoping it may some day be feasible to take pictures with the ultra-red rays, which pass through opaque matter, and to which a brick wall is perhaps transparent. Returning, however, to what is visible and known, the infinite vitality of the universe must be borne in mind, as well as its boundless extent and variety. The late Mr. Richard A. Proctor has well written, in his *Other Worlds than Ours*, these eloquent words:

"Instead of millions of inert masses, we see the whole heavens instinct with energy—astir with busy life. The great masses of luminous vapor, though occupying countless millions of cubic miles of space, are moved by unknown forces like clouds before the summer breeze; star-mist is condensing into clusters; star-clusters are forming into suns; streams and clusters of minor orbs are swayed by unknown attractive energies, and primary suns singly or in systems are pursuing their stately path through space, rejoicing as giants to run their course, extending on all sides the mighty arm of their attraction, gathering from ever new regions of space supplies of motive

energy, to be transformed into the various forms of force—light and heat and electricity—and distributed in lavish abundance to the worlds which circle round them."

Perhaps the most ludicrous survival of primitive human ignorance about the heavens is the doubt which orthodox astronomers still maintain upon the question whether life exists amid all these fair and wonderful mansions of life. And here, indeed, is where there seems to come in the truest and most urgent necessity that religion should extend the boundaries of her doctrines, in order to render them a little more adequate to the range of scientific acquisitions. Take, for instance, what is called the "scheme of salvation" as it is preached by ordinary interpreters. How deplorably it continues to be narrowed down into the limits of the old-fashioned notions of the "world"! Let me hasten to concede that no discovery, no generalization, no new revelation of the vastness, variety, and vital fullness of the cosmos could ever rob of its divine value the inner meanings of what is eternally true. The idea of redemption by love, for example, which has a thousand illustrations even in the little sphere of human experience, would probably only derive greater and greater magnificence of demonstration if we could see and know its operation in systems developed beyond our own; and amid that immense, and to-day inconceivable, march of evolution, of which we get only shadows here. But is it not evident that we must think more largely than to imagine ourselves, or to let those whom we teach imagine, that the Son of God was once absent from such an universe as we now perceive—from the splendid spaciousness of His dominions of light and life—wholly abstracted in the care and charge of "this little O, the earth?" The love of God, manifested in Him, was doubtless present with us, as with all the cosmos; but to think becomingly and proportionately to facts, we must recognize that it was also and simultaneously present in every abode of planetary and stellar—perhaps of galactic and nebular—society. We meditate too meanly upon heavenly love, and divine government, and the life of man, and the lives which are to be, when our minds still thus wear the garments of old theologies, while our hands hold the telescope and the spectroscope. We have enlarged enormously our conceptions of the universe, but apparently forgotten to magnify our beliefs. A schoolgirl of to-day knows that the specks of silver in the ocean of the night are sun-

worlds; but her rector or teacher reads her still the legends of Joshua and Hezekiah, and permits her to think that for thirty years long, some 1,894 years ago, a million million orbs and systems —full of living beings—were without the second Person of the Trinity, absent on urgent duty upon an atom of a world, invisible to the very nearest of them.

It is charming to observe with what simplicity the delicate and gentle genius of Mr. Ruskin, in his *Frondes Agrestes*, has grappled with this incompatibility between old tenets and modern discoveries. He begins by deploring how little men care to know or think about the sky "in which Nature has done more for the sake of pleasing man—more for the sole and evident purpose of talking with him and teaching him—than in any other of her works." "And yet," writes Mr. Ruskin (Section 3, p. 35):

"We never attend to it, we never make it a subject of thought, except as it has to do with our animal sensations; we look upon all by which it speaks to us more clearly than to brutes, upon all which bears witness to the intentions of the Supreme, that we are to receive more from the covering vault than the light and the dew which we share with the weed and the worm, only as a succession of meaningless and monotonous accident, too common and too vain to be worthy of a moment of watchfulness or a glance of admiration."

Again, speaking of the infinitude of things to know, and of the much that never can be known, revealed in the starry firmament, he says:

"None but proud or weak men would mourn over this, for we may always know more, if we choose, by working on; but the pleasure is, I think, to humble people, in knowing that the journey is endless, the treasure inexhaustible—watching the cloud still march before them with its summitless pillar, and being sure that, to the end of time, and to the length of eternity, the mysteries of its infinity will still open farther and farther, their dimness being the sign and necessary adjunct of their inexhaustibleness."

But, brought face to face with the largeness of the cosmos and the littleness—at least as relates to verbal definition—of the pre-Galileo religions, Mr. Ruskin takes refuge in the provisional and, so to speak, personal character of the orthodox doctrines and the "scheme." "We must not," he argues,

"define and explain ourselves into dim and distant suspicion of an inactive God inhabiting inconceivable places, and fading into the multitudinous formalisms of the laws of Nature. All errors of this kind arise from the originally mistaken idea that man can, 'by searching, find out God—find out the Almighty to perfection'—whereas it is clearly necessary, from the beginning

to the end of time, that God's way of revealing himself to his creatures should be a *simple* way, which *all* those creatures may understand. Whether taught or untaught, whether of mean capacity or enlarged, it is necessary that communion with their Creator should be possible to all; and the admission to such communion must be rested, not on their having a knowledge of astronomy, but on their having a human soul. In order to render this communion possible, the Deity has stooped from his throne, and has not only in person of the Son, taken upon him the veil of our human *flesh*, but, in the person of the Father, taken upon him the veil of our human *thoughts*, and permitted us, by his own spoken authority, to conceive him simply and clearly as a loving father and friend; a being to be walked with and reasoned with, to be moved by our entreaties, angered by our rebellion, alienated by our coldness, pleased by our love, and glorified by our labor; and, finally, to be beheld in immediate and active presence in all the powers and changes of creation. This conception of God, which is the child's, is evidently the only one which can be universal, and, therefore, the only one which *for us* can be true."

This is all true, beautiful, and to the purpose of the eminent author's thought; but it is an explanation of the survival of old religious ideas, rather than a justification of them. The astronomer and the house-cat enjoy, of course, the sunshine equally, but the former understands, as the latter does not, some at least of the wonders of that golden warmth. My representation is that the divine significations of those of the old doctrines which have eternal truth in them ought by their expounders to be henceforward immeasurably expanded and advanced, in the light of astronomical announcements. My object in these purely suggestive pages (for to exhaust the point would demand such another paper) is to indicate how new, superb, and noble are the meanings which the ancient formulas might receive from current facts, if their professional interpreters could and would rise to the heights whither "star-eyed science" to-day beckons them. "Life," "Love," "Redemption," "Creation," "Evil," "Good," and that most vast and vague name of "God" are words of might and majesty, which need to-day bolder and more hopeful retranslations into that glorious, albeit ever mystical, language of which the starry heavens display at least the silver cypher.

EDWIN ARNOLD.

THE PERIL OF THE TREASURY.

BY THE HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

It is my purpose in this paper to present an outline of a financial plan by which a gold revenue shall be provided adequate to the probable claims upon the national Treasury, and by which the product of American silver, in excess of the demand by the arts and industries of the country, may be used for currency, and all without regard to the policy of other nations. Not but that a policy of coöperation is desirable as compared with any national policy, but the prospect of its attainment is so slight, and the exigency pressing upon us is so severe, and the danger in one direction is so imminent, that further delay is fraught with perils of the gravest nature.

The demand gold liabilities now resting upon the Treasury exceed two hundred million dollars, and the gold indebtedness due at times future exceeds six hundred and thirty million; in all eight hundred and thirty million dollars; and on the other side the government has not one dollar of gold revenue which it can command.

At the present moment the well-established credit of the government is the only security against its bankruptcy.

A demand for gold which should carry it to a premium, or a general belief in this country and in Europe that gold would advance to a premium in the near future, would at once drain the Treasury of its gold deposits and of the small balance of free gold. In such a condition of affairs, which, if not probable immediately, is inevitable at some day not very remote if the present policy shall be continued, it will not be easy to borrow gold, nor at all, except at high prices and with diminishing credit. What will be thought, and what ought to be thought, of a

country that, in time of peace, has entered upon a policy of issuing gold-bearing bonds and yet is destitute of any revenue, or of any provision for a revenue, by which any part of the obligations so created, either principal or interest, can be met?

In the last six months we have issued fifty million of such bonds, and in the next twelve months the Treasury may be forced to issue fifty million more. Beyond that period it is useless to speculate. In time of peace we shall have increased our gold debt fifty or one hundred million dollars, and that without any attempt to provide the means of payment. Revenue alone does not meet the necessity of the situation. Gold revenue must be obtained, as otherwise the credit of the country becomes the only security for the maintenance of the credit of the country. Without a gold revenue our only means of meeting a demand for gold would be in our ability to buy gold at a premium, or to borrow it upon terms satisfactory to the lender.

The policy of borrowing gold to pay gold debts is not essentially different from the policy of the advocates of what was known as *fiat* money, who proposed to redeem one issue of paper currency by a new issue of the same sort, and so on *ad infinitum*. More reprehensible even is the practice, not yet dignified as a public policy, of issuing gold bonds and applying the proceeds to the payment of legal-tender debts, or to current expenses, which, in ordinary times, are met by current revenues. The loss of revenue at the present time, if no inquiry be made as to the causes of the loss, may be pleaded in defence of what is being done, and upon the ground that the practice is not a public policy, but an expedient resorted to under duress. Without a gold revenue that duress will continue. Assume that in these current months the revenues exceeded the expenses of the government, by what process, except by buying or borrowing, could the Treasury meet a demand for gold? It should ever be borne in mind that any extraordinary demand for gold is a demand upon the Treasury of the United States. The banks of the great cities, as the city of New York, for example, are behind the private bankers, and must furnish gold for export whenever it is demanded. The banks hold much the larger part of the $346,000,000 United States notes which are convertible at will into gold coin. In any emergency the banks must rely upon the Treasury. Thus has the

Treasury become the banker of the country for all international transactions. In recent years the country has been so much accustomed to find the balance of trade in our favor that a continuing adverse balance seems impossible. From 1846 to 1861 the aggregate adverse balance was nine hundred million dollars. Should a like policy lead to like results, there would be a constant demand for gold, and that demand would rest ultimately upon the Treasury of the United States. Nor is it an adequate defence of the present policy to say that the contingency suggested is quite improbable. That it is possible renders a resort to provisional measures a duty. A demand for gold is a less improbable contingency than a war, and yet we are engaged constantly in providing means of offence and defence which can only be useful in case of war. Nor should we omit to notice the fact that the demand for gold has been augmented by the depreciation of the credit of railroads and other corporations due to the apprehension that their securities might be liquidated in silver ultimately. As a consequence their bonds and stocks have been sent to the United States and the proceeds have been converted into gold and exported. These statements but indicate the peril to which the Treasury of the United States is exposed.

Under the law of 1878 and the other statutes relating to the subject, customs duties are payable in gold coin, standard silver dollars, gold certificates, silver certificates, United States notes, and Treasury notes of 1890.

The first step, and an essential step, is the repeal of the statute which authorizes the use of standard silver dollars in payment of duties on imports. The public faith is in no way involved in the statute by which authority was given to the Secretary of the Treasury to receive standard silver dollars in payment of duties. Their use in that particular is a question of public policy only. The objection to the change will come from those who maintain that a silver dollar is worth as much as a gold dollar, or that it would have equal value had not the natural relations of the coins been changed by unwise legislation by the United States. It is sufficient to say in reply that the change, to whatever cause due, has been accepted by the whole world. It would be a test of the question for the United States to offer an interest-bearing bond payable in standard silver dollars in the year 1905, for example. If sold for gold coin, it could only be sold at an enormous, a

frightful, discount. This article, and the suggestions of this article all proceed upon the acceptance of the facts that in the last twenty years silver has depreciated in value when tested by gold, which is the only test that the world recognizes, and that it is not within the scope of legislative power to bring the coins to an equality of value. It follows that silver and the representatives of silver, when used as currency, must be used for national purposes only; and that for international purposes it can only be used as bullion, and at its commercial value in gold. Nor is it probable that any international convention could secure for silver coin permanent use as an international currency, whatever its ratio to gold. The notion that it is in the power of this government, or of any government, to maintain silver and gold, whether in coin or in bullion, at a parity, permanently, is one of the most dangerous financial delusions that have ever made a lodgment in the public mind. Hence this article proceeds upon the idea that silver may be used for domestic purposes, and that gold must be used for all international exchanges. These are the most favorable conditions for the continued use of silver as a currency. Further, this article proceeds upon the idea that such continuous use of silver is essential to the prosperity of this country, and, for like reasons, its use by other countries will contribute essentially to their prosperity.

England, as a creditor nation, is alone interested in maintaining a gold standard, coupled with the policy of excluding silver from use as a currency. Hence England is the only interested opponent to a system of international bimetallism.

The second step in the series of changes in policy and law to which attention is invited is this, namely: That all silver certificates received into the Treasury, whether received at the custom-houses or as ordinary revenues, shall be cancelled and destroyed; and in their places new certificates shall be issued for the same sums and of the same import, except that the legend shall not declare that they are receivable for customs duties. It is assumed that in a comparatively short period of time the amount of such certificates as are now made receivable for customs duties would be so far reduced that importers would be unable to command them, except in small sums. To this policy two objections may be offered. First, that the government makes a distinction between gold and silver to the prejudice of silver. A more just

statement would be this: The government *recognizes* a distinction which exists and which is beyond the control of the government, and is enforced by the public necessities. The government must have gold, and there are but three ways of obtaining it. The government may buy gold, it may borrow gold, or it may obtain it through the revenue system.

The second possible objection may be expressed in the claim that the government has no right to cancel any part of the agreement under which the silver certificates have been issued. This point would be valid as against a proposition to cancel that stipulation upon certificates outstanding. When certificates have been redeemed, either through the revenue system or by the payment of silver dollars, as stipulated, the government may cancel and destroy them, or it may authorize a reissue in whatever form may be expedient. The value of this objection in a legal aspect may be realized in the truth of the statement that there could not be a party capable of instituting proceedings to restrain the issue, or to compel a customs officer to receive the new issue in payment of customs duties.

Next, the United States notes of 1890, when redeemed, and as they are redeemed, should be cancelled and destroyed and without provision for their reissue in any form. When those notes shall have been redeemed, whether in gold or by payment through the collectors of revenue, every obligation which the government has assumed will have been performed.

To the possible objection that this plan will work a decrease in the volume of currency there are two answers. First, the redemption will be gradual and it may extend over several years; and, second, the deficit will be met, and more than met, by the increased use of silver, which is the complement of the changes thus far indicated.

These propositions are not revolutionary, and it is not easy to forecast any evil that can come to the country or to any interest in the country. One admission, already indicated, may be made without reservation. These propositions run counter to the notion that it is possible to maintain gold and silver at a parity, except as bullion—so much silver in weight for so much gold in weight. What would be accomplished is this: The Treasury of the United States, at a time not remote, would be in

the receipt of a gold revenue equal to any probable demand that would or could be made upon it.

Any wise system of revenue will provide for an excess of receipts over expenditures in a sum ranging from twenty-five to fifty million dollars annually. This excess can be, should be, and will be represented in gold, and thus the financial conditions of the country, not the Treasury merely, but the financial affairs of the whole country, would be placed on a firm basis.

At the present moment the Treasury Department is only able to perform its functions through the co-operation of the banks of New York due to a community of interests. Without their aid it would have been difficult for the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate the recent loan, and without their aid another loan of like character can only be negotiated at a high rate of interest. The absolute independence of the Treasury is the one essential condition for the maintenance of the public credit. Whatever may be the objections to the propositions now submitted, it may with confidence be claimed that upon their acceptance, and the inauguration of a revenue system by which the receipts shall exceed the expenditures in a sum not less than twenty-five million dollars annually, the gold revenue will be equal to all the demands for gold that can be made upon the Treasury.

The first condition for the continued use, and for the annually increasing use, of silver as a currency would seem to be the absolute exclusion of foreign silver, whether in coin or in bullion. To open our mints to the free coinage of the silver of the world would stimulate the product in all the silver-producing regions, and could only end in so reducing its bullion value as to destroy absolutely its use as currency. Nor is it probable that our mining interests could withstand the competition of the world in presence of the stimulus that would be given by a system of free coinage in the United States.

The silver-mining interest, considered as one interest, and without reference to individual fortunes, will be promoted by a policy which checks production rather than by a policy which stimulates production. Silver mining and wheat growing are in analogous conditions—the product of each being far in excess of the public wants, and that product in each case can be increased materially. If each interest be considered as a totality its con-

dition will be promoted by a reduction in quantity of product and a proportional increase in price until the return shall yield full compensation for the labor performed and a profit over.

If wheat at sixty cents per bushel at Chicago shows a loss to the producer, the wheat-growing interest will be promoted by a decrease in the product, even though the decrease be secured by enforced processes. This proposition is alike true in the case of silver, and its truthfulness has been illustrated in a measure by the effects of the repeal of the statute authorizing the purchase of silver bullion. The loss of a market was followed by a large decrease in the product, and thus the downward tendency in the price of bullion was arrested. It is, then, the theory of this article that the further use of silver as currency must be dependent upon a policy of exclusion of foreign silver coin and bullion from the United States. Thus limited, it seems to be practicable to permit the coinage of silver, but upon terms.

To allow depositors a number of coined dollars that should equal in weight the bullion deposited would stimulate immensely the product of silver, ending, probably, in its discredit as a currency. Again, there is always the contingency before us that at some time future the government may be required to withdraw silver from circulation, and at a large cost. In view of these possibilities, the government ought to be a sharer, and a sharer of the larger interest, in what has come to be known as the seigniorage—that is, the difference between the gold coin value of a body of silver bullion and the number of coined dollars that that body of bullion will yield. That some consideration should be allowed to the depositor is quite apparent, inasmuch as there would be no inducement for the deposit if the depositor could receive only a number of silver dollars equal to the gold value of the deposit. If the depositor should be allowed one-fifth of the seigniorage there would be sufficient inducement for the deposit, while the stimulus to production might not be dangerously great.

If it shall be said, in objection to these propositions, that they are artificial, it may be said in answer that since 1878 all our legislation for the use of silver has been artificial, in the sense that the country has had no like experience and for the reason that until about the year 1870 there had been no question as to the free use of silver as a currency. We are now called to deal with a condition not heretofore existing in modern times.

In that sense this project and every project touching the same subject-matter must wear an appearance of artificiality.

For these propositions so much as this is claimed, namely: that they constitute a system, which to the country, however individual interests might be affected by its adoption, is fraught with one peril only, and that a peril which must attend every scheme for the use of silver—its redundancy and consequent non-use as a currency. These propositions may be more intelligibly presented in the form following:

(1) That from and after the first day of next, the duties upon imports shall be payable and collected in gold coin, gold certificates, silver certificates, United States notes, and Treasury notes, known as Treasury notes of the year 1890.

(2) That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the receipt into the Treasury of any silver certificates or Treasury notes known as Treasury notes of the year 1890, to cause the same to be cancelled and destroyed, and also to issue, in place of all silver certificates so cancelled and destroyed, other silver certificates for like sums and of the same character and purport in all respects, save that the legend thereon shall not declare that they are receivable for customs duties.

(3) That from and after the first day of next, the Secretary of the Treasury be and he is hereby authorized and required to receive on deposit silver bullion the product of American mines, and cause the same to be coined, as is provided in an act entitled:

"An act to authorize the coinage of the Standard Silver dollar, and to restore its Legal Tender character, approved February 28, 1878."

(4.) That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, between the first and tenth days of each month, to ascertain the average daily value of silver bullion in the markets of New York and London for the month next preceding, and make public announcement of the same.

(5) That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, during the month when such estimate of the value of silver bullion for the month preceding, as is hereinbefore provided, shall have been announced, ascertain the silver coinage value of each deposit of silver bullion, the product of American mines, that may be made during the current month, and shall deliver to each depositor a number of standard silver dollars so coined equal nominally to the value in gold of the bullion so deposited by him, and a number of silver dollars in excess thereof equal to one-fifth of the number of dollars which the said deposit may represent in coined silver dollars over and above the value of the same as represented in gold coin; provided, however, that the Secretary of the Treasury may issue silver certificates to such depositors in lieu of coined silver dollars whenever so requested by any depositor.

(6) That the introduction of foreign silver coin and foreign silver bullion is hereby prohibited, and any such coin or bullion brought into the United States or the territories thereof shall be forfeited by proceedings, as far as may be in conformity to the proceedings for the forfeiture of goods brought into the country in violation of the customs revenue laws.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

THE TRANSATLANTIC MAILS.

BY J. HENNIKER HEATON, M. P.

THE most ardent Protectionist never yet dreamt of proposing a duty, *eo nomine*, on letters coming from, or sent to, a foreign country. A letter, however ill-spelt and blotted, from a mother in Galway, is certainly a luxury when delivered in New York; but as a man can only have one mother, no American interest is injured by its arrival. And how many millions of American citizens have relatives in Europe, not only in the Emerald Isle, but in crowded English towns, on bleak Scottish braes, by the "castled crags" of the Rhine, along the stormy fiords of Norway, on snow-mantled Russian steppes, high up the sides of Swiss and Hungarian mountains—all of whom welcome a letter from America as Noah welcomed the dove that brought an olive leaf to the Ark. "Thought is free." Nevertheless, correspondence with foreign countries is subject to direct and needless taxation by the United States Government, in common with all the governments which have adhered to the Postal Union.

As is well known, the postage on a letter weighing one ounce, sent 3,500 miles from New York to Vancouver, a foreign town, is two cents; while the charge for sending a letter of half that weight 3,540 miles to another foreign town, Liverpool, is five cents. What is the reason for this difference? It cannot be the cost of conveyance, for railway freightage is higher than sea freightage. It cannot be that the letters sent to Europe prejudice American interests in any way. It cannot be the favorite (though, as will presently be seen, unsound) argument of a British postmaster-general, that the five cents have to cover, not only the cost of putting one outgoing letter on board ship, but of delivering free a return letter, the postage on which has been received by a foreign government. For the postage to Canada

(and I believe to Mexico) is but two cents, though letters coming from the Dominion (or Mexico) are equally delivered without charge. The real reason is that the majority of the Postal Union consists of poor, greedy states, which are not advanced enough to recognize the wisdom of facilitating international correspondence, and have therefore fixed the common Union tariff as high as possible. It is intolerable that the voice of a mighty continent should count for no more than that of Servia or Siam. Yet at the last Postal Union conference the American proposal to establish a common international stamp was rejected chiefly by the votes of insignificant reactionary states, with small interests at stake.

Is there then no remedy? Certainly there is. The Union convention expressly allows any two members of the Union to form a "restricted union" of their own, within which the postage may be lower than the general five-cent rate. The United States have long established such "restricted unions" with Canada and Mexico, to the great benefit of American trade and of international relations. The time has arrived for the institution of a similar "restricted union" with the United Kingdom and perhaps with Germany. To my knowledge such a policy is strongly supported by some of the most eminent American statesmen of both parties; and I shall be happy if I can in any degree strengthen their hands.

The history of the transatlantic mail service is deeply interesting. The *Sirius* was the first steamship to cross the ocean that divides the Old from the New World. She left Cork on April 5, 1838, and eighteen days later the smoke from her funnel was descried at Sandy Hook. Two ships now in existence accomplish the voyage in less than 5½ days.

For many years the American mails (as well as American goods) were carried to Europe almost exclusively in British vessels. Early in the century the British Government adopted the sagacious policy of subsidizing the shipping companies which ran vessels to the colonies and to foreign countries. Infant settlements like those at Port Jackson (Sydney) or the Cape could not, of course, supply trade enough to make the voyages remunerative. And now that such settlements have shot up into rich and powerful colonies, the subsidies are continued on a more lavish scale, on two conditions: First, that the subsidized vessels shall be con-

structed so as to be easily converted into cruisers in case of war; Second, that they shall carry the mails. This policy of state aid was so brilliantly successful in developing trade and maintaining the supremacy of the British mercantile marine, that it was adopted in turn by all the great powers, with the single exception, until quite recently, of the United States. As American ships were not subsidized, their owners could not compete with the Cunard and other companies, the art of shipbuilding languished, and the American carrying trade was transferred to foreign bottoms. In 1891 only thirteen per cent. of the exports from the United States was carried in American ships, which at one time had engrossed ninety per cent. As a consequence of refusing $5,000,000 a year in subsidies during thirty years to native shipowners, or $150,000,000, the United States had to pay in the same period no less than $3,000,000,000 for freights, while their mercantile marine dwindled into insignificance. The fact that the country bore this heavy drain upon its earnings so long without feeling it—as if it had been a flea-bite—affords the highest possible proof of its amazing vitality and vigor. At the same time, one is puzzled to understand why the proverbial shrewdness of the American, unfailingly exhibited in his private affairs, was missing for more than a generation in this important section of national business.

In 1891, however, the famous Subsidy Act was passed. By this measure subsidies for the carriage of mails were assigned to steamships to be owned and officered and largely manned by Americans, and either built or registered in the States at the following rates: for the first-class vessels (of 8,000 tons, steaming 20 knots an hour), $4 a mile; for the second class (5,000 tons, steaming 16 knots), $2; for the third (2,500 tons, steaming 14 knots), $1; and for the fourth (1,500 tons, steaming 12 knots), $0.67. Vessels of the first, second, and third classes were to be constructed with a view to prompt conversion into cruisers.

The inevitable result of this spirited "new departure" must be to transfer the carriage of the United States mails once more to American ships. Every protectionist, even if he be an Englishman, will agree that this is as it should be. But what specially pleases me, as a postal reformer, in the Subsidies Act, is the abandonment of the absurd principle of calculating subsidies by making "fancy" payments for the mails, according to

weight. The subsidies are to be paid in proportion to the vessel's speed and size ; the first qualification having relation to the mail service, the second to the encouragement of trade and shipbuilding. How fallacious the system of payment by weight is appears in several ways. Thus for many years a British government has been paying 3s. per pound for the carriage of letters to the States, while the American Government was charged only 1s. 10d. per pound for the carriage (in the same ships and between the same ports) of its letters to Great Britain. That weight was not the determining factor was proved by the fact that the charge made by the steamship companies for carrying a pound of journals, or papers bearing printed characters, was never more than six cents, while the rate for a pound of letters, or papers bearing written characters, was 75 cents. As I have over and over again pointed out, the steamship-owners neither know nor care whether any mailbag contains letters or newspapers. Yet by the system of charging more freightage for letters than for newspapers they are apparently striving to keep in line with postal tariffs. The explanation of course is that this system is forced on them by the Post-Office, which has even to inform them how many pounds of letters and journals respectively they have carried, and are to charge for. The British postal officials gravely argue upon this that the letter postage must be correspondingly higher than the newspaper postage. Accordingly, they charge as postage on a newspaper weighing four ounces to any part of the world two cents, while their charge for a letter weighing four ounces sent in the same mailbag would be 40 cents. It reminds one of the riddle which puzzles, I will not say the American, but the British youth: "Which is the heavier, a pound of feathers or a pound of lead ?"

The key to this question is to calculate the freightage payable for a bulk of cargo equal to that of the mails ; on deducting the amount of such freightage from the total sum paid to the shipowner, the balance represents the subsidy paid to secure reserve cruisers, and encourage trade and shipbuilding.

Take the year 1889. In that year our Post-Office sent to the States 1,448 tons of mails, and paid in subsidues £95,170 (or $475,850). It was announced that after allowing for postage received to the amount of nearly £63,000 ($315,000), there was a "loss" of £32,300 ($161,500), and the Postmaster-

General indignantly pointed to this "loss" as a conclusive answer to the demand for penny postage to America. Now the ordinary rate of freightage could not exceed £2 (or $10) per ton, or for the 1,448 tons of mails £2,896 ($14,480). Deducting this freightage from the postage received of $315,000 it is obvious that, instead of paying too little, the unfortunate letter-writers had paid $300,520 too much; and deducting it from the subsidy of $375,850, it is equally clear that the balance of $361,370 represents a pure bonus to the shipowners. I have gone into detail on this subject, because the same bogey of "loss" may be heard of on the farther side of the Atlantic.

I assert that there would be an absolute profit on an Anglo-American penny or two-cent post, looking simply to the cost of the freightage. The calculations on which this belief is founded are too long for the pages of a popular review. But the cost of (*a*) getting one outgoing letter on board ship at New York, (*b*) freightage to England, and (*c*) delivering in the States a return letter from England, would hardly exceed 1½ cents; leaving ½ cent profit on the transaction. It must not be forgotten that under the Postal Union convention each country pays for the conveyance of its own mails to the frontier of the country of destination, and delivers free all mails reaching it from other countries.

I, of course, have always denied that there has been a loss to the Post-Office on the carriage of mails to America, notwithstanding the fact that we pay the "fancy" price of 3s. per pound for their conveyance. During the reign of my lamented friend Mr. Raikes, Postmaster-General of England, I fought the matter out with him. I pointed out that the number of letters to the pound (to America) averaged 40. On these he got 2½d. each; that is, 8s. 4d. a pound. He paid the steamship companies only 3s. a pound, and I asserted that the 5s. 4d. a pound surplus amply repaid the cost of dealing with the letters both to and from America.

At this point I may call attention to the astounding increase of letter correspondence with America. In 1880 only 128,000 pounds weight of letters (in round numbers) were received from the United States, and in 1891 270,000 pounds weight of letters reached us. In other words 5,000,000 letters were received from the United States in 1880, and over 10,000,000 in 1891. My object in giving these figures is to show first the great improvement in our social relations with America, and secondly to prove that

with the popular two-cent or penny rate the correspondence might fairly be expected to be instantly quadrupled.

Will not some strong and far-sighted American Postmaster-General enter into correspondence with the British Government, with a view to the conclusion of a convention for the mutual exchange by the two countries of their mails, the postage rates being identical with their domestic or inland rates? This convention would exactly correspond to the existing American convention with Canada and Mexico. I can positively assure such a minister that Great Britain will heartily and gladly respond to his invitation.

It may be interesting to mention that after a seven-years war with Post-Office bigotry and obstruction, I have persuaded the British Government to undertake to establish penny postage to her colonies, provided these colonies assent. Canada, Victoria, New Zealand, and Tasmania have already assented; and the adhesion of the remaining great colonies is shortly expected. Why should not this "restricted union" be extended so as to include the United States, and thus form an Anglo-Saxon union? This suggestion was enthusiastically welcomed in England when I first made it, three years ago, and I have never heard to this day any objection to it that would bear examination. Of course we are anxious to develop our correspondence with our American cousins. Are they not our own flesh and blood? Have not two and a half millions of our sons and daughters emigrated to the States during the last seventeen years, not to speak of another half-million who have settled in Canada? Did not American workmen and workwomen send over last year (in a year of depression) £1,170,000 in small money orders to their poor relatives, left behind them in the United Kingdom? Do not the richer citizens of the Great Republic regard it as a sacred duty to make at least one pilgrimage to the land of their fathers? and do not the American working-classes, too poor to become Hadjis, take the keenest interest in the fortunes of the old country? Surely the provision of the Postal Union convention authorizing "restricted unions" was made for such a case as this. Surely America will share with Great Britain and Ireland privileges which she has freely conceded to Canada and even to Mexico! England extends her hand; can America refuse to grasp it?

The American Government is not likely to object to penny

postage, for it is the honorable distinction of the Washington postal administration that it refuses to make a profit out of the correspondence of the people, and if the Postmaster-General detects signs of a coming surplus he instantly casts about for the means of expending it to the best advantage in developing and improving the service. Thus one Minister has suggested one cent inland postage, another the free delivery of newspapers. The effect of a two-cent transatlantic post upon the revenue would, of course, be trifling, as compared with the vast interests concerned. Thus the total postal revenue was in 1891 (the latest year for which I can obtain a return) $65,908,909; whereas the total expenditure on the Atlantic service did not exceed $400,000.

I may here give a few figures, showing the growth of correspondence between the two nations, and the corresponding extension of their commerce. Some writers of the *dilettante* type decry the use of statistics, but every experienced lecturer knows the value of his blackboard and chalk. In 1877 our total imports from the States amounted to £77,825,973, and our exports to the States to £19,885,893. In 1893 these amounts were respectively £104,409,050 and £41,066,147.

Nearly all the articles exported to us from the States are of native growth or manufacture, and England is by far the best customer for American goods. It may safely be asserted therefore that the reduction of transatlantic postage would largely benefit American manufacturers and workingmen.

Mails to United Kingdom from United States.			Mails to United States from United Kingdom.		
Year.	Letters and postcards.	Other articles.	Year.	Letters and postcards.	Other articles.
	Lbs.	Lbs.		Lbs.	Lbs.
1880	127,344	562,467	....	.....	.....
1884	.....	.....	1884	227,245	.....
1885	197,841	932,535	....	.....	.....
1887	227,723	1,028,249	....	.....	.....
1888	.....	.....	1888	285,128	2,421,374
1889	261,415	1,286,607	1889	321,193	2,923,939
1890	279,145	1,315,922	....	.....	.....
1891	269,844	1,388,510	....	.....	.....
1893	....	.....	1893	318,000	.....

As the British Post-Office (whose motto is, *Odi profanum vulgus*) jealously withholds all statistics of the foreign mail ser-

vice, I have gleaned these fragmentary returns from American reports, for which I am indebted to my distinguished friend, the Hon. John Wanamaker.

The subsidies paid to steamship companies during the year 1889 by the several States were as follows :

France	$4,953,112	Spain	$988,977
Great Britain	3,210,434	Japan	739,576
*Germany	1,261,400	United States	600,000
Italy	1,957,947		

It need not be pointed out that the Subsidies Act will place the United States at the head, instead of the end of the list.

For the present there is distressing irregularity in the transmission of mails, which are assigned one day to a fast vessel and another day to a slow one; so that a writer posting on Wednesday may sometimes communicate with his correspondent no sooner than another writer who waits till Friday. On one occasion I left England in the "City of Paris." On the same day the mails were dispatched in the "Germanic." I reached New York four days before the mails arrived there. Of course when the new vessels now building are complete this irregularity will disappear.

I have not dealt with the question of rival ports, because their advantages are almost equal, and it is a mere fight between the localities concerned for local trade. Neither have I dwelt on the question of speed. While I write I have before me a strong personal appeal from a well-known gentleman, Mr. G. A. Haig, who declares his ability to construct vessels capable of travelling sixty miles an hour.

It is now time to speak of Sir Charles Tupper's favorite scheme for diverting the transatlantic mail traffic from England to Halifax, or some other point in Nova Scotia. His idea is that we should have a national service, purely British, avoiding American territory. Halifax is only 2,463 miles from Liverpool, whereas the distance from New York to Southampton is 3,080 miles, to Queenstown 3,250, and to Liverpool 3,540. It is asserted that the distance from Ireland to the nearest point of Canadian territory is not more than 1,800 miles. Although some parts of the Nova Scotian coast are obstructed by ice in the winter, others are accessible; and the voyage could be accomplished in four and a half days. Of course the British Government has the right to send its

* Germany has since increased her subsidies to $1,986,400.

American mails by Canada, thus delivering mails in Chicago at least a day in advance of letters by New York.

The total amount received by Great Britain for postage of letters and newspapers to North America is about £185,000 a year. An offer to pay one of the steamship companies £100,000 a year for the service was rejected. Quite recently an enterprising shipowner, Mr. Huddart, has offered to perform the service for a subsidy of £150,000 ($750,000) per annum, a sum sufficient to pay for the construction of several steamships with a speed of 20 knots. Whether his offer will be accepted is not known. But it is quite clear that the postage received will cover the cost; for besides the £185,000 there is the postage received on Canadian letters sent to the United Kingdom. The postage receipts in the States and England together for transatlantic mails must exceed £300,000 (or $1,500,000), a sum amply sufficient to make the service so swift and constant as to defeat all competition. But at present the honorable rivalry of the two governments—one striving to restore its shipbuilding industry, the other to maintain its commercial supremacy on the seas, prevents their combined action.

Though less virtually interesting than the transportation of mails, the transatlantic passenger traffic is sufficiently important to call for the best attainable service. It has been calculated that during the season about 39,000 rich Americans visit Europe, spending on the average about £300 each, or $58,500,000. About 45,000 rich Britons have been said on the same authority to visit America, in the same period, spending about as much in the States. The Cunard Company alone conveyed in 1893 no less than 102,720 passengers across the ocean; and it is probable that at least 400,000 persons are thus transported every twelvemonth. These floating multitudes represent the culture, the learning, the intellect, the wealth, and the aristocracy of the two peoples. They come and go, not to spy out the nakedness of the land they visit, but to assimilate all that is best in its ideas and methods, to remind their hosts of the existence of closely related millions over the sea, speaking Shakespeare's tongue, governed by the laws of Alfred, thinking kindly of their kinsmen. Such a circulation of messengers of goodwill is of inestimable benefit in destroying noxious prejudices, and keeping the two mightiest peoples on earth in touch and harmony.

For the masses, however, whose lot it is to toil on, "week in, week out, from morn till night," as Longfellow sings, there is no meeting on this side of the grave with friends so far away. They have no consolation, no means of exchanging confidences and assurances of affection, except by means of the post. In each generation three millions of British folk settle in the States, and labor to increase the wealth and power of the great republic. Cannot we find it in our hearts to take off the paltry taxation that weighs on the correspondence of these poor people, without appreciably augmenting the postal revenue? A half-dollar tax on pug-dogs or fast trotting-horses would bring in double the amount. Whenever this simple reform—call it generosity or justice, which you will—is carried out, there will be joy in myriads of huts and shanties on both sides of the Atlantic, in poor back rooms of great cities, in the workshop, the mine and the field, wherever the poor toil and suffer. Let legislators and statesmen turn aside for a moment from the cares of *la haute politique* to scatter with generous hand among their humble fellow-citizens that purest and sweetest of all human pleasures, "a letter from home."

J. Henniker Heaton.

HOW SHALL THE INDIANS BE EDUCATED?

BY SENATOR JAMES H. KYLE, OF SOUTH DAKOTA, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR.

MORE than a century has passed since, at the beginning of our government, many statesmen and philanthropists fondly dreamed of civilizing and educating the Indian, and yet we are confronting a problem still unsolved. The Indians in many parts of the United States still maintain their tribal relations, love the wild fastnesses of the frontier, with the tepee, gun, and blanket, and generally prefer to subsist by hunting rather than submit to the tasks imposed by civilized life. The problem is a great one; much more perplexing than at any time in our nation's history. Previous generations, when disputes arose and more territory was needed for a rapidly increasing population, contented themselves with crowding the red man further out upon the frontier. To-day every available spot in our country has been seized by white settlers; and the Indian, dependent upon the government for subsistence, is confined within defined reservations. We can no longer crowd them or drive them or kill them. We must protect them, and if possible make citizens of them. It would seem strange that a century of dealing with the Indians had not advanced them beyond semi-barbarianism, were it not an obvious fact that our government has maintained toward them no fixed or well defined policy. We read in vain the voluminous lists of Indian treaties and government statutes relating to the tribes to determine just what our purpose has been. At one time treating them as a foreign nation; at another caring for them as wards; by one act binding ourselves to protect them in their rights to valuable land; by another wresting it from them simply because the white man wanted it. Scarcely a treaty has been made which

has not been broken. Few promises have been strictly kept; and yet through all we have been profuse in our declarations of philanthropy. On the whole our disposition may be said to have been humane. As early as 1791 Washington, in addressing Congress, said:

> "A system corresponding with the mixed principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honorable to the national character as conformable to the dictates of sound policy."

These views were shared by many statesmen of the time. That they were not carried into practice or adopted as a determined policy of the government was due to the inevitable law of the subjection of the inferior to the superior race. Civilization conquers barbarism by the law of the survival of the fittest; and volumes of theorizing give way before the not-to-be-impeded progress of an enlightened Anglo-Saxon race. Civilization will not allow barbarism to stand in its way. This relentless law means for the Indian extermination or absorption into the civilized citizenship of the nation. Humane governments will see that the latter rather than the former occurs. Amidst our heartless, grasping, conflicting policies our purpose, I think, has been, and is now, to convert our Indian wards into intelligent American citizens. Now that the hunting-grounds are gone and the reservations confined to the less desirable portions of the country, and the Indians are to be fed and clothed and educated by civilized taxpayers, it behooves us to trifle no longer, but adopt a policy which will, within a generation if possible, bring the majority of the tribes to self-support.

According to good authorities the Indians are not decreasing in numbers. Some say there are as many in the United States as when Columbus discovered America. The last Census gives the total number in the United States as 249,366, divided as shown in the table on page 436.

From the Commissioners' report there appears to have been a decrease in the number of Indians during the year 1889–90. But previous enumerations seem to have been mere guesses. If a decrease has occurred during the past decade it is slight, and is largely due to the utter ignorance of the Indians as to sanitary laws: a knowledge made necessary since the introduction of wooden huts or houses. It is next to impossible to get correct

AREA OF INDIAN RESERVATIONS; ALSO POPULATION, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS OF INDIANS IN EACH STATE AND TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1880, 1890, 1891, AND 1893.

[From the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.]

States and Territories.	Area of Indian Reservation.						Indian population.				Vital statistics. *a*					
	1880.		1892.		1893.						1890.		1892.		1893.	
	Acres.	Square miles.	Acres.	Square miles.	Acres.	Square miles.	1880.	1890.	1892.	1893.	B.*	D.†	B.*	D.†	B.*	D.†
Arizona	3,092,720	4,832.50	6,464,037	10,100.00	6,400,037	10,000.00	21,361	30,749	34,962	35,277	235	162	232	177	284	214
California	501,083	783.00	463,795	724.75	438,868	685 75	10,669	12,108	12,516	12,514	83	80	60	61	61	108
Colorado	12,467,200	19,480.00	1,094,400	1,710.00	1,094,400	1,710.00	2,530	1,793	986	1,002	58	32	26	20	27	12
Dakota	36,616,448	57,213.50	*b*....	*b*....	*b*.....	*b*.....	27,168	*b*.....	*b*.....	*b*.....	*b*....	*b*....	*b*....	*b*....	*b*....	*b*....
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	450	....	....	..	....	4	4
Idaho	2,748,981	4,295.00	2,088,091	3,262.50	2,088,091	3,262.50	4,020	4,251	4,261	4,185	70	35	45	108	76	94
Indian Territory	41,100,915	64,236.00	25,093,812	40,459.00	19,879,573	31,062.00	76,895	68,225	70.391	71,856	43	30	36	19	33	31
Iowa	692	1.00	2,900	4.50	2,900	4.50	355	399	392	389	14	18	10	8	16	20
Kansas	137,747	215.00	89,871	140.50	73,796	115.25	746	1,016	1,066	1,102	52	19	48	44	51	32
Michigan	66,332	104.00	19,799	31.00	19,799	31.00	10,141	7,428	7,428	7,428	....	....	....	....	....	....
Minnesota	5,026,447	7,853.00	2,254,781	3,522.75	2,254,781	3,522.75	6,198	6,403	6,685	6,194	115	97	179	161	196	178
Montana	29,356,800	45,870.00	9,382,400	14,660.00	9,382,400	14,660.00	21,650	10,842	10,604	10,722	351	342	406	374	309	305
Nebraska	436,252	682.00	126,503	198.00	114,550	179.00	4,409	3,254	3,814	3,862	134	140	147	113	194	177
Nevada	885,015	1,383.00	954,135	1,490.50	954,135	1,490.50	6,800	8,375	8,442	8,500	83	51	34	42	24	23
New Mexico	7,228,731	11.295.00	9,495,645	14,837 00	9,435,645	14,837.00	23,452	10.998	9,903	9,832	1,093	1,627	97	104	52	51
New York	86,366	135.00	87,677	137.00	87,677	137.00	5,139	5,112	5,236	5,160	117	114	161	146	108	95
North Carolina	65,211	102.00	65,211	102.00	65,211	102.00	2,200	3,000	2,885	2,885	....	....	75	50	120	125
North Dakota	*b*..	*b*.....	3,914,240	6,116.00	3,812,833	5,957.50	*c*.....	7,759	7,865	7.877	371	338	301	338	271	260
Oklahoma	.....	.....	7,605,478	11,883.50	7,231,747	11,300.00	.....	13,176	12,903	12,676	725	908	454	556	507	737
Oregon	3,853,800	6,022.00	1,929,105	3,014.25	1,929,105	3,014 25	5,355	4,507	4,730	4,523	101	127	130	115	78	104
South Dakota	*b*.....	*b*.....	10,271,501	16,049.25	10,271,501	16,049.25	*c*....	19,696	18,454	18,561	452	456	566	582	525	553
Texas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	290	290	290	290	....	....	....	....	....	....
Utah	2,039,040	3,186.00	3,972,480	6,207.00	3,972,480	6,207.00	840	2,211	2,266	2,267	51	41	27	34	25	20
Washington	6,925,748	10,821.00	4,045.284	6,321.00	4,046,564	6,323.00	14,289	9,330	9,981	9,924	379	331	213	264	243	270
Wisconsin	586,026	916.00	446,521	697.50	446,521	697.50	8,847	9,152	9,265	9,387	271	195	218	287	294	256
Wyoming	1,520,000	2,375.00	1,810,000	2,828.00	1,810,000	2,828.00	2,063	1,658	1,719	1,724	65	75	43	57	61	72
Miscellaneous	.. ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	710	1,302	1,302	728	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total	154,741,554	241,800.00	92,477,666	144,496.00	85,872,614	134,175.75	256,127	*d*243,524	248,340	249,366	4,863	5,218	3,508	3,660	3,559	3,741

a The vital statistics in regard to Indians are defective. *b* The Territory of Dakota was admitted to the Union, November 2, 1889, as two States, viz.: North Dakota and South Dakota. *c* See Dakota. *d* The reduction below the population for 1889 is due mainly to reduced estimates of the number of Pimas, Papagoes and Navajoes in Arizona. * Births. † Deaths.

data of deaths among the Indians. In my judgment the rate of births does not decrease, but a large percentage of children are carried off by disorders arising from the filthy and diseased manner of living. In the days of the tepee, nature took care of the Indian by furnishing pure air. But since the introduction of houses, one may often see a large family, old and young, huddled in a large room, air-tight, with dirt floor, foul bunks, dogs, food and utensils, and a stove, which in winter is kept red hot. Ventilation is unknown. As a result, thousands of the Indians to-day are victims of scrofula and kindred troubles. With education and the instruction now being given by matrons on the reservations this evil will be corrected, and I look to see the Indian race increase as rapidly as the whites.

Another hindrance to the civilization of the Indian in the past has been the trickery and fraud practised by government officers, agents, and employees. An Indian agency has often been given as a reward for political services. Men have been chosen for their positions, not from fitness or experience, but to cancel political debts. The office has been regarded as a license to filch and rob the Indian for a period of years. Contractors have furnished cattle of a poor grade and of light weight. Cows were furnished that no one could milk. Horses were thrust upon them which were suitable for neither work nor breeding purposes. The distribution of clothing has been without regard to wants or fitness; meats have been rotten, etc., etc. All this on the principle that anything was good enough for an Indian. Under late rules of the Indian Department, however, these evils are rapidly being corrected, and the day is not far distant when all agencies will be conducted on business principles, and in such a manner as to command the co-operation of the Indians toward their own education and development.

One of the best measures yet adopted for the civilization of the Indian was the action of Congress in passing what is known as the Dawes Severalty Bill. This is the first attempt toward breaking up the tribal relations, a condition which has for one hundred years stood in the way of progression. Under this new system nearly twenty thousand Indians have taken allotments, and government officers are prosecuting the work as rapidly as possible. Each Indian family conforming to this law now has a local habitation where a suitable home can be built under

the supervision of the agent, barns and inclosures for stock, and around which in time will gather the comforts of the home. But, best of all, it means the beginning of an occupation, the want of which on many reservations has done more than anything else to produce idleness and the vices common among Indians to-day.

The experience of some of the older agencies is evidence enough to show that the Indians will make successful farmers if properly encouraged. On this point I quote from the report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1893 some testimonials of Indian agents. The agent of the Yankton tribe of South Dakota gives the following encouraging report:

Three years have now transpired since this tribe received their individual allotments or land. Nearly all Indian families now reside on their farms, all of them have fields of greater or less extent, and many of them have erected comfortable houses and other buildings and planted groves of cottonwood and other native trees, whilst several of the most thrifty among them have planted apple and other fruit trees; all of which make many of the Indian homes look attractive and pleasant.

The estimated yield of farm crops as made last year proved quite correct, except as to the corn crop, which proved almost a total failure, owing partly to the long continued drought and partly to poor cultivation. The crop for 1893-94 is estimated and will not vary to any great extent from the following:

Crop.	Acreage.	Estimated amount.	Estimated value.	Crop.	Acreage.	Estimated amount.	Estimated value.
		Bushels.				Bushels.	
Wheat...	2,240	26,880	$10,752	Potatoes	60	3,000	$1,500
Oats.	660	16,500	4,125	Flax.....	10	65	40
Corn.....	1,230	30,000	9,000	Garden..	45	.....	250

The Indians have purchased during the year several more binders and other farm machinery, and to all appearances they will hereafter be able to supply themselves with all the farm machinery and tools that they may require.

The above (Yankton) reservation is located in a fairly good agricultural region. The following, however, is from the report of the agent at Rosebud, South Dakota, a drought-stricken district, and certainly shows commendable perseverance on the part of the Sioux Indians:

The acreage cultivated this year aggregates 3,743 acres, of which 2,473 was planted with corn, 320 with wheat, 750 with oats, and 200 with potatoes and other vegetables. The wheat and oats have been cut, where suitable for threshing, and the yield is estimated as follows: 2,505 bushels of wheat,

5,685 bushels of oats, 10,712 bushels of corn, and 552 bushels of potatoes and other vegetables.

Considerable wheat was raised last year for the first time, and about 700 bushels marketed at Valentine, Neb., where a mill is located, and 575 bushels sold at the agency for seed. Although a good crop of oats was raised, Indians preferred to retain them for use rather than dispose of them.

Many Indians also gather large quantities of wild turnips, which are dried for winter use. They have attended to farmwork, under supervision of district farmers and direction of the agent, satisfactorily, though determined actions have been necessary to require some to make an effort; but were results more encouraging, more would be done. It is, however, difficult and discouraging to all interested to induce them to enlarge their fields when by drought and other causes many have little or nothing to show for labor and efforts made.

STOCK-RAISING.—This industry is now receiving especial attention, since it is proven that from this source must Indians depend largely for returns and become, if ever, self-supporting. There are at present 12,991 cattle on this reservation belonging to Indians, this spring's increase of calves being 3,202. Every effort is being made to promote this industry.

INDUSTRY.—The Indians of this agency during the past year have been paid, for transporting freight from railroad to agency and issue stations, together with freight for traders and lumber transported for missionaries for building purposes, $15,466.47. They have sold to the Government 968 head of beef cattle, aggregating 1,016,860 pounds, for which they were paid $31,100.75, the beef being subsequently issued under treaty stipulations. They have cut and delivered at the agency and camp schools, to traders and to two missionary boarding-schools, 797 cords of wood, receiving therefor $3,300.44; for grain and hay sold to agency, $1,409.91; and for grain, hay, and other products sold to traders and others, $640.50: aggregating $51,918.07 received for their industry during the year; besides which they have also received 4,833 hides, and marketed the bones saved from beef cattle, for which they receive $6 per ton, delivered at the railroad.

With the above proceeds many have purchased young stock and implements, and otherwise improved their condition. It also demonstrates that these Indians, like white people, will work when an incentive is in view and when money is to be obtained for labor spent. In agriculture in this country there is much labor, little if any money, great uncertainty, and more discouragement than the majority of any people would or could cheerfully endure.

Reports from many Western agencies are even more encouraging. Under circumstances often that would dishearten the white man the Indian has found a living for himself and family. Less than 25 per cent. of the total number of Indians at the present time draw rations from the government, and, despite our paternal methods, are reaching out to self-support. Prof. J. W. Powell says of them:

More than two-thirds of all the Indians now wrest from the soil and from industrial occupations the means of subsistence, without aid from the General Government, having abandoned hunting, fishing, and the gathering

of native vegetables, except as a pastime and for occasional supplies. Two-thirds of them are actually engaged in civilized industries, and are fighting their industrial battles with success. One-third have not accomplished this much, and subsist in part on native products, and in part on civilized industries, and in part on the charity of the Government. All have learned to work to some extent, and all have learned the utter hopelessness of contending against the forces of civilization, and have abandoned the expectation, and generally the desire, to return to their primeval condition.

In many States they are driven from the more desirable lands to the barren semi-arid districts, and if confined there the government must provide means for irrigation as rapidly as the lands are taken in severalty. In other words we must make self-support possible. Where irrigation has been tried in New Mexico, Arizona, and other States it has proven successful and abundance of produce is raised. So that in the occupation of agriculture there is every reason to hope that the Indian will be able to compete with his white neighbor.

The apathy manifested towards the adoption of a humanitarian or educational policy is also accounted for by the current belief among public men that the Indian cannot be civilized, and that all money spent in bettering his condition is as good as wasted. John Quincy Adams, in his published diary of proceedings while President, records the following as the views of Henry Clay, then Secretary of State:

"Mr. Clay said that it was impossible to civilize Indians; that there never was a full-blooded Indian who took to civilization. It is not their nature. He believed they were destined to extinction, and though he would not use or countenance inhumanity towards them, he did not think them as a race worth preserving. He considered them as essentially inferior to the Anglo-Saxon race, which were now taking their place on this continent. They were not an improvable breed, and their disappearance from the human family will be no great loss to the world. In point of fact they were rapidly disappearing, and he did not believe that in fifty years from this time there would be any of them left. Governor Barbour was somewhat shocked at these opinions, for which I fear there is much foundation."

These statesmen, were they living to-day, might hear such sentiments expressed by prominent members of Congress. Even though more than fifty years have passed and Indian wars have ceased, those interested in the Indian problem are not agreed by any means that any good can come from an Indian reservation. And yet the humane sentiment of the country has prevailed. Through educational, religious, and other civilizing influences we are attempting to make men and women of the Indians. Notwith-

standing the statements of prominent public men to the contrary, the Indians want civilization. Of course many still possess the wild instinct and are devoid of any desire for education. Such people, however, are found among the white race. But the wise leaders and thinking men of the Indian race to-day see that their tribal history is doomed, and that their future, if they have one, must be linked with the white race, adopting the manners and customs of civilization. These sentiments were expressed to me within a few months by some of the oldest and most respected chiefs of the Sioux Nation. They spoke earnestly of their children and their wishes as to education and other subjects. They said the days of hunting were gone, and that though they themselves were too old to change their manner of life, their children must subsist by agriculture and the trades. This was not spoken with regret, but with feelings of hope as to a better future.

The Indian, moreover, has within him the capabilities upon which to base a better manhood and citizenship, despite the barbarous instincts attributed to him. With no incentive to work, and with encouragement to vice and idleness on every hand, there are to-day upon the reservations many excellent and worthy Indian men and women. Though stolid and sphinx-like in demeanor, the Indian has the feelings and affections common to human beings. With no educational advantages, they are men of remarkable sense, often approaching a high order of ability. The old Chief of the Sioux Nation, Spotted Tail, was a striking figure whether taken physically or intellectually. The late Mrs. Elizabeth Winans, a Sioux woman, during a life of Christian service for her people, was actuated by a purpose as pure and noble as that shown by any philanthropist of the country. Among the Indians are fine natural orators and statesmen, equalled by few educated white men. Under education they have shown themselves quick and ready learners, competing easily with white pupils of the same age. I have observed them at their studies, and am convinced that they are as capable as white children of grasping the ordinary branches taught in the common schools. It has been my pleasure to hear addresses from full-blooded Indian college students which would do credit to undergraduates of Yale or Harvard.

Since the days of Eliot, philanthropists have done something towards educating the Indians, though no definite plan

seems to have been adopted by the government until of late years. Indian children were gathered together by missionaries for religious instruction. These sectarian schools have demonstrated Indian education, and are equal to any schools on the reservations to-day, both as to instruction and methods employed to develop pupils. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports 76 of these schools, located as follows: Arizona 1, California 5, Idaho 1, Indiana 2, Kansas 1, Michigan 2, Minnesota 8, Montana 7, Nebraska 2, New Mexico 12, North Dakota 3, Oklahoma 8, Pennsylvania 1, South Dakota 10, Virginia 1, Washington 4, Wisconsin 7, and Wyoming 1.

These institutions are equipped with intelligent, self-sacrificing teachers, often better fitted for such work than those furnished through the government. The difference between the missionary teacher and the government employee is that the former is always imbued with the honest belief that an Indian can be both civilized and christianized. Out on the barren prairie, miles from the nearest village or agency, is often seen what is called a mission. Ample buildings have been furnished through the generosity of Eastern friends, which serve as dormitories and schoolrooms for boys and girls. Scattered round are shops for industrial education—for both boys and girls are taught in the useful arts. Gardens furnish a supply of vegetables, while stretching for a mile can be seen fields of beautiful grain. The above is a description of a sectarian school recently visited by the writer. There were Indian boys and girls ranging from four to fourteen years of age, dressed in plain, but neat clothing, all bright and happy. The boys at the time (evening) were playing ball, and the girls in an adjoining yard were having a genuine romp. These children are kept through the entire year, not being allowed to go home except for a week during the holidays or during sickness. Parents are privileged to see their children any day they may come. In this way pupils are kept among their people, but are not allowed to fall back to the custom of the tepee and the blanket. Sectarian schools until within a year or two received aid from the government, but all, I believe, have now relinquished this assistance except the Roman Catholic denomination.

The government, following the plan of the denominational schools and our public-school system, has established 156 board-

ing-schools, with an average attendance of 13,635; and 119 ordinary day schools, with an average attendance of 2,668. The former are generally located at the agencies, and the latter are scattered over the reservations much like our common country schools. Good teachers, both men and women, are furnished through the Civil Service Commission in connection with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The schoolhouses are well furnished and kept clean. The compulsory system of attendance is strictly carried out; a policeman being sent for every child who fails to put in an appearance. Children are required to be neat and clean, and conform to all the usages of civilized life.

But while the Indians may show talents capable of great development, I would not approve giving them superior educational advantages. Professional men, with very few exceptions, are not to be thought of among Indians, who must expect after being educated to live with their people. An examination of the catalogues of some of our Indian schools reveals the fact that our Indian training-schools have adopted the plan of industrial training—the curriculum of study not being advanced beyond the ordinary grammar grade. The government has established twenty of these non-reservation training-schools, located as follows:

Name of school.	Date of opening.	Number of employés	Rate per annum.	Capacity	Enrolment.	Average attendance.
Carlisle, Pa	Nov. 1, 1879	72	167	*800	840	731
Chemawa, Oregon	Feb. 25, 1880	31	175	300	336	248
Ft. Stevenson, N. Dak.	Dec. 18, 1883	21	...	150	157	153
Chilocco, Okla	Jan. 15, 1884	42	167	†300	236	224
Genoa, Neb	Feb. 20, 1884	40	167	400	414	340
Albuquerque, N. Mex.	Aug., 1884	52	175	300	269	222
Haskell, Kan	Sept. 1, 1884	48	167	500	606	538
Grand Junction, Colo.	1886	17	175	120	102	98
Santa Fé, N. Mex	Oct., 1890	33	175	175	173	118
Fort Mojave, Ariz	Oct., 1890	22	167	150	134	118
Carson, Nev	Dec., 1890	23	175	125	122	80
Pierre, S. Dak	Feb., 1891	19	167	180	147	120
Phœnix, Ariz	Sept. 1891	26	175	130	121	105
Fort Lewis, Colo	Mar. 1892	20	...	300	94	63
Fort Shaw, Mont	Dec. 27, 1892	24	...	250	171	135
Perris, Cal	Jan. 9, 1893	12	167	120	113	90
Flandreau, S. Dak	Mar. 7, 1893	12	...	150	98	86
Pipestone, Minn	Feb., 1893	12	167	75	61	38
Mt. Pleasant, Mich	Jan. 3, 1893	11	167	100	59	36
Tomah, Wis	Jan. 19, 1893	12	167	75	93	77
Total		.....	.....	4,700	4,346	3,621

* With outing system. † When improvements under way are completed.

The founders of this system have based their hopes largely on the contact of Indian youths with civilization. And no doubt the trades and the outing plan have done much to teach self-reliance and confidence in the competitive struggle with the white race. But it is a question whether the training-school system is not being overworked, or worked beyond the progress of the tribes on the reservations. The two must coöperate, or advance side by side. What the Indians of to-day need is a plain, every-day education in the rudimentary branches, as is given in the reservation public schools; that which will fit them for the trades and agricultural pursuits. Our college and state universities will gladly take and educate any specially bright pupils who may be needed as teachers and for other professional work.

The Indian needs, above all things, a trained hand and something to do. Idleness is the mother of all vices, and it is surprising that so many of the Indians are upright and show a disposition to improve when pampered and fed by the government. A nation of whites so treated would have gone to destruction. But with an industrial education and a proper policy as to supplying the Indians with work I believe the race will make rapid strides towards citizenship.

The curse of the Carlisle or Hampton or Genoa youth to-day on coming back to the Reservation is, nothing to do. They have been among civilized people, and in a measure learned their ways. They return to the tepee, and with their citizen suits and manners find themselves a laughing-stock among their people. No wonder that they often take to the blanket again and conform to the only mode of life left to them. A very few may be employed as blacksmiths, clerks, or teachers around the agencies. As a rule these remain progressive.

The old chiefs of the tribe sadly lamented the condition of their educated young men. No less than four of them at a public meeting on the reservation spoke of the folly of sending their children off to school. They pointed to the barren prairies and the tepees, and said there was nothing better for the young than for the old. If the young men are to be educated, then, said they, let the government plan work for them. While on a recent trip to the West a young man who had just learned the blacksmith trade at school begged me to intercede with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to secure him a "job of work." He was an

earnest, honest young man, who desired to earn money and get a home. At the same time while walking round a number of tepees I discovered a young man about 20 years of age, of fine appearance, with a nice suit of clothes—dark coat, light trousers, and polished shoes—sitting upon a wagon tongue. He looked disconsolate. Pointing to an Indian and squaw and two girls, I asked who they were. He said they were his father, mother, and two sisters. Said I, "Have you been off to school?" He replied: "Yes, I was off three and a half years and learned the tailor's trade; but there is nothing for me to do here." Looking at the primitive dress of those around him, I thought his prospects were not very bright. He would find it difficult to compete with white people were he to remain at the East, and the government had not yet made it necessary to have tailors amongst the Indians.

This leads me to remark that the earnest desire of the chiefs is that the industrial boarding and training schools shall be established on the reservations—not somewhere East—and that their children shall not only learn the trades, but shall be privileged to manufacture as far as possible the articles now purchased for them under the contract system. In agricultural districts the Indians should be taught farming. But it is folly to unload farm implements before their tepees and tell them to go to work. The customs of centuries cannot be changed in a day, nor can new modes be acquired without time and instruction. After the selection of allotments the government must furnish a sufficient number of practical farmers to cover the entire district, whose duty it shall be to manage farms from seed-time to harvest. This must include instruction in use and care of machinery, time for sowing and reaping, the kind of crops to raise with profit, and the care of stock. Under the present arrangement sub-farmers are furnished as instructors; but with no definite habitations, no barns or corrals, and a breed of horses not much larger than the Mexican burro, farming among the Indians is a farce.

We purchased last year as rations for all tribes about 30,000,000 pounds of beef. These cattle are largely furnished under contract by white people. The Indians take naturally to stock-raising, and there is no reason why they should not provide all the cattle used at the agencies. Our reservations are covered with luxuriant grass and millions of acres go to waste annually. Let the government buy good marketable stock cattle—not scrub

grades—and furnish them to the Indians; and in a few years every man of them will feel a pride as he looks at his herd and will contribute the beef now purchased from the whites. Thousands of cattle are now raised successfully by the Indians on the reservations, and there is no reason why this business cannot be made a great success.

The Indians are furnished a great many articles, such as hardware, medical supplies, household utensils, medicines, glassware, groceries, etc., which must necessarily be supplied from abroad; but they should be encouraged to manufacture, though in crude form and perhaps at greater expense, all articles used upon the farm. The training-schools have given the Indians tailors, wagon-makers, shoemakers, harness-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, painters, etc. These young men are nearly all idle, except as they do odd jobs around the agencies. During the past year the government bought and supplied to the Indians 51,188 pounds of leather, 1,271 ploughs, 941 sets of harness, 7,965 dozen pairs of socks, 16,000 shawls, 6,728,900 pounds of flour, 29,777,100 pounds of beef, and 646,370 pounds of bacon.

All these necessaries can be produced by the Indians upon the reservations. On some reservations underneath the ground is stored the finest artesian water power in the world. On the east side of the Missouri River, in the Dakotas, artesian wells are running factories and flouring-mills. A good well will furnish power for sewing-machines, knitting-factories, turning lathes, wagon factories, and flouring-mills. With a good superintendent I think the Indian young men and women will prove excellent workmen. Cattle hides now bring the Indians 60 cents apiece. They are natural tanners. Why not establish tanneries and consume the hides of the millions of beeves slaughtered annually on the reservations? Utilize the leather thus made in the manufacture of shoes and harness. The material for wagons is furnished all small dealers to-day partly finished; hubs, spokes, felloes, and axles being sawed in the rough. Why not furnish such material to Indians and employ all wheelwrights and blacksmiths? An Indian is not particular as to the style of his clothing. Why not furnish substantial kinds of cloth to the agencies, and employ all the young men and women who have learned the tailor's trade? The same should be done in the manufacture of flour, socks, stockings, hats and caps, and many agricultural

implements. So far as the trades have been prosecuted by the Indians they have shown themselves apt learners and willing workers. In fact they take to manufacturing naturally. The mocassins, beadwork, worked baskets, buckskin clothing, ornamented bridles, bows and arrows made by them all show natural taste and skill and fine workmanship. From the training-schools are shown samples of shoes, clothing, and harness equal to similar articles produced by white workmen. Indian agents also testify as to the ability shown in the trades. The agent at Yankton Agency, South Dakota, reports as follows:

SHOPS AND SHOPWORK.—With the exception of the superintendent all of the employees at the shops are Indians. The carpenter, wagon repair, blackmith, harness, and tin shops have been run the past year about the same as the year before. A small charge is made for harness-work, with a view to cover the cost of the leather used; also a price has been fixed upon certain materials used in the wagon and carpenter shops, with the same object in view. The repair work at the shop employs the shop hands nearly all the time. The amount and variety of the work done are remarkable, such as glazing windows, repairing door locks, filing saws, repairing all sorts of household articles, soldering handles on tin cans, and similar jobs.

In addition to the regular repair work there has been manufactured and issued to the Indians during the year the following:

Bedsteads	10	Camp kettles	50
Coffeepots	387	Cupboards	46
Corn markers	36	Doors	21
Tin cups	343	Door frames	31
Tin pails	247	Hay racks	14
Tin pans	90	Iron chimneys	16
Stovepipe joints	123	Tables	30
Wagon boxes	23	Wagon seats	8
Coffins	46		

These matters are of great importance to the development of this badly treated and uncivilized race of people. Industrial education must go hand in hand with the school, establishing the habits of labor and stimulating an ambition for accumulating property. One generation of vigorous humane policy on the part of the government will bring the Indians not only to self-support, but to citizenship. The factors in the solution are: first, a belief that the Indian can be civilized; second, a well-defined policy; and, third, the divorcement of the entire Indian question from politics. We have dealt with them cruelly and with no well-settled purpose to civilize them; but there is yet time to make amends, and save to the country the credit of having conquered yet preserved and civilized a most interesting race of people.

JAMES H. KYLE.

THE MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS OF LONDON.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

THE statement of Lord Beaconsfield that "in political institutions are embodied the experiences of a race" is true also of English municipal institutions. "The combination of voluntary organization, with administrative machinery, marks (according to the high authority of Bishop Stubbs) the English municipal system from its earliest days;" and it has been for long ages not only a training-school for the leaders of the people, but also a means of interesting and educating ordinary inhabitants in the affairs of their municipalities.

The beneficent effects upon this country, of the custom of local self-government thus rooted in municipal antiquity, were eulogized by Mr. Gladstone at the Guildhall of the city of London, some years ago, in language not to be forgotten. He said:

"The practice of local self-government, if at least I have any faculty of judging the causes of the greatness of our country, has contributed, in a degree inferior to no other cause, to the eminence and power to which it has attained."

In England and America, the two great homes of the Anglo-Saxon race, are to be found municipal institutions based upon that principle of free popular election, which the political system of those countries also rests upon; and whatever changes the future may bring to their corporate structure, no doubt can be entertained that the free play and development of the principles of popular election and local self-government, by the people in their various municipal communities, ought to be ever safeguarded with the utmost vigilance and solicitude. Opinions may differ as to what should be the form and constitution of the corporate body through which the principles of local self-government ought in any particular place to act, but there is practical unanimity regarding

the necessity of preserving it, and stimulating its operation, wherever local conditions afford opportunity and scope for its exercise. Although the important problem of municipal government, now awaiting solution in London, has increased in difficulty and complexity with the rapid and unprecedented growth of the metropolis, it is not by any means a new one.

In 1853 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the constitution, order, and government of the Corporation, and to consider whether any measures were necessary to make better provisions for the government of the City. The Lord Mayor of that day, in giving evidence before the commission, expressed his opinion that since the legislature had decided to enfranchise portions of the Metropolis for political purposes, it ought to complete the work, and enfranchise for municipal purposes also, by creating separate municipalities in truest accordance with the principles of local self-government, which a monster municipality would annihilate by subjecting the communities of the Metropolis to a great assembly, caring but little for their local affairs.

The two methods of dealing with metropolitan municipal government thus alluded to, namely unification on the one hand and federated municipalities on the other, indicate the question which then was, and still is, the fundamental one for settlement. The chief difficulties to be grappled with in the solution of the problem arise out of the importance of the City in relation to the rest of the Metropolis, and the amplitude of the whole Metropolitan area and population.

The Metropolis embraces the City of London and the County of London, which last consists of portions of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent combined together. The whole Metropolis has been well described as

> "a province covered with houses, having a diameter from north to south, and from east to west, so great that the persons living at its extremities have few interests in common; each inhabitant being in general acquainted only with his own quarter, and having no minute knowledge of other parts of the town."

The Metropolis is under two systems of municipal government —that of the City Corporation, and that of the London County Council.

Referring in the first place to that of the City, it is to be observed that, although the area of the City only consists of about one square mile, its antiquity and historical associations, privileges, revenues, and unique commercial position as the greatest, most crowded, and wealthiest commercial emporium in the world, combine to give it paramount importance in the Metropolitan system. Although its sleeping or caretaking population is not more than 38,000, its day or business population amounts to over 300,000; and this great difference in numbers has become more marked as the City has increased in prosperity. In fact, adopting the language of Lord Macaulay :

> "Lombard Street and Threadneedle Street are merely places where men toil and accumulate. They go elsewhere to enjoy and to spend. On a Sunday, or in an evening after the hours of business, some courts and alleys, which a few hours before had been alive with hurrying feet and anxious faces, are as silent as the glades of a forest."

It should be noted in passing that this change in the character of city life is not confined to London, but is observable in a lesser degree in various large cities and towns of the United Kingdom. In other places, however, the central business population and the surrounding residential population are enumerated together in the taking of the municipal census ; but in the City of London, for occult reasons, the plan adopted by the government, of "numbering the people," practically ignores the most important business population in the world.

The daily vehicular traffic, to and from the City, represents nearly 100,000 conveyances ; and the pedestrians who cross the four City bridges number approximately 280,000. The ratable value of the City has during the present century advanced beyond precedent. In 1801 it was £507,372, and in 1893 it had risen to £4,153,930. As compared with the ratable value of other incorporated cities and towns, the City of London far exceeds that of the whole of Liverpool ; is more than £1,000,000 in advance of Manchester ; is £500,000 more than Birmingham and Leeds combined, and is about equal to the aggregate ratable values of Sheffield, Bradford, Bristol, and Nottingham, and is nearly tenfold that of Blackburn or Bolton. The relative importance of the City will further appear by reference to the profits derived from trades, professions, etc., assessed to income tax, as compared with the assessment of the County of London. In 1889–

1890 the assessment to income tax of the City was £28,796,000 more than that of the County.

What has now been stated regarding the business population, the ratable value, and the magnitude of the mercantile and pecuniary transactions carried on in the City, taken together with its unique history and central position, seems "to render its comprehension in a general measure of municipal regulation a matter of extreme difficulty, and to point it out as a fit subject for separate and special legislation."

The claims of the City to peculiar consideration at the hands of the municipal reformer, must surely be enhanced, when some of the public works and improvements, which the Corporation has executed in London in quite modern times and the expenditure connected therewith, are remembered; for example, widening and improving the thoroughfares near Temple Bar, the Strand, and Holborn, at a cost of nearly £250,000; providing a site for the General Post-Office, costing £80,000; forming and improving the approaches to new London bridge at an expense exceeding £1,020,000; the removal of Fleet Market and the formation of Farringdon Street, £250,000; enlarging the Royal Exchange and improving the adjoining streets, £230,000; erecting a new Coal Exchange, £122,000; forming new streets from St. Paul's Cathedral to King William Street and new Cannon Street, £540,000; preserving 6,500 acres of open space in the neighborhood of London, for the perpetual use and enjoyment of the people, £341,000; building the Holborn Valley Viaduct, and the improvements connected therewith, nearly one and three-quarter millions; and the last, but not the least, of the City's gifts to London is the Tower Bridge, which, though costing more than a million sterling, is acknowledged to be worth the large outlay.

The advantage to the public at large of the General Post Office and the open spaces is self-evident, and the funds disbursed in connection with the other works and improvements have similarly been productive of benefit to the whole Metropolitan population, since by means thereof the City Corporation has provided, enlarged, and improved channels for the ebb and flow of the great human tide which daily surges in and out of the civic centre.

All of the before-mentioned works of public utility have been provided by the Corporation for the common good without any

cost whatever, either direct or indirect, to the ratepayer, and have involved an aggregate expenditure of over five and a half millions sterling; defrayed (excepting the cost of the Tower Bridge and of the open spaces) chiefly out of the ancient, but now extinct, coal duty of 4d. per ton levied by the Corporation almost from time immemorial on coal brought into the port of London. The Tower Bridge was erected out of moneys raised on the revenues of the Bridge House estates, which have belonged to the Corporation from a remote antiquity, and have furnished funds for the building and maintenance of the city bridges. The 6,500 acres of open spaces were acquired as lungs and recreation grounds for "Greater London" by means of the revenues produced by the old duties, which for centuries the Corporation was entitled to receive in respect of grain and other measurable articles brought into the port of London.

The good record of the Corporation of London is not confined to the material benefits which it has conferred on the Metropolis. It has done so much on behalf of the liberties of the country that the Historian of the Constitution (Mr. Hallam) eulogizes it as "this stronghold of popular liberty." And Sir George Grey, when introducing his bill in 1856, for the better regulation of the Corporation of London, referred to the services which it had rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty and of constitutional government, as entitling it to be treated with all possible respect and consideration.

Passing now to the County of London: It comprises an area of 120 square miles, with a population of some four and a quarter millions; and is under the municipal jurisdiction of the London County Council, as well as of forty subordinated vestries and district boards. These are ancillary and local bodies, and have with few exceptions existed since 1855, in which year they were, by the Metropolis Management Act, subjected to the controlling authority of the Metropolitan Board of Works. That Board was created by the same statute, and the whole main drainage system of the Metropolis was placed under its superintendence. It consisted of forty-three members, three of whom were elected by the City Corporation, and the rest by the vestries and district boards. Although the Metropolitan Board of Works passed in 1888 to the limbo of discredited institutions, in favor of the London County Council, what it and the vestries accomplished for the Metropolis

will give them a lasting fame which their successors may well emulate.

The late Mr. Bottomley Firth, who was no friend of the Board or the Vestries, said :

"With all their faults, and they are many, the Vestries have done much for London ; any comparison drawn between our condition to-day (1876) and our condition twenty years ago, in any single matter under Vestry control, abundantly proves this. When the board began their work the condition of the London sewerage was very different from what it is now. The main drainage system of London is now the best of any on the face of the globe."

By means of it nearly 200 million gallons of sewage from the most populous capital in the world are daily disposed of.

The next great achievement of the Board was the embankment of the north side of the Thames, from Blackfriars Bridge to Westminster. It was accomplished in 1862 at a cost of £1,157,-000, defrayed by the Corporation out of its coal dues. This splendid work, to quote Mr. Firth's language again, "will stand as a monument of the engineering skill of those who constructed it, as long as London shall last."

It is worthy of notice here that the building by the Corporation, as before mentioned, of the Holborn Valley Viaduct, occurred in 1861—the year before the embankment of the Thames by the Board of Works. It will thus appear that these two splendid and most useful works were executed by the Corporation and the board—at that time the two great municipal bodies of the Metropolis—without any clashing of jurisdictions, when London was not under that unified system of local government which some think to be the panacea for all municipal ills.

In the year 1888 the Local Government Act was passed substituting the present London County Council for the Metropolitan Board ; and special exemption clauses were introduced for the protection of the Corporation.

An important difference between the Board of Works and the County Council consists in the fact that instead of the Vestries and the District Boards sending their own representatives to the County Council, as they formerly did to the Board of Works, so producing unity of action between the central and the local authorities, the members of the Council, as well as of the Vestries and District Boards, are now chosen directly by the ratepayers, and thus the connecting link between the Council and the local authorities is lost.

Many abortive attempts have been made in Parliament to deal with the question of the municipal government of London; from that of Sir George Grey in 1856, to that of Sir William Harcourt in 1884. The latter brought in the London Government Bill of that year, which proceeded on the principle of unification, and failed to become law. The latest experiment in London government was presented last year, when the Government appointed a Royal Commission "to consider the conditions under which the amalgamation of the City and County of London could be effected, and to make specific and practical proposals for that purpose."

From 1853 down to 1884 the better opinion seems to have been in favor of separate federated municipalities, but in 1884 the craze for vastness and unification had set in, and appeared in Sir William Harcourt's bill of that year. It can also be traced in the Local Government Act of 1888, and is last seen in threatening activity in the Royal Commission of 1883. Experience seems to show that the cost of governing very large populations and areas by a centralized system is most burdensome to the people.

The expenditure of the London County Council during the first year of its administration (1889) was £1,617,000, whilst the amount which the ratepayers will have to find for the year ending 31st March, 1895, is £1,972,000. In 1849 the Municipal Budget of Paris was £1,640,000, and the population was 946,000. In 1860, when the population was 1,800,000, the City Budget rose to £4,160,000, and in 1883 the expenditure of the city reached the sum of £10,400,000 sterling, the population then being two and a quarter millions.

New York, containing a population of over one and a half millions, is taxed over thirty-three millions of dollars per annum, or nearly twenty-two dollars per head of the population. A municipal government of excessive magnitude is not only wasteful and expensive, but popular control over the adminstration is proportionately diminished.

Professor Goldwin Smith has well said:

"It is strange that statesmen should not by this time have seen that genuine election by a huge district, the inhabitants of which are strangers to each other, is a moral impossibility. The inevitable outcome is the ward politician with his machinery for collecting votes."

New York and Paris proclaim with warning voice that the

biggest things in local government are not very different from the biggest failures. In the case of the British metropolis, the evils of a centralizing system would probably, in course of time, become aggravated beyond all precedent because of the enormous numbers of the population and the vast magnitude of the interests which would come under its jurisdiction. A further argument against one municipality for the whole Metropolis arises from its division by the River Thames, and cannot be better stated than in the words of the Royal Commissioners of 1853, who said :

"The bisection of London by the Thames furnishes an additional reason for not placing the whole town under a single municipal corporation. All roads, streets, sewers, gas-pipes, and water-pipes—in short, all means of superficial or subterranean communication—which run in continuous lines from north to south, are necessarily stopped by the river. Many of these are directly or indirectly the subjects of Municipal control, and therefore a Municipal body which governed the Metropolis both north and south of the Thames would find that the continuity of its operations was in many respects interrupted by natural circumstances."

The Commissioners further said that—

"If an attempt were made to give a Municipal organization to the entire Metropolis, by a wider extension of the present boundaries of the City, the utility of the Corporation as an institution suited to its limited area would be destroyed;"

and they saw

"no reason why the benefit of municipal institutions should not be extended to the rest of the Metropolis by its division into municipal districts, each forming a municipal government of its own."

The two methods of dealing with the London problem, namely, unification with centralization, as opposed to decentralization with federated municipalities, still show the chief line of cleavage in the views of the leaders of thought on municipal questions. Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt appear to favor unification and centralization ; whilst Lord Salisbury, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Prof. Goldwin Smith, following men like Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir George Grey, and Mr. John Stuart Mill, think "that the full advantages of municipal life cannot be obtained" for London unless the vast metropolitan area be divided into municipalities which shall "deal with all those subjects which are not, from the nature of the case, necessarily under the control of a central body." The experience of smaller municipalities, like Birming-

ham, seems now to be against further extension, for, as Mr. Chamberlain said recently in Parliament,

"Even our provincial municipalities are growing to such an extent, that it will be impossible for them to remain under one system of self-government."

If that argument applies to municipalities like Birmingham, with populations of less than half a million, how much more will it apply to the Metropolis, with a population ten times greater—a population about as large as Ireland's, larger than that of Scotland, and thrice as large as that of Wales? No such experiment in municipal government has ever been attempted, as that of placing the English metropolis under a unified system; and the question naturally arises, Is London such an exception to all other places that absolutely no limit exists to the population and area over which the progressive spirits of the capital can efficiently rule? Mr. Chamberlain affirms that

"A population of half a million is practically the largest number that can be governed from one centre, with the individual attention and constant assiduity that have contributed so much to the usefulness and popularity of corporation work."

Assuming (as may safely be done on so high an authority) that these words are not far from the truth, what shall be said of the failure which must also certainly follow an attempt to perform the task on a scale of tenfold magnitude?

Decentralization is an indispensable condition of the good local government of heterogeneous populations like those included within the Metropolitan ambit, because without it two of the most necessary conditions of efficiency, namely, "minute local knowledge and community of interests," would be wanting.

If for the metropolis of the empire a municipal organization shall be devised, constituting free self-governing communities, working together with concurrent action under a superintending central control, and dignified by association with the ancient Civic Government, which is "a relic of a great age in our national story," London may again become to the Londoner "what Athens was to the Athenian of the age of Pericles—what Florence was to the Florentine of the fifteenth century. The citizen was proud of the grandeur of his city, punctilious about her claims to respect, ambitious of her offices, and zealous for her franchises."

GEORGE ROBERT TYLER, Lord Mayor.

REORGANIZATION OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE NAVY.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM McADOO, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

For the past twelve years public opinion has been so strongly in favor of a rehabilitation of the material of our navy, that questions affecting the personnel have, of necessity, been held in abeyance. Very properly it was argued that the first consideration should be the construction of well equipped modern war vessels to replace the old and obsolete types which survived the period of our civil war. Substantial steps having already been taken with this end in view, it is now in order to give grave and painstaking consideration to the character, ability, and skill of those who are to be intrusted with the command of our costly and magnificent floating fighting-machines.

Under existing law, promotion in the United States Navy is a matter of cold mechanical progression which is dependent upon no demonstrated professional merit, but which is based upon the date of commission as an officer, the possession of good bodily health, ability to pass recurring professional examinations which are on well-defined lines, with no official impugnment of conduct as unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. A violent assumption, which no evidence must assail, gives imperial sway to the dogma that place upon the naval register as a commissioned officer is the sole standard of qualification for the most responsible and onerous duties; that the lowest captain on the list must be better fitted to command than the senior lieutenant, the latter of whom may have had much more sea service and shown incomparably more ability in the line of his profession.

That rank and the dignity which it carries are essential to

high military command cannot be denied, and the present effort for reform of the personnel aims at a quicker and more steady flow of promotion, to the end that the physically and mentally vigorous shall come to command at an age when their powers are at their best, when ambition and habits of responsibility have not been stifled or killed by years of monotonous service in subordinate positions.

The present condition with regard to the officers of the line on the active list needs urgent reform if the country is to get the best possible service both in peace and war from its naval establishment. In order to make the present situation somewhat clear to those who have not investigated the subject, it may be well to state that the number of commissioned line officers allowed by law is 726, composed of 181 ensigns, 75 lieutenants (junior grade), 250 lieutenants, 74 lieutenant-commanders, 85 commanders, 45 captains, 10 commodores, and 6 rear-admirals. In addition to this number, most of our vessels in commission carry a number of those naval cadets who have completed the Naval Academy course of four years and are serving two years at sea before final graduation. To illustrate the rate of progression towards promotion, imagine this body proceeding in Indian file by Naval Academy graduating classes through an inclosure just large enough to accommodate the whole, and entering and leaving through a common entrance and exit. The common entrance is the Naval Academy, and, aside from casualties due to death, resignation, or dismissal, the procession moves steadily along, without change of order, until the exit—the retiring age—is reached.

Under present conditions the average age retirements will not exceed seven during the next ten years, and then, for causes which will hereafter be explained, this average will increase to thirty-three for the following eight years. The annual casualties on the active list average less than three per cent. Considering that a man will not leave his place in the line of this procession until he reaches the retiring age, it follows that if an unusually large body of young men enter the rear of the procession within a short period of time, they will reach the top and middle of the active list together, and there remain for a round number of years blocking like a wall those who follow them. This condition now exists and is the principal cause of trouble. Well to the head

of the procession is a body of officers slowly moving toward the top, and destined, once there and with a long interval between them and retirement, to stop for many years to come the entire centre and rear of the line. This body is known in the navy as the "hump," and is the result of an unfortunate and short-sighted policy which prevailed during our civil war, by which abnormally large classes were hurried through the Naval Academy during the years from 1860 to 1867. These classes now fill the grades of commander, lieutenant-commander, and the 116 senior lieutenants' positions. Unless some pruning measure is applied to this hump, the officers composing it will for years, and while in the highest grades, entirely block the way of those in the rear.

When in the course of time the hump disappears, the liberated procession in the rear will move with a rush, giving a great number of those composing it scarcely time to change into the uniforms of the different grades ahead of them until, without having time to render adequate service in their new grades, they will reach the retiring age as rear-admirals. Aged lieutenants, capable of having their sons crowd them in the ranks, will be precipitated forward from commander to rear-admiral with scarcely time to have their new titles engraved on their visiting cards before they find themselves on the retired list. And, worse than all for the nation, these men, who have been subordinates all their lives, will suddenly and without experience find themselves intrusted with command and the varied and onerous responsibilities incidental to it. In this connection, it must not be forgotten that command in the navy, which is often exercised in far-distant ports, and which frequently deals with delicate and intricate questions of diplomacy, is very different from the ordinary exercise of authority in an army on land in one's own country; and that, from the very nature of things, the captain of a war-ship in commission exercises kingly authority as compared with military command on the land. He, of necessity, must be the one absolute head to all on board, subject only to the President of the United States, speaking through the Secretary of the Navy. To wield wisely and ably these necessarily autocratic powers, to assume the responsibilities incidental to them, and to accomplish with skill and wisdom the difficult tasks begotten by entangling and delicate diplomatic situations in foreign ports remote at times from even telegraphic communication, require what

is happily termed the habit of command. Passing therefore by the grievance to the individual officer whose promotion is so retarded, it is seen that the interests of the nation suffer from our inability to utilize in command rank this body of able, ambitious, learned, and brave officers during their years of vigorous manhood when all their powers are at their best. So long as this evil remains uncorrected the nation will fail to receive a fair return for the moneys and care expended on its fleets, and all ambition and life will be stifled out of as fine a corps of naval officers as can be found in any service.

Of all the leading nations, we alone tolerate such a condition of affairs. This is clearly shown in the following table, which gives the number and ages of officers of leading European nations promoted during the past year:

Nation.	Rear-admirals to vice-admirals.				To rear-admiral.				To captain.				To commander.			
	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.
England	3	54¾	50½	57	3	51	49	53	10	42	37	46	25	37	32	42
France	3	58⅓	55	61	4	53½	52	57	17	48½	42	54	33	44	39	47
Russia	2	58½	56	61	8	50¼	48	53	11	46½	43	50	29	39	36	44
Italy	3	56	54	57	4	50¾	49	53	6	47⅙	46	49	7	39	34	42
Germany*	(†)	...	....	....	(†)	....		....	5	44	43	45	12	40	38	42
United States	‡1	57¾	....	....	§3	59	57	60½	7	49½	47	51	11	54	48	59

* Captains in the German Navy are not allowed to exceed the age of 53. Rear-admirals are made at about 50.
† None in 1893.
‡ To rear-admiral.
§ To commodore.

AVERAGE AGES OF THE LINE OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY.

	1874.	1884.	1894.	1904.*	1908.*	1914.*
Rear-admiral	59	61	60	60	61	60
Commodore	54	58	59	60	60.5	60
Captain	50	51	52	59	60	59
Commander	38.6	42	49	57	59	57
Lieutenant-Commander	31	40	46.7	55	56	53
First 100 lieutenants	30	37	44.5	52	51	46

* Retirements at the age of 62 years only considered.

To quote from Lieutenant Colwell, by whom the above table was prepared,

"The higher average ages of the French navy are due to the fact that they admit a certain number of older men, graduates of the Ecole Polytechnique each year to the lowest grade of officers; and a certain proportion of warrant officers who may be as old as 35 are granted commissions as ensigns."

The lowest average age on reaching command rank is in England, 37 years; and the highest abroad—44 years—in France, while in the United States it is 54 years. A consensus of the best opinion gives 45 years as the maximum age at which an officer should reach command. Graduating from the Academy at the average age of 23 years he receives the necessary training as a subordinate in his profession and then, at 45, in the prime of life, with every faculty trained to its highest and with a long time to serve his government before his retirement, he can acquire the habits of command and assume with perfect confidence and easy grace the responsibilities and dignities of his important positions and also render to his country the best and highest service.

The effect upon the personnel of existing conditions is to beget discouragement, and substitute for a hopeful ambition and zealous performance of duties a perfunctory execution of the routine requirements of the service regulations. I am right in asserting that this is the tendency of existing conditions, but it would be unfair not to qualify this statement by saying that a high sense of honor and devotion to their profession keeps the standard of conduct and fidelity to the interests of the government very high among naval officers in spite of all their discouragements. The goal of a naval officer's professional ambition is command, and if he is worthy of his calling he must, from the moment he enters the Academy until the day he retires, so devote his every energy and faculty and so train all his powers of mind and body as to be ready at all times for the possible supreme crisis of his career—war.

Our navy is maintained to command peace, but it can only do so by being constantly kept in a most efficient condition as a war machine. However fine the ships and guns, this machine will disappoint the nation in its hour of need unless it is handled by not only the highest ability, but by self-reliant officers who have long breathed the atmosphere of individual responsibility. A good digestion and the lawyer-like faculty of keeping within the naval regulations do not make a naval officer; the true professional work of a naval officer is on shipboard, and he should serve at

sea for stated periods during his incumbency of all the grades from ensign to admiral. There are certain shore duties that can best be performed by those on the active military list of the service, but the true naval officer who will best serve the country in a great emergency will be the officer who has had most actual experience.

Under present conditions, with promotion almost blocked, an officer in his forties and below the first hundred on the lieutenants' list has positively nothing to stir his ambition, and can only be moved by a sense of personal obligation and of conscientiousness to perform duties which can bring no reward, and which however ably, nay, brilliantly performed, cannot advance him beyond the veriest drone who may precede him on the list. To show that the lower grades in the figurative procession to which I have alluded scarcely move, it need only be stated that the senior ensign (this being the lowest grade in the navy with a maximum annual salary of only $1,400) has already served ten years in that grade, while the senior lieutenant has already served over twenty-one years in the lieutenant grade.

In addition to the evils heretofore referred to, leaving out what may be considered injustices in the staff and auxiliary corps, it will also be necessary to consider legislation affecting the enlisted men and apprentices, a most important part of the military body. Promotion to warrant officer, a possible commission, judiciously distributed rewards, and strong incentives to continuous service, with retirement and other advantages in special cases, seem to be necessary corollaries of any general reform looking to making the enlisted personnel of the navy thoroughly efficient. The apprentice system should be specially considered in its relations to the navy as a source from which crews of Americans can always be secured. It needs watchful care and encouragement, for it must be borne in mind that a proper public opinion will always demand that our ships be manned by American sailors.

The warrant officers—more especially the gunners—form a most important body, and one that should be carefully selected.

That evils such as those herein recited can exist in any branch of our public service without remedial legislative action seems at first sight strange. Needed reforms in the naval service have always been found most difficult of accomplishment, and in consequence nearly all the laws relating to the personnel of the navy

are shreds and patches inharmoniously joined together, covering many years in their enactment, and with many of them now impossible of observance owing to the disappearance of the causes which led to their enactment. The chief causes which militate against speedy legislative remedies for abuses in the navy may be briefly stated as follows: First—Congressional indifference arising in part from the absorbing character of the great financial and economic questions with which Congress has of late been compelled to deal, and in general, from that natural prejudice against professional military organizations which always exists, more or less, in republics, but which, in our country, should not prevail against the navy, the right arm of our national defence against aggression from without, and a service which can never imperil the liberties of our country. A careful perusal of the Constitution will clearly show that our forefathers did not include the navy in their republican exception to standing armies. Second—The repeated failure of the diverse and more or less opposing interests within the navy itself to agree upon a remedy for existing evils.

The first obstacle can be overcome by a well-informed and strong public opinion demanding reorganization, and by convincing Congress, which I believe can readily be done, that the present system is at the risk, especially in case of war, of the great amount of money expended upon the material of the navy, and that a far better and more efficient public service can and will be rendered at all times by such reforms of the personnel as will give the country the most efficient services of its officers and enlisted men when they are at their best. A wise economy will consider the large amount of property at stake and its possible uses, and will readily lend itself to the aid of such measures as will obtain the best results from the material on hand. The second obstacle will be compelled to give way before a strong public opinion demanding reform for the general good and illy inclined to brook interference arising from narrow and personal interests.

The seeming impossibility of getting the various interests in the navy to meet on common ground compelled Congress itself to take the initiative, and as a result we have a Joint Commission of both Houses now considering this question.

The Joint Commission has before it a mass of instructive in-

formation in the form of remedies submitted by the Secretary of the Navy and naval officers, tabulated statements of foreign navies, and evidence from officers of all corps who appeared in person, and were subject to examination. The present Secretary has urged reform of the personnel with great zeal, and has been most painstaking in placing before the Commission all possible exact information, and seeing that all corps have been represented.

The remedies proposed to the Commission shape themselves in the following order :

First.—A radical and comprehensive reorganization affecting the line, staff, and marine corps, the end primarily in view being to strengthen the purely military organization, keeping within the present limits of expense. Such reform would undoubtedly excite vigorous opposition on the part of those whose corps or personal interests it assails, and evidently not being deemed feasible has no recognized leader.

Second.—A remedy proposed by the Secretary, the salient features of which were to slightly increase the upper grades; to abolish the grade of commodore ; to allow voluntary retirement to a certain number annually of those who have served over thirty years ; and when these retirements and the vacancies from casualties and other causes do not reach fixed numbers above the grade of lieutenant-commander, for compulsory retirement of the remainder through selections by a board of rear-admirals ; and to allow greater latitude to Naval Examining Boards. As the investigation proceeded the Secretary modified the above and recommended that, instead of the retirements proposed, a "reserve list' should be created for the performance of certain shore duties, and that one hundred officers from the hump be transferred to such list ; the creation of annual vacancies of sixteen and twenty, respectively, above the grade of commander and lieutenant-commander ; promotion to flag rank by selection with qualifications for promotion from the lower grades.

Third.—An age retirement by which an officer cannot remain on the active list after reaching specified ages in the various grades ; and promotions by selection. This is substantially the English system. Modifications of this plan were afterwards submitted proposing selection to flag rank and partial selection in the junior grades.

Fourth.—A limitation of the numbers in each grade ; abolition

of the rank of commodore, all now of such rank to become rear-admirals; a specified number of vacancies to be created each year above the grade of lieutenant-commander, to be by compulsory retirement if necessary; a reserve duty list; a reduction of the classes from 1861 to 1867 by a transfer to the reserve duty list; promotions to be by seniority with conditions as to sea service.

Fifth.—A limitation of grades; age and service qualifications for promotion which increase retirements; reserve shore duty for certain officers; commanders as executive officers of first-rate ships; number of cadets to be commissioned each year limited.

These remedies are here necessarily only sufficiently outlined to show their salient points. The principal features, as will be seen, are: Partial compulsory retirement; partial selection for promotion; reserve duty list; increase of numbers in the command grades; gradual, but sure, reduction of the classes in the hump; age and service qualifications for promotion; and greater opportunities for the enlisted men and apprentices.

It is not necessary to criticise or commend the various plans put forward, especially as the department has submitted its views to the Joint Commission, but it will not be out of order to observe that the systems of selection for promotion and for compulsory retirement will naturally beget the greatest differences of opinion. Those officers who are now reasonably sure of attaining high rank naturally view the matter in a personal light and cannot be expected to look favorably upon either system. No possible reform of the personnel can be effected, however, without some individual interests having to give way.

The opponents of the system of selection for promotion contend that it is not suited to our country and that it could not be surrounded with such safeguards as to free it from the political and personal influences connected with administrative affairs, while its friends insist that a board of five admirals would be as free from ulterior motives and the influences alluded to in their deliberations and conclusions as the Supreme Court of the United States.

Compulsory retirement is not a new idea, it having been tried in the navy by a scrutiny board in 1855. Many believe that the general result then was to the decided benefit of the service.

Unless an age qualification is thought best, there seems no other way of obtaining a healthful forward movement than by a

compulsory retirement in connection with the proposed reserve duty list; and in order to avoid a repetition of the present evils the inflow from the Naval Academy should be so carefully adjusted as to cause a gradual and steady flow from ensign to rear-admiral.

Having no service prejudices, Congress should, however, have no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion on this subject.

The demands of the staff officers and the frictions and contentions which like warring creeds have at times existed between them and the line have not been considered in this article, because it has been deemed best to centre attention upon a grievous abuse which cannot much longer await a remedy, and also for the reason that the navy is not a civil establishment to be administered in the same manner as the affairs of a line of merchant steamers, but is instead a great military organization created and continued to command peace by being always prepared for war, to protect our rights, to maintain our dignity and conserve our interests abroad, and to prove in cases of foreign aggression an efficient defence to the great country it represents.

The people have expended many millions in creating and maintaining a navy, and they will have no patience with minor interests and prejudices that may attempt to impede or delay reforms necessary to its military efficiency and its wise and economic administration.

WILLIAM MCADOO.

THE PRIMITIVE CHILD.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

ALTHOUGH the Darwinian doctrine of human descent has now been accepted for the best part of a generation, we have as yet done little in applying it in interpreting the many records of the past which are found in our bodies. The logical tactics necessarily adopted by the pioneers of the movement are to some extent accountable for subsequent slow progress. While the main question was in dispute all advocates of the evolution theory were striving to establish the principle. In doing this it was obviously necessary to use the inductive method. Facts were collected and examined for the sake of observing their general tendency, and were of interest, or the reverse, according as they threw light upon the hypothetical law. The *modus operandi* by which Darwin and Wallace achieved their first triumphs has become somewhat of a pious tradition among their disciples, and has been too slavishly adhered to by many who have essayed to rival their exploits. But it is evident that the methods resorted to for purposes of conquest are by no means those which render a new territory of permanent value to the captors. When the fight is over and the victory won, progress is not aided by mangling the carcasses slain, or by marking time on the field of battle. Now that the principles of evolution have taken their place forever among the axioms of science, we must resort to deductive tactics if we hope to enjoy the fruits of victory.

We must learn to look at natural phenomena through evolutionary glasses, not as people read the prints at an optician's —where the lenses are the chief objects of interest and the characters go for nothing except as tests of the media—but for the

sake of seeing their meaning more clearly. It is wonderful, when this is done, how many of the most dull and trivial facts of every-day experience become alive with interest. The new philosophy is found to possess a transmuting power which changes the very dust of the earth into golden grains of knowledge.

Let us glance at some of the most familiar characteristics of early childhood, and see what they reveal to us when viewed in this way. If the laws of variation and the survival of the fittest account for peculiarities of structure and habit among other animals, they are equally applicable here. Each trait, whether mental or bodily, is itself a record of the circumstances which brought it into being. As the geologist has learned to interpret the strata, and to reconstruct from what he observes there successive chapters of the earth's strange history, so it should be possible for the physiologist to decipher the writing of the past which is manifest in every detail of the human organism.

In several articles published in *The Nineteenth Century*, the *Deutsche Revue*, and elsewhere, I have endeavored to point out certain evidences of descent from a pithecoid arboreal ancestor which are still visible in the modern infant. On the present occasion no attempt will be made—except incidentally—to carry the story beyond the earliest human period. I hope to show, however, that there is good physiological ground for believing that the epoch of utter savagery lasted an enormous time, and that certain latter-day attempts to curtail the paleolithic age to something under a hundred thousand years receive no support from the bodies of even the most strenuous supporters of such a view.

Generally speaking—as the study of embryology would lead us to expect—young animals resemble their less specialized ancestors more than do adults; and hence, in most respects, the babe possesses more ape-like characteristics than its parents. But to this rule there are some notable exceptions; and exceptional phenomena are always worthy of attention in such an inquiry as the present, because they are sure tokens of some phase of environment which has exercised a special influence in the course of evolutionary development.

With one of these exceptional and distinctly human atavistic peculiarities we will commence our survey.

The most obvious fact about a normal healthy infant which strikes a casual student of this section of the animal kingdom is

its rotundity of outline. Who would have thought that the fat which cushions a baby's body told one of the most tragic tales of human suffering which it is possible to imagine ? Yet this is the opinion to which we are driven by a brief examination of the facts, in the light of evolutionary law. All young and helpless monkeys are very light and slim, for if they were not so their parents would be unable to carry them when climbing and leaping among the branches. During the arboreal stage of man's existence, his offspring must have conformed to the same type; and since the condition had been imperative among all members of the species throughout an immense epoch, the infants of the earliest earth-walking men would not differ from their ancesters in this respect.

How, then, has the human babe, from being originally a spare animal with no superfluous flesh, become metamorphosed into that obese and ponderous creature with which the least scientific of of my readers is familiar ? So pronounced and universal a structural peculiarity can only be accounted for, according to Darwinian principles, on the ground that, at some time, it aided in preserving the race from extinction. The causes to which it is attributable must also have been sufficient to outweigh certain obvious disadvantages of the condition, for it is plain that, among wandering savages, who had to travel far in search of food and who were continually liable to attacks of enemies, a helpless and heavy child would be a very hampering burden. Even in modern times, as every physician knows, a fat child is more likely to succumb in certain common infantile ailments than a thin one.

From the fact that the peculiarity is common to the babes of the most diverse races of mankind, it is evident that it arose (in common with all other distinctively human characteristics) before the species became divided into distinct races and distributed over the earth. But this, as the primitive stone weapons found both in the old and new worlds assert, takes us back to a period when the most cultured tribes of men were savages such as the modern Fuegians and Australian blacks. Having got thus far it becomes necessary to propound two questions in order to solve the main problem. These are—(1st): What is the chief physiological use of acccumulations of fat ? and (2d): What were the special conditions of life among low-grade barbarians which rendered such accumulation necessary to infants?

Animals which periodically lay on large quantities of adipose tissue either hybernate, like the bear, the bat, and the dormouse; or have to tide over times when food is scarce from drought or cold weather as in the case of the hog, the bison, or the camel. In these creatures the fat accumulated when food is plentiful is plainly a store of nutriment laid up for future use. Arctic animals, such as the seal, live under conditions which have nothing in common with those of primordial man, who distinctly belonged to the tropic and temperate parts of the globe. Although it is probable that among northern nations the naked babe has found its adipose covering useful in keeping out the cold, he certainly did not, in the first place, develop it by way of an overcoat, after the fashion of the whale and the walrus.

Although primitive man did not hybernate, and was probably versatile enough to find food in all seasons of the year, he was, like all modern savages who live by the chase, liable to frequently recurring famines. If game was plentiful the tribe revelled in abundance; but when the hunters were unsuccessful, roots and skin clothing were the chief articles in the *menu*. Now, it is obvious that infantile gums would make but poor play with such tough diet; and at the same time, the babe at the breast would find its usual nutriment almost entirely cut off. In order to tide over these periods of scarcity it was therefore necessary that the primitive child should imitate the provident habits of the bear and the dormouse. By waxing fat in times of plenty, he was able to fall back on his own resources during "the winter of his discontent," when his parents were unable, or unwilling, to provide him with food. We must remember that, even now, it is constantly an open question among the lowest races whether they will be able to hold out during an enforced fast until food can be obtained, and that the mortality of the young and weak from starvation is very great. Not only were our own ancestors similarly circumstanced, but they must have been subject to like evolutionary influences from the tertiary period until comparatively recent times. The severity of the stress to which they were subjected is proved by the fact that the modern healthy babe is invariably plump, whereas the archaic babe must have been lean and spare like his predecessors, whose nursery was among the tree-tops. The difference has been brought about by the constant elimination, by means of death from want, of thousands upon thousands of infants

of the primitive simian type. In fact only those children who varied in the direction which the conditions of a precarious savage life rendered necessary survived and left offspring.

Hence it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the typical rotund baby, whose elephantine limbs are exhibited by the proud mother to all her friends and relatives, is about as melancholy a monument of human misery as it is possible to imagine !

These conclusions are backed up by other phenomena familiar to all who have carefully observed the habits of little children. The universal tendency exhibited by infants to pick up small objects of all kinds and put them into their mouths is not, in a modern nursery, considered conducive to their welfare. Yet the universal character of the habit compels one to believe that at one time it was an important factor in determining survivorship. It is astonishing what a thoroughly robust and healthy infant will swallow with impunity ; and in all probability the crawling cave-dweller had a stomach which was much more tolerant than those possessed by his modern descendants. In times of stress, when the hunters of the starving clan were scouring the country for prey, and the squaws were digging for roots in the forest, he busied himself in a profitable manner among the abundant debris on the floor of the cave, or experimented gastronomically with grubs, caterpillars, and other small deer, as he crept after his mother among the grass.

Although many of the objects ingested in this hap-hazard and impartial fashion would be of doubtful dietetic value, it is by no means a far-fetched hypothesis that such a foraging instinct told for a good deal when starvation was imminent. Nor, probably, did he make so many fatal mistakes as many people would imagine. The modern view of a baby, current among nurses and mothers, is that it is an unmitigated fool with strong suicidal tendencies. The results of the investigations in infant psychology carried on by my colleague in this fascinating branch of the study of human attributes, Professor Preyer, of Wiesbaden, show that the baby has been grossly slandered and misjudged through the fond arrogance of domestic philosophers. No doubt many of the pristine instincts of this (normally) intelligent animal have been blunted and warped by imprisonment in stuffy nurseries or smothered by inordinate swaddling. But in primeval times the infant with the least aptitude for locomotion had wits sufficient

for his wants, and inherited instincts of self-preservation as trustworthy as those of the crawling puppy or the fledgling bird.

Another common infantile attribute not only confirms the above conclusions as to the crucial environment of the primitive child, but also suggests a grave indictment against the paleolithic parent. I allude to the fact that the majority of our little ones are pleasing to the eye and have inherent winning manners. Their style of beauty is essentially human, and has evidently been evolved since pithecoid standards went out of fashion. I have seen many baby monkeys, and freely acknowledge that they have a certain prettiness of their own, but it is of a distinctly animal type, like that of kittens and ducklings. We do not regard a baby which looks like a young ape as pleasing to look upon, any more than we should esteem one pretty which bore a monstrous resemblance to a duck. Infantile beauty has therefore not come down from arboreal times by the unbroken chain of inheritance, as seems to be the case with the prehensile power in a baby's hands. It was a new departure, and must be accounted for by post-arboreal evolutionary agencies.

Now it is obviously impossible on the present occasion to discuss the whole question of physiological æsthetics. Let it suffice to say that the Darwinian explanation of our innate standards of human beauty is bound up with the theory of sexual selection, and that our ideals, as regards childhood's charms are nearly akin to our ideals of what constitutes beauty in women. But although this may broadly account for the *criteria*, it does not explain how it has come about that most children are pretty. Inheritance may, of course, have something to do with it, and here sexual selection would be distinctly an indirect factor. Yet a pretty child often has a plain mother and father, and itself becomes physically unattractive when it grows up. In the case of the animals already mentioned, and of many others, the beauty of the young is not a reflection of what is most pleasing in their appearance in after-life, but is often the very antithesis of it. We may conclude, therefore, that infantile beauty is to a great extent a thing by itself, and that it required selective agencies of a special character for its creation. Nor need we go far afield to see the process still going on—or perhaps it would be more correct to say, the evolutionary machinery by which such a result might be brought about if we were again exposed to the

vicissitudes of savage life. Who does not feel more kindly disposed towards a pretty, engaging child than towards an ugly one? Where beauty is present we easily bestow affection, and that affection readily and naturally displays itself in caresses and gifts. In most schools, and in too many nurseries, there is one favorite child, a Benjamin, who—for no superior merit—gets a Benjamin's share of the porridge. If one could get a composite photograph of all and specially petted children, who doubts that the resulting picture would be prettier than one obtained from a like number of children selected by lot? "Kissing goes by favor," and favor is the eternal portion of comeliness.

Among civilized surroundings infantile prettiness, like the indiscriminate voracity already spoken of, is probably rather eliminative than conservative. It leads to the physical and moral degeneration which accompanies a plethora of candy and free-will. But, granting a state of society in which it was often necessary to sacrifice several members of every family of children, can it be doubted that the "flower of the flock" (in the parent's estimation) would stand a better chance of surviving than his plainer brothers and sisters? We have only to turn to accounts of modern savages to find that constantly, in times of war or famine, whole families perish with the exception of one or two individuals. In the case of a night attack on the wigwams probably only those helpless little ones would survive who were caught up by the parents in their flight from the merciless enemy; and under such circumstances a Jacob would have a better chance than an Esau. When the ranks of the clan were being thinned by want, the type of child which is now the spoiled darling of the nursery would "score" in any distribution of such food as might be obtainable. Moreover, among primitive races parental love is much more a matter of instinctive animal liking than among enlightened and civilized people whose conduct is influenced by abstract standards of duty; and therefore those outward qualities in children which still awake instinctive preferences within us were throughout the vast epoch of ancestral barbarism rendered all the more powerful in determining the victors in the struggle for existence.

Although, considering his general circumstances, many allowances must be made for the moral shortcomings of early man, these are not the only facts which compel one to adopt the view

that he was by no means an ideal parent. Having made out a *prima-facie* case of gross favoritism against him, the next infantile characteristic which we shall examine accuses him (and, I fear, we must add *her*) of habitual indifference to infantile wants. I allude to the astonishing vocal capabilities of the average baby. As far as I can at present see, nothing can account for this tremendous natural phenomenon but a hypothesis that parental duties were terribly neglected in primeval times, and that sharp coercive measures were necessary to keep our distant ancestors reminded of their obligations to their offspring. Let the latter-day father, whose nights are broken by persistent and ear-piercing objurgations from the cradle, transfer his wrath from the vociferous but innocent protestant to his remote progenitor, who was, undoubtedly, the *fons et origo mali*. Nature expends no creative capital unless to meet an actual need, and then never goes beyond the exact point which is necessary to accomplish the end in view. That any baby can squall for many hours at a stretch sufficiently loudly to make itself heard over a considerable area is a fact which is extremely difficult to explain in a manner favorable to the domestic reputation of early man. It also suggests several other inferences as to the life habits of the pristine tribes. All young creatures, such as calves and fawns, which are hidden by their dams while the latter wander in search of food, will, unless actually hungry, remain silent for hours together. Where both parent and offspring depend on concealment in evading their foes, a like restraint is habitually put upon the vocal apparatus. The absolute indifference to external conditions shown by a baby in giving free vent to his complaints suggests that man was never by habit a solitary animal who trusted chiefly to concealment. If this were the case, the family would have been constantly betrayed to prowling enemies by the crying of its irrepressible youngest member. If, on the other hand, prehistoric men dwelt in armed communities for the sake of defence, it is obvious that the nocturnal squalling of infants might contribute to vigilance, and so assist the tribal sentinels in their duty.

It would not be fair to leave this subject without remarking that the same evidence proves that, when sufficiently stimulated by the coercive measures above alluded to, the primitive parent accepted the situation like his modern representative. For it is

plain, from the universal distribution of this infantile gift, and from the indomitable persistence with which it is exercised, that it has accomplished some useful purpose in years gone by. Babies must generally have got their own way in the end in the past, or they would not show such readiness nowadays to stake all they are worth in attempts to subdue every one around them to abject serfdom.

The fear of strangers exhibited by young children who have experienced nothing but the utmost kindness from every human being with whom they have been brought in contact is a phenomenon which is also only explicable on evolutionary grounds. When we consider that among small clans of barbarians who live by hunting, the words "stranger" and "enemy" are practically synonymous, it is not difficult to understand the development of an instinctive distrust of a new face. In the incessant inter-tribal strife which invariably accompanies such a state of society, the raids of hostile war parties against camps and villages must be of frequent occurrence. Travellers in Africa tell us that as a rule native children vanish into the huts or bushes as soon as the white man is seen approaching. When war is waged in the merciless manner common among savages, a child who always flees at once from a stranger, or who turns to its mother so that she can pick it up instantly and dash into hiding, would stand a much better chance of growing up than one of a more confiding disposition. In the course of many generations such an instinct would become more and more confirmed; for of course those who had escaped death by its exercise during their early years would tend to produce offspring who inherited the same peculiarity. We know, from the distribution of the roughest stone implements, that a state of affairs in which most of the conditions prevailed which are now operative among the aborigines in the wilds of Africa and Australia, continued in Europe quite long enough for the habit to have been acquired in this way.

A fear of being left alone in the dark is almost universal among little children, and yet, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is purely instinctive and is not founded on personal experience. In civilized countries there is no greater danger to child-life in the dark than in the daylight. The feeling of fear generally lacks definition as much as it lacks foundation, but accompanied with it is an imagination preternaturally alert, which confers

frightful shapes and qualities upon all dimly seen objects. Fear is obviously one of the most effective conservative forces in nature. It is the moral basis of the innumerable shifts of the weak in escaping from danger of all kinds. Wherever we find a special instinct of self-preservation we may at once conclude that at some stage of racial existence it was exactly commensurate with the perils which called it into being. As I have remarked before, nature develops no new organ or quality except to meet a vital want, and has a way of adapting means to ends which does not allow of the least surplus. An organism is as exactly adjusted to its environment as a casting in metal or plaster to the mould which gave it shape. The apparent disproportion between means and ends which we so often see in nature is due to the fact that, while environment changes from age to age, peculiarities of structure or habit which have once become thoroughly established are often perpetuated for an indefinite number of generations. A mould may be of unstable sand, but the casting of stubborn brass which retains its shape for all time. Evolution has reversed the philosophic platitudes as to the evanescence of the flesh. Organized bioplasm renews its youth like the phœnix, and its attributes outlast their mundane causes.

The unreasoning night-fears of infancy may therefore be read as a record of past circumstances which at one time rendered them necessary in preserving life. When the cave bear and that grisly nondescript the sabre-toothed tiger (*machairodus latidens*) were contemporary with the English troglodyte, and when hyenas which could crunch up the shin-bone of an ox like a stick of macaroni were his next-door neighbors, it was obviously indiscreet for a defenceless human being to wander abroad after nightfall. The child which did not fear the darkness as instinctively as a newly hatched partridge fears a hawk, proved himself one of the unfit, and could have had but a poor chance of reaching maturity. It has doubtless been through the continual weeding out of such, that this characteristic of early life became as prevalent as we find it to-day; and when we consider the extraordinary conservatism which marks the policy of the nervous system, it seems probable that, like a hundred other obsolete instincts, this relic of the poleolithic age will outlast modern civilization.

In connection with this subject we may consider the remark-

able terror which is exhibited by most children of under two years old on seeing anything which resembles a wild beast. This is quite independent of the most elementary knowledge of natural history, and still more so of any acquired information as to possible danger from such a source. I have experimented on my own little ones, and on others, in order to find out what crawling shape they deemed most frightful. This, I thought, might give one a hint of the most prevalent source of danger to children in that prehistoric epoch during which human nature was being slowly shaped and moulded out of the beast-nature of The Thing of the Tree. My *modus operandi* consisted of covering myself (always in the full sight of the child) with a shaggy skin, and then imitating the actions and voices of various dangerous creatures such as the wolf, lion, bear, or dog. These experiments were followed up by showing the children the stuffed specimens of such beasts in the Kensington Natural History Museum. Although they had no knowledge, either practical or otherwise, of the formidable character of animals of such a kind (and also in spite of the fact that the fraud was a patent one), the children all exhibited great agitation and distress whenever the *pseudo* bear or wolf drew near; so much so, in fact, that the "new game" had to be speedily relinquished in most instances.

Of course any results so obtained can be nothing more than approximate hints as to the special eliminative agencies which were instrumental in evolving this strongly marked protective instinct. It seemed to me, however, that anything in the shape of a bear was especially obnoxious, and this opinion was confirmed when I watched the manner in which my little playmates afterwards approached the various stuffed animals in the museum. It is a suggestive fact that in the oldest known cave deposits, such as the lower *breccia* in Kent's Cavern, in Devonshire, the bones and teeth of the bear are found associated with stone implements of the archaic type, but that the lion, tiger, hyena, and other formidable beasts of prey, which were contemporary with man in Europe, did not appear until a much later period. It would be interesting to ascertain whether children of races inhabiting tropical regions have special instinctive aversions corresponding to the historically prevalent carnivora of their respective countries. But, while all such details must, however interesting, be purely conjectural, there can be no doubt whatever that most modern

children retain a purely instinctive and inherent terror of the animals which, unless our ideas of primeval environment are altogether wide of the mark, must have devoured many thousands of our collateral ancestors in their tender youth.

The jealousy which so many little children display, especially when the possession of some favorite dainty is in question, is another proof that, in the hard times to which allusion has been made, it was necessary for each to acquire as big a share of the spoil as possible. If the morsel chanced to be the last obtainable when a prolonged fast was impending, a selfish and jealous child might, by securing a double portion, hold out while others perished. But it is plain that jealousy and selfishness were not invariably the qualities which were most helpful in the struggle for life during the primitive ages. Most babies, even before they can talk, will ostentatiously offer their nurses or parents a share of their food at the very time when they show the greatest repugnance to giving any to other children. Obviously the primitive child learned by sad experience that, in dealing with adults, a policy of conciliation and reciprocity paid better in the long run than one of brutal acquisitiveness. We see precisely the same motives prevalent to-day in political and commercial affairs.

In like manner one might take in order every trait, whether physical or moral, of early childhood, and show that each is attributable, not to any such conditions of environment as exist in civilized countries, but to circumstances which are only found at present among the very lowest tribes of men. When we consider that man's moral nature has undergone no essential change during the thousands of years of the historic period, it becomes evident that an inconceivably prolonged epoch of savagery must have been requisite for the development of all these distinctively human characteristics in the first place. Moreover, since children are practically alike all the world over as regards their innate instincts and habits, it seems evident that these characteristics must have come into existence before the human species split into various races and spread over the surface of the globe. But when we are asked to measure this vast æon by years, the biologist is even more at sea than the student of geologic chronology.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE EXPLOITATION OF EGYPT.

BY THE HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, U. S. DIPLOMATIC AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL TO EGYPT.

AMONG the nations of the earth stands one unique in history and in unusual and paradoxical conditions. Surprising and fascinating as it was to Herodotus, even so is it to the observer of to-day, who easily discovers why the Land of the Nile has so long been written of as Egypt the Mysterious, the Inexplicable, and the Unexampled. And the student who interprets the trend of current events must admit that the twentieth century will dawn on a new Egypt, Egypt the Prosperous, ruled by a Khedive thoroughly in earnest in his resolve to mark his reign as one of humanity and progress.

The country's political condition has no parallel. Nominally a province of the Ottoman Empire, it is also autonomous, subject to an annual tribute to the Sultan of about $3,500,000. The title of its ruler means sovereign, or king, without qualification or limitation; yet the country is in a great measure administered by six European powers, who practically hold it in trusteeship for creditors, one of which is dominant and in "occupation" with an army and hundreds of civil functionaries. Egypt is purely agricultural, yet has no department or ministry of agriculture.

Whatever its degree of abundance in forgotten ages—and in Biblical times it was a land flowing with milk and honey—the era of utilitarianism and practicability, now faily launched, will for the next few years be sufficient to draw universal attention to the old land of Pharaoh and Joseph.

Until recent years Egypt represented a large part of north and central Africa. But since Gordon's death and Hicks Pasha's defeat the process of territorial contraction has been rapid. The

whole of the upper valley of the Nile and the vast regions under Egyptian rule, extending almost to the Equator, are lost—"abandoned," say English chroniclers—and the deposed Ismail sees his hopes of a magnificent empire perish, never likely to be realized by his khedivial grandson.

But now comes the season of expansion—not to be accomplished by battling armies, diplomatic victories, or purchased acquisitions. Irrigation is to be the factor—the irrigation of definite science, rather than of chance or guesswork, and the scheme is grand enough to take its place with the building of the Pyramids and the Suez Canal. Stated simply, it is the doubling of the cultivable area of a country dependent on the soil

The Egypt of the map shows upward of 400,000 square miles, an area seven times as great as New England ; but the practical Egypt—that which sustains life—is not as large as the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut together. This is the ribbon-like strip of alluvial land bordering the Nile, and forming, strictly speaking, an elongated oasis in the desert. As readers know, Egypt is almost rainless and dewless. The exploitation is no less magnificent in conception than the forcing back of the Libyan and Arabian deserts so far that nearly two Massachusetts and two Connecticuts may be brought under the plough. This is exploitation in its true sense, and its accomplishment will be a verification of the saying that Egypt is the Nile and the Nile is Egypt.

The Pyramids and the Sphinx have borne testimony through the centuries to the grandeur and power of execution which dwelt within the Nile Valley. And what more fitting now than that the same valley be the theatre of a gigantic engineering exploit, audacious, but of almost certain results ?

Until recently the Nile was a blessing only half appreciated ; but a mightier Egypt is at hand, whose fertile fields will extend beyond the horizon upon those sands where now only the camel contends with primitive nature ; and the same Nile on which Moses was cradled will be harnessed to man's purposes and guided by canals far into that desert through which he led the children of Israel.

What an object-lesson in the application of science ! It can have no more interested observers than in America, especially in Colorado, Nevada, and California, and other States of the West,

where the irrigation expert is succeeding the railway builder as a developer.

I will claim a wider audience, comprising every person interested in cotton culture in the United States, however remotely. Thirty years or so ago, when that dauntless English traveller, Samuel Baker, gave to the world an account of his researches in equatorial Africa—which proved that the Nile had its origin in Lakes Victoria and Albert—he went so far as to say:

> "The Nile might be so controlled that the enormous volume of water that now rushes uselessly into the Mediterranean might be led through the deserts to transform them into cotton-fields that would render England independent of America."

To read these lines in the light of subsequent events, with England taking as keen an interest in Egypt as if it were part of the British Empire, causes one to ponder long and deep. Sir Samuel Baker was a far-seeing man; and his gift of prophecy was his strongest characteristic, in my judgment.

The expansion so generally discussed means more to the people of the United States than they realize. But I will treat the work in its universality, leaving the sidelights of American interest to be made apparent.

The question of irrigation was considered and experimented upon by the Pharaohs and Ptolemies; it must have been, as in their day Egypt was the granary of the world. When Napoleon conquered the country in 1798, his engineers and *savants* were given the task of augmenting the cultivation of the soil, that the peasantry might be lifted from degraded poverty. Mehemet Ali laid down the sword for the plough, and irrigation affairs have ever interested his successors. The Barrage, near Cairo, ministering to the fertility of the Delta, was built by them, with the aid of French constructive skill; and the reign of the present Abbas promises to be rich in triumphs of this order, whatever the nationality of the engineers whose abilities play a part.

Since the events of 1882, a feature of the British coöperation in repairing the broken fortunes of the Nile country has been enhanced irrigation. Engineers of other nations have devoted untiring study to the safe storage of the surplus waters of high Nile, that they may be systematically employed during the months of low Nile, when the whole country is athirst; and none more unselfishly than Cope Whitehouse, an American, who has spent the best

part of ten years and much money in an intelligent study of the subject, keeping it persistently before the notice of the Khedivial Government. His Lake Mœris project, however, is not considered adaptable to giving the thirsty upper Nile Valley its water for summer crops. It would be a boon to the Fayoom and the Delta, and may eventually be utilized. It is argued that the money to be expended belongs to every husbandman in the land, and that all should be benefited. This is a reason for placing the reservoir above Assouan, from whence its waters would reach every section of industrial Egypt.

As in the case of all great works, there are many plans and theories for accomplishing the same end. Each has points of merit, and drawbacks more or less grave.

To better assist the Public Works department of the Egyptian Government in a decision as to the best plan under submission, a committee of three European hydraulic experts was called to Egypt a few months ago, and the matter laid before them in its entirety. It has been generally spoken of as an International Technical Commission, and the opinion was current that it had plenary power to select a plan. I cannot discover why the commission was called "International," in a sense applicable to a country where six powers must be consulted on all questions involving unusual financial outlay, and fourteen powers on measures pertaining to judicial and sanitary questions. The commission naturally was headed by an English engineer, Sir Benjamin Baker, of Forth Bridge fame, and his associates were a Frenchman and an Italian. Every effort to have an American included, as advised by no less a judge of such matters than Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, was futile.

The several projects were laid before the committee, presumably, to select the one possessing the most obvious advantages, independent of æsthetic and archæological considerations. Four contemplated the construction of a dam across the river; and another, originating with Whitehouse, proposed to employ a depression in the desert, which, when filled, would be as large a body of water as Lake Geneva in Switzerland.

Imagine the consternation of every person in the Old and New Worlds, of artistic or classical tastes, when the English and Italian members of the committee reported in favor of a dam seventy feet high at Assouan, which would bury from sight the

ruins of the Island of Philæ, that most brilliant gem in the diadem of Ancient Egypt. This was to art an unhappy verdict, indeed, whose devotees could not believe that the spoliation of Philæ was demanded. Every one applauded the magnificent prospect of increased prosperity to Egypt, but the clamor for another site was great—a site that would reconcile the interests of agriculture with those of history, art, and archæology.

Newspaper dispatches followed, stating that representatives of the Department of Public Works had gone to England with plans of machinery required for building the Assouan dam. This accentuated the feeling of horror to such an extent that the press of Europe cried out against the impending sacrilege.

Meetings have been held by many learned societies to protest against any disturbance of Philæ, and their memorials are pouring into Egypt. In England, the Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt has been untiring to save Philæ and the dozens of temples and remains in close vicinity. Besides its memorial, widely signed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, others of similar tenor and purpose have been prepared in France by the *Académie des Inscriptions* and by about 250 of the foremost members of the *Institut de France.* In Germany about 600 distinguished persons, including Egyptologists, professors, artists, antiquaries, archæologists, and literary men, have joined in a very strong protest. Sir Frederick Leighton, President of England's Royal Academy, has not hesitated to say that any tampering with Philæ would be a lasting blot on the British occupation of Egypt.

The ruins of Philæ are the most imposing and beautiful monuments of Upper Egypt, owing to their peculiar situation upon a rocky island commanding the passage of the Nile above the First Cataract. Assouan and this neighboring island are the objective points of hundreds of Americans every winter, whether they journey by the independent dahabiyah, or under the guidance of that universal benefactor, Cook, whose enterprise opened the Nile to travellers of moderate means or limited time. The German lines of steamers running from New York to Alexandria have made of Egypt the winter playground for thousands of well-to-do Americans, and many go to Philæ. Some visit the Nile for that purpose alone.

England's diplomatic representative, Lord Cromer, evidently

feeling that an outburst of disapproval would follow the announcement that Philæ was in danger, officially informed his government:

"It will, in the event of the Assouan project as it now stands being, from other points of view, considered preferable to any other, be necessary to consider what weight should be attached to the archæological argument based on the evident undesirability of submerging or removing the temple of Philæ. I still hope that some plan may be found for conciliating engineering necessities with the archæological interests which are at stake."

Mr. Garstin, the astute Under-Secretary of Public Works, an Englishman, one of whose associates had advised the removal of the precious temple to an adjoining island, or to lift the entire island of Philæ to a height clearing the flood line of the proposed reservoir, recorded his views in these words:

"Any work which caused either partial damage to, or the flooding of, this beautiful temple would be rightly considered by the whole civilized world as an act of barbarism. Moreover, it would be an act not absolutely necessitated by the circumstances, for we have other possible though somewhat inferior sites upon which to construct dams."

On the other hand Mr. Garstin says:

"Could the removal of the temple be successfully carried out, I cannot myself see that it would be an act of vandalism, which, as I read it, is a term meaning the wanton destruction of interesting relics."

Sir Benjamin Baker favors the raising of the island, as a whole, some twelve feet, and offers to do it for a million dollars, guaranteeing its safe accomplishment.

Think of moving Bunker Hill Monument to another site, or placing it on stilts, to reconcile it to a new order of landscape gardening!

The engineers who advocated the moving of Philæ did so because the Assouan site offered superior advantages from an engineering standpoint. The foundation of the dam would be a solid bed of granite. A situation farther up the river, at Kelabsheh, which would leave Philæ unmolested, would insure exactly the same benefits, it is claimed by competent judges, but the foundation would be sandstone. Public opinion is almost unanimous in demanding that it be adopted, if Egypt is to place on her frontier any dam ponding back a hundred miles into Nubia a body of water sufficiently vast to leave no living thing in Egypt's valley, were it liberated by foe or accident.

The French engineer advises against a great storage reservoir anywhere, favoring a series of smaller dams extending nearly to

Khartoum, to carry out which plan would necessitate a conquering army to precede the battalions of masons and diggers.

I would call the attention of scholarly America to the jeopardized position of one of the world's greatest treasures, in the country that begot science and learning. All talk about removing Philæ is too fantastic even for the pen of a Jules Verne. If its wondrous structures are disturbed at all, let them be re-erected on the Island of Rhoda, at Cairo. This would carry the spirit of utilitarianism to its utmost degree, and bring to the doors of the tourists' hotels one of the incentives of a winter's voyage up the Nile.

It is difficult to believe that the recommendation of the English and Italian engineers will not be set aside in deference to the opinion of that greater jury—the public.

To complete a Nile dam and its canals no less a sum than fifteen million dollars will be necessary. The money is actually in hand, the result of an economy effected by the recent conversion of a portion of the nation's debt from a high rate of interest. The six European powers will approve its expenditure in so promising an improvement, as a mortgagee favors the making of repairs on a bonded property, at the expense of the mortgagor. The Egyptian treasury will expect to be recouped, two or three years after the completion of the reservoir and its system of distributing canals, in taxes levied on the land as it becomes productive. Financially it presents a roseate future, certainly.

Naturally there will be obstacles, structural at least, whatever project is agreed upon. But those who express opinions publicly, in Egypt and Europe, touch slightly upon them. When one learns that the population is comfortably occupied with the cultivation of the present area, he appropriately asks where the increase of labor to till the double Egypt is coming from. Irrigation is not going to supply it, and it is not easy to induce the people of the Soudan and Nubia in any numbers to take up husbandry under Egyptian masters. I shall look to labor-saving machinery to solve the problem, however great the fellah's aversion to it, and I would like to see American implements and inventions succeed the slow-coach tools of mediæval times in the hands of those tilling the new Egypt.

Perennial irrigation is agreed upon by all taking part in the country's management, and it means much to the United States

of America, if those assisting the Khedivial Government possess the opinion expressed by their countryman, Explorer Baker, thirty years ago. Every acre wrested from the desert by the magical mud and water of the Nile will be capable of producing a bale of cotton, superior enough to command a quick market, presumably to the exclusion of a bale of American-grown cotton, for Egypt is already our aggressive competitor in that important fibre.

Whatever the crop may be in the Southern States, it surely is "king" in Egypt, with the Delta of the Nile for its throne. The soil and climate are so perfectly adapted to cotton raising that it is the governing crop, and brings enough money to the country to indirectly pay the interest on the enormous debt created by the lavishness of Ismail, and is so surely redeeming the land from the grasp of its creditors that Egyptian bonds have sold at a premium during the recent times of financial distrust.

Eight or ten years ago Egypt was insolvent. To-day she is bristling with prosperity. The position of the fellaheen is constantly improving. The *corvée* is abolished, and the people have no more compulsory labor, except to keep the Nile within bounds at high flood, for which they are paid. The land taxes are gradually being reduced, and extortion and corruption seem to have been stamped out. She sells cereals enough to pay for the imported articles necessary to maintain her simple standard of life. I can't help thinking that cotton—or the money it produces—has played a part of no small importance in the work of administration that has brought all these blessings.

A bird's-eye view of the area of cotton cultivation would give the outline of a half-opened fan. From the point of the Delta near Cairo it stretches nearly to Port Said on the northeast and beyond Alexandria on the northwest, this simile being helped by the great arc curving into the Mediterranean, the narrow strip devoted to cotton along the Nile from Cairo, a hundred miles southward, forming the handle. This area is veined with innumerable canals, branching from the Rosetta and Damietta arms of the Nile, which distribute the vitalizing waters.

The soil, first created by the deposits of the great river and ever fertilized by it, is perhaps the richest in the world, and is tilled with such ease and certain results as to compel the New

Englander who sees it to draw a comparison between farming at home and that occupation there. The Egyptian peasant is by instinct at once farmer and irrigation expert. With two or three primitive implements, such as a wooden plough, a mattock, and a water-hoisting "shadoof," his labors are blessed with success beyond the possibility of tillers of the soil elsewhere. The Nile, the cause of this fertility, brings from the Abyssinian mountains the deposit so wonderfully rich that other fertilizers are unnecessary, and the subsidence of the annual flood leaves the ground in a condition requiring scarcely more than a scratching with the plough to prepare it for planting. This done, the farmer has only to raise water daily from the river and direct it to the roots of his crops. Experience teaches him to "rotate" cotton with a less exhausting cereal, and he never has drought, frost, labor or tariff questions, or other serious menace, to deal with. His family supplies most of the labor, the women taking a lighter share of the work. This peasant has few ordinary comforts. He subsists on a meagre vegetable diet, receives no governmental documents dealing with agricultural facts and statistics, has no need for newspapers—in fact, only knows how to read the Koran. His concern in life appears to be, with Allah's help, to grow a good crop, harvest it at the right moment, and dispatch it to the nearest ginning establishment, get his cash, or be released from financial obligations, pay his land tax, and renew the lease of his farm. The land tax is heavy, and he has little money left after paying his rent to the landlord pasha, living in Cairo or Alexandria.

Added irrigation provided, what I have pictured as a half-opened fan—the Delta—may be unfurled on its western boundary almost indefinitely, and cotton would certainly have preference over other crops, as the Delta is given up to it. The incalculable increase of acreage there would come into definite competition with our country, while sugar and corn would naturally follow the alluvial extension between Assiout and Assouan.

This year's cotton territory is at least 1,072,500 acres. As desert soil is reclaimed, cotton cultivation is extended in preference to other crops, for Egypt's long staple commands a ready market at high prices. This accounts for the increase from 329,000 bales in 1882–83 to 680,085 bales in 1892–93. An Egyptian bale weighs from 700 to 750 pounds, against our bale of about 500 pounds.

THE RENAISSANCE OF WOMEN.

BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET.

WHAT has changed woman's outlook so that she now desires that of which her grandmother did not dream? This is the question that is asked to-day from pulpit and platform, in magazine and newspaper, with fatiguing reiteration. Is the woman of our time less feminine in her instinct, less domestic in her tastes, or less devoted to the interests of her family? As well might we ask whether the man of our time is less courageous because he no longer buckles on a coat of mail to wage an endless war with his near neighbour; less honorable because he does not avenge insult in a duel; less devout because he no longer believes that by conquering a distant land and planting the cross instead of the crescent on the heights of Jerusalem he is doing God's work in the world. Times have changed, and with the years the standard of social custom changes also. Woman, like man, is adapting herself to her environment. In ancient days her home was a great domestic manufactory of which she was the head. The flax was spun, the linen woven, by her deft fingers; the bread was baked in a glowing oven under her watchful care; and by her the perfume was distilled from summer flowers. She was the artist whose embroidery decked the cathedral and the palace; for home was not only the factory that supplied domestic wants, but the studio whence came the choicest objects of skill and beauty But with the birth of applied science the marvellous invention of man robbed her one by one of her employments. The steel fingers of machinery replaced her skillful and ingenious hand; the city bakeries provided food; the sweet perfumes of flowers were perfectly imitated in a thousand chemical laboratories, and tapestries and silks were woven to the tune of steam while the roomy old homesteads disappeared and

rows of little houses took their place where operatives eked out a monotonous existence. The school with kindergarten attachment undertook to educate her children's powers; trained nurses watched over the pillows of the sick, and woman with folded hands looked out upon the world, her employment wellnigh gone. In view of such a situation, the reasoning mind must ask, Is not woman to adjust herself to these far-reaching changes, even as man has suited himself to the new environment that steam, electricity, and the printing-press have brought to him? The arts and crafts that centred for centuries in the home have expanded until they have become the possession of the world, and man has taken them under his supervision. Why, then, should not woman keep her native place in the world's economy by the regulation of that wider home which has now spread outside the four walls of her own house, and which we call society and government, and take her place with man in framing laws that affect the well-being of those who formerly worked within her kingdom, but who now dwell outside, in that larger family circle that we call a nation?

The arguments used by those who oppose woman's entrance to public life are in these days usually based on the line that woman is too sacred, her influence too pure and precious, to be frittered away in the sordid quarrels and mean ambitions entailed by party politics; that her presence has ever been the magnet of the home; and that the nation will be wisest and best that preserves the sanctity of its womanhood and the influence of its mothers. It is precisely because I believe in the truth of this argument that I maintain that to debar woman from any one single right, to exclude her from any prerogative, is to create for her not only a disability by reason of her sex, but to build up a barrier that must ever effectually hinder her widest influence. It is well to talk of the mother guiding the son in life, but from the hour that the boy understands that his mother's prerogatives end at the garden gate, that she has no voice whatever in the moulding of the nation's laws, that her precepts are good for the fireside but unavailing at the hearthstone of government, there insidiously creeps into the boy's thought a realization of the fact that his mother is classified by the rulers of the land with the lunatic and the idiot; and I maintain that this discovery has done more than sons are themselves aware of to undermine the influence that is

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rows of little houses took their place where operatives eked out a monotonous existence. The school with kindergarten attachment undertook to educate her children's powers; trained nurses watched over the pillows of the sick, and woman with folded hands looked out upon the world, her employment wellnigh gone. In view of such a situation, the reasoning mind must ask, Is not woman to adjust herself to these far-reaching changes, even as man has suited himself to the new environment that steam, electricity, and the printing-press have brought to him? The arts and crafts that centred for centuries in the home have expanded until they have become the possession of the world, and man has taken them under his supervision. Why, then, should not woman keep her native place in the world's economy by the regulation of that wider home which has now spread outside the four walls of her own house, and which we call society and government, and take her place with man in framing laws that affect the well-being of those who formerly worked within her kingdom, but who now dwell outside, in that larger family circle that we call a nation?

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deemed so precious and yet which is sedulously preserved for "home consumption" only. Moreover, to deprive a government of the keen moral sense that is native to women as a class (though, to the great hindrance of humanity, they have too long admitted that their moral standard must necessarily be higher than that of man), is to rob the nation of a strong support by which it would undoubtedly benefit. Another argument that is brought forward to prove that woman does not need to have a share in government is that her interests are ably represented by men. If this be so, women are the only class "ably represented" by those who have in many instances a wholly separate interest from theirs. The very fact that the question of the woman's vote has been so long treated as a subject fit only for stale and silly jokes, or to be put aside with pompous platitudes, is in itself sufficient proof that women's interests are not guarded with the same care as men's; and the code of laws that places property in the hands of the husband, gives him complete power over the children, and protects him in conjugal authority over his wife, proves the impracticability of securing justice to women as a class until they themselves have an equal voice with men in the making of the law.

We have been told that woman's true work comes to her in the gentler calls of a sorrowing world; that her leisure should be spent in assuaging misery and suffering, and in the exercise of that charity which man has not the time or inclination to dispense: but there is probably no surer symptom of the change that is coming over society at large with regard to the great social problems of the age than the view now taken of the best methods of dealing with poverty and crime. This change is the outcome of the slow, but sure, sifting of social questions that is going on in the minds of all classes. Charity was considered to be a sort of moral patchwork; it was excellent for the soul of the giver, and helped the recipient to exist under circumstances that would otherwise have been intolerable. But it was, and is still, unconsciously, too often a mere ethical anæsthetic. We have many of us in England passed through the phase of going from cottage to cottage in country districts or in those village towns which abound in our land, listening to the oft-repeated story,—"twelve shillings a week, ten children, afraid to complain—the farmer from whom the wretched pittance is earned would turn us out. There was scarlet fever (or typhoid) in the village last year, the inspector came

and we may get the sewage altered. They say the water is bad." We have looked out on the sunny pastures, standing at these cottage doors, and heard that the sick baby can get no milk; it is all sold at the farms for butter. "My husband could do with a bit of land or keep a cow, but it is all let away in big holdings, and there isn't a rood to be got." And as we have put down the half-pound of tea or the few yards of flannel on the little table, the absolute conviction has come to our minds that such charity is but a palliative to our consciences, and we go away with the feeling that with the priest and Levite we looked upon the sufferer, saw the real condition and passed by on the other side. Tennyson sang long years ago:

> Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
> If time be heavy on your hands,
> Are there no beggars at your gate
> Nor any poor about your lands?

The words were true, wherein they prescribed for the mental malady of Lady Clara, but let her not imagine that she is doing other than taking into the midst of her artificial surroundings a very little of that wholesome tonic which contact with the realities of life must bring. I do not underrate the self-denying efforts of any who give their lives to make the existences of those around them holier, purer, and more wholesome; but I maintain that true philanthropy means the dealing with cause and not effect, searching out the root of evil and attacking it at all risks; not pulling down the leaves from poisoned boughs in the leisure moments of a summer's day.

I am well aware that Lady Bountiful is popular; that it is her happy fortune to minister to the wishes of all. She presides at the sumptuous dinner party, and with her fair hands carries the crumbs to the "beggars at her gate." But I know also that she will become unpopular when she dares to pass beyond the circle of her guests into that wider world where she will seek to know from those who solve such problems, the reasons that laid a fellow-man beggared at her door, and when although she succors him she determines so to work that none may take his place; and I maintain this is the only charity to which the thinking woman can turn her powers of mind and heart to-day.

The more we seek to unravel the tangled skein of reasons that are given to prove that woman must not face the great

public questions of the time, or endeavor to enter "the maze of politics," the more clearly we understand that these many reasons resolve themselves into one, and that one is the disability of sex. It is not education that is wanting, because the higher education now places many women far above the level of the ordinary voter, some on an equality with any statesman, and the average woman on an absolute equality with the average man. Nor is it the question of property that can now bar woman's way to the polling booth. From the hour that the married woman's property was restored to her, she was at least allowed to become an individual. The grotesqueness of the old *régime* that prevailed only a short time ago in England became so apparent when a certain poor man married a rich woman and made a will by which he kindly left the woman her own property on the generous condition that she should not marry again, that as the sequel of public agitation men granted this measure of justice to women.

We are continually reminded that the whole basis of good government is founded on the fact that taxation and representation go together. It can therefore only be sex disability that deprives a woman of the power to vote when she is compelled to pay taxes. In this respect I do not find men anxious to represent women; in fact, I have never found a male citizen keenly desirous to represent my interests when the tax collector called. Again, woman is an individual, and her individual right is fully conceded when she is to pay the penalty of any ill-doing or when she receives a death sentence from the lips of a jury of men.

I presume that the argument that is supposed to be almost crushing as to the disability of woman to take her share in national politics is the fact that she does not fight; but I do not think woman does not fight because she is unable to do so. It may be true that the myths of the Amazons are lost in so hazy a past that we are not able distinctly to glean any definite facts as to their origin; but we are well aware that among savage tribes in our own time woman's strength and woman's prowess are called into action, that kings' bodyguards have been formed of women, and that as far as physical strength goes, woman, at any rate in a savage state, is as capable of bearing hardship and fatigue as man. Any one who has seen the Indian squaw carrying the baggage of the family on her back while the man leisurely

sits on his horse smoking his short pipe, cannot feel the slightest doubt as to woman's equality in physical strength; at any rate the Indian has realized it and made practical use of his knowledge.

This whole outcry of "one vote, one sword," is founded on a fallacy. It is true that the barbarous tribes who were wont to put their women in the van as fighters have all died out. To what is woman's exemption from military duties owing? To the desire of men to represent her on the battlefield? Not at all; it is owing to natural selection. The mothers who are the makers of men had to be guarded for the benefit of the tribe or the nation; otherwise that nation would suffer in its survival.

Women have a greater *rôle* than that of fighting; they are the fountain of the race, at which it recruits its losses, perpetuates its hopes, and conserves the results of victories already gained; and I maintain that if service to the nation is to count as a chief article of faith for the voter, the service—aye, and the dangerous service—that woman renders every nation is far greater than the occasional facing of a Maxim gun or the remote contingency of a bursting shell. There is hardly a woman who is not called to come face to face with death; who does not go down into the great Gethsemane of suffering, and with the dew of eternity on her brow give to the world its sons and daughters. It is woman's fight for the race, the fight in which she too often gives her life. It is a greater service to bear soldiers than to bear arms.

I now revert to the fact that there is a severe loss to the nation in the disability of woman to vote, because it places her, in the estimation of the citizenship, on a lower level than men, and it leads to the degrading belief that man can afford to have a lower standard of morals than woman. It leads, also, to the demoralizing idea that woman was created for man's pleasure, and from this concept is recruited that great army, sad and sorrowful, that has for long ages trodden the stony way of shame. There is no class of women who can ever be justly set aside to fulfil purposes of evil because it is necessary that men should sin; but it is from this immeasurable indignity that has sprung, undoubtedly, the idea that women are inferior to men, and, therefore, must be debarred the rights of citizenship. If it be true that a certain class of women must ever be appointed to fulfil the duty that Lecky terms "the mission of the sad priestess of humanity,"

I believe that the middle ages took a far more logical view of this question than we do now, for then such women were recognized among the guilds that paraded the towns on hey-days and holidays, a class whose existence was a necessity, and who, therefore, carried on no dishonorable calling. We naturally shrink from such morality as that, but the existence of any class of women who are degraded by doing that which does not unfit man morally or socially for the duties of citizen and of a future husband honored and beloved, is far more debasing in its effects upon the nation than the crude brutality of the mediæval times.

There is another argument that I believe to be, if possible, more fallacious than any yet examined; namely, that the right to assert her political individuality will cause the disruption of the home. The age is too far advanced for such arguments. Women has discovered herself; she has realized that she possesses a soul with all that that word implies; a soul fraught with that mysterious loneliness which envelops every human being that looks up to the great beyond, not knowing whence it came nor whither it is going. Shrouded in that inner recess which no man can touch, no human being approach, lies the consciousness that is always lonely save as it realizes the presence of God. And unless the marriage tie respects this individuality, instead of being the dearest and the best bond that can brighten any human life, it will become the detestable chain from which woman will pray to be released. The only way in which the tie of home can ever be destroyed will be by endeavoring to chain the woman who has as much right to be free as the husband at her side.

I believe that woman should vote because she is a different being and always will have a different work to do in life from that of man. She has a divine task to accomplish. You intrust her with the most sacred duty on earth; you ask her first to give the nation her children; you ask her to nurture and care for them; you ask her to instil into their minds the holiest aspirations that are to be their guide in after life; you ask her, with all her experience and her judgment, to look upon the world with its many social evils that her mother's eyes are swift to see while yours are blinded, and then you ask her to believe that it is "justice" that her voice should be silent, her action powerless to guard the interests of her girls whom you declare that men, and men alone, must represent. You ask her to sit through long

weary nights rocking the cradle, but when the child grows up to manhood you say that she has no right to deal with those questions that make for the weal or woe of his future life. You do not deny that in many cases women maintain the home by their own labor, that by the "sweat of their brow do they eat bread," that the children owe their education, their clothing, the roof over their heads, to the work of their mothers' hands; you do not ask the men of the state to "represent" the women when they have no one to earn a living for the children who are deprived by death of a father or deserted by a worthless husband; but only when you come to the edge of the Rubicon, where toil is merged into privilege, and penalties pass over into power, do you say to the woman, "Stand back; thus far and no farther!"

"The broadest and most far-sighted intellect," Wendell Phillips has truly said, "is utterly unable to foresee the ultimate consequences of any great social change; but ask yourselves on all such occasions if there is no element of right or wrong in the question, no principle of clear, natural justice that turns the scale; and if so, as in the past so in the future, the men of this country will take their part with perfect and abstract right, and they will see the expediency of it hereafter."

It is possible that woman may not take the same view of imperial politics as has been taken in the past by man; but man's views are changing, and it may be that woman's influence on politics has had some effect in bringing about that change. Suffice it to say that should women take a different view it may not be that it is less wise, less just, less true, but rather in this dawning day when the nations are beginning to understand the brotherhood of the race, men may learn that real brotherhood can never exist so long as one-half of humanity is ignored in the councils of the world. For eternally it will be true that "man and woman, dwarfed or god-like, fall or rise together."

The world has seen the renaissance in art and literature; the renaissance in religion; it has watched the slow dawning of the renaissance of human brotherhood: are we not now entering the epoch of the renaissance of woman?

ISABEL SOMERSET.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SALOON.

BY THE MOST REV. JOHN IRELAND, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL.

HOWEVER limited in their immediate application, decisions of high courts usually work out far-reaching results. They set forth the spirit of laws and institutions and establish a standard of action which provokes compliance. This is decidedly the fact in the ruling of ecclesiastical law, recently handed down by the appellate court of the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Francis Satolli, which sustains the edict of the Bishop of Columbus, excluding liquor-dealers from office, or even membership, in Catholic associations.

Some months ago the Rt. Rev. John A. Watterson, Bishop of Columbus, published for his diocese the law that no existing Catholic society, or branch or division thereof, shall be allowed to have a liquor-dealer or a saloon-keeper at its head or among its officers; and that no new Catholic society, or new branch of an old organization, shall be formed which would admit even to membership any person engaged, whether as principal or as agent, in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors. A supplementary clause of the episcopal edict excludes from the sacraments of the Church saloon-keepers who persist in selling liquor on Sundays, or otherwise conduct their business in an unlawful manner. This clause proclaims no new law. It merely rehearses the ordinary prescriptions of Catholic moral theology; but it is worthy of special notice, bringing, as it does, into clearer light the intent of the preceding regulations by which, manifestly, the penalty of exclusion from Catholic societies falls upon liquor-dealers and saloon-keepers as such, even when by a departure from the general custom they conduct their business in a lawful manner and do not deserve the more grievous penalty of exclusion from the sacraments.

From this law an appeal was taken by a society of the diocese of Columbus to the highest Catholic tribunal in the United States, that of the Apostolic Delegate, and in due time a decision was given sustaining the bishop in all points. "Those three things," writes Monsignor Satolli,

"which are expressed in the letter of the Right Reverend Bishop have the approval not only of Catholics, but of non-Catholics in your city; not only being in harmony with the laws of the Church, but also seasonable and necessary to the honor of the Church, especially in Ohio. Therefore those things which the Right Reverend Bishop has commanded in his decree I approve, and I decide that they are to be observed. And if, perhaps, for the time being they seem to hurt the material interests of some, this will have to be patiently endured for the good of the many and the honor of the holy Catholic Church."

The law of the bishop is affirmed, and the reasons of the law are accepted and approved by the Delegate.

The law as made by Bishop Watterson and ratified by the Delegate is confined to the diocese of Columbus. At the same time, a notable victory over the saloon has been won for the whole United States. It is plain that, if other bishops issue like laws for their respective territories, their action will be sustained by the higher powers. Whatever may be done within other jurisdictions, whether bishops consider the saloon-power already sufficiently curbed in their dioceses as to render further restrictive measures unnecessary, or whether this power is so reckless that prudence counsels more cautious methods of attack, the American saloon is branded with the disfavor of the Church. Henceforth Catholic public opinion frowns upon the saloon and the saloon-keeper; saloon-keeping is a disreputable business, and the saloon-keeper, however correctly he conducts his particular saloon, still, because of the general malodorousness of the business in which he is engaged, must not, and will not, be permitted to appear in any capacity as a representative of the Church or as a prominent Catholic; he must, and will, be kept aloof from all places of honor and distinction in the Church.

The action of Bishop Watterson and of Monsignor Satolli makes no general law for the Church in America; but it forms Catholic public opinion for the whole country, and public opinion is often more potent than law. As to its effects, the saloon in Ohio is much the same as the saloon throughout the United States; the opprobrium which it incurs in Ohio deservedly falls

on it in other States, whether this opprobrium is there crystallized or not into a law; the hands which in Ohio drive the saloon into obloquy practically mete out to it the same penalty throughout the country. Whoever understands the force of religious public opinion among Catholics will easily read the signs of the times, and perceive that among the Catholics of America the saloon is a doomed institution; saloon-keeping is a disgraced business, from which Catholic instinct will shrink.

The American saloon has of late fared ill at the hands of the Catholic Church. In 1884, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the decrees of which were approved by his Holiness Pope Leo XIII., bids Catholics who may be engaged in saloon-keeping leave this business, and "choose, if they at all can, some other more decent method of making a livelihood." Now comes the decision of Bishop Watterson and Monsignor Satolli, telling saloon-keepers that Catholic societies cannot afford to tolerate their presence. Things have moved far since the days when saloon-keepers acted as if they were leaders and princes of the people.

No small share of opposition has in certain quarters been manifested to the decision of Monsignor Satolli, and considerable efforts have been made to distort its meaning and minimize its influence. This was, naturally, to be expected, and one need hardly take pains to give reply. The decision will, of its own momentum, work out its results; time will justify its wisdom and secure for its illustrious author the grateful blessings of religion and of society.

One view taken by the opponents of the decision should, perhaps, be noticed on account of the notoriety which it has received through certain classes of newspapers. The real point in the letter of Monsignor Satolli is, we are told, the refusal to set aside an order promulgated by a bishop; the Delegate simply declines to nullify a regulation prescribed by the Bishop of Columbus for his own diocese; and, hence, nothing can be deduced from the words of the decision which would bear unfavorably upon the saloon. An interpretation of this kind betrays ignorance, not only of the meaning of a decision of an appellate court, but even of the very words in which the decision is couched. No appellate court worthy of the name, not, surely, that of Monsignor Satolli, sustains the decision of a lower court merely on the ground of

giving to the latter comfort and support: it sustains the decision on the sole ground that the reasons alleged for it are of sufficient weight and cogency. In upholding Bishop Watterson's decree, Monsignor Satolli necessarily judges, with him, that the saloon in America is a nuisance so baneful and malodorous that the Church, for her own honor and in pursuance of her mission to propagate good morals and to save souls, must make plain her disapproval of it. Moreover, Monsignor Satolli makes use of words which leave no doubt as to his own mind on the subject. He says:

"Those three things expressed in the letter of the Right Reverend Bishop have the approval, not only of Catholics, but of non-Catholics in your city; not only being in harmony with the laws of the Church, but, also seasonable and necessary to the honor of the Church, especially in Ohio."

The Delegate is a man who thinks with judgment, and writes in terse, clear language; his meaning stands in need of no commentary.

The Bishop of Columbus does not refuse to saloon-keepers or liquor-dealers, as such, the sacraments of the Church. The refusal of sacraments is one of the last penalties inflicted by the Church upon her members. The threat of this penalty is seldom made to classes of men; it is reserved, rather, for the individual, in retribution of his own personal acts. In the tribunal of penance the saloon-keeper is held responsible for what he personally does, and not for what his class do; outside this tribunal, in *foro externo*, he may more easily be made to suffer from the shame which belongs to his fellows. Catholic theology does not teach that saloon-keeping is, in itself, a sin. If the saloon-keeper happens to be the ideal one—never selling to men who are likely to become intoxicated, never selling to minors in violation of the law of the land, never opening his saloon on Sunday, never voluntarily allowing around his counter blasphemy or obscene language, never turning his saloon into a den of unjust and injurious political machinations, in a word, observing in his business the whole moral law, divine and civil—he may be absolved and admitted to communion. Further than this the Bishop does not let him pass. Saloon-keeping, as a rule, the Bishop decides, is practically bad, and productive of many evils; over it hangs a heavy cloud of social and religious disgrace; even the ideal saloon keeper cannot rid himself of its shame, and upon him, as upon his whole class, the Church frowns in anger and sorrow, and amid Catholic gather-

ings and Catholic works she bids him retire to corners of silence and obscurity.

In all that is being said the American saloon alone is considered. We are not now dealing with the saloon or its substitutes in other countries, where matters may be better or worse and requiring a different treatment.

The American saloon is responsible for the awful intemperance which desolates the land and which is the physical and moral plague of our time. The drink which intoxicates is dealt out in the saloon, and there temptations to use it are multiplied through conscious and deliberate plannings. Let us waste no words on the saloon *in se*, on the possible, or ideal, saloon ; when this is discovered, and is something more than a rare exception, it will be time to discuss it. The saloon of to-day trades in and battens upon intemperance, and all the dire evils which accompany or follow from intemperance are to be laid at its door.

What can the Catholic Church do, if she is loyal to her professed principles, but raise her hand in opposition to the American saloon, and put herself on clear record as its antagonist ?

The Catholic Church does not assert that the moderate and legitimate use of intoxicating drinks is a moral evil, or sin. Neither does she assert that the manufacture and the sale of intoxicating liquors are of themselves moral evils, or sins. All this is clear and undoubted. But there are other and important aspects of her teaching and practice which the Catholic Church will not, and cannot, have us overlook. In her eyes intemperance is a sin, heinous and soul-wrecking, whose victims shall not possess the kingdom of Heaven. For intemperance she has a particular hatred, accounting it a capital sin, the prolific parent of innumerable sins. Intemperance is a malignant form of the sensual indulgence against which the Church, as the religion of the Crucified One, the religion of evangelical counsels and evangelical self-denial, is obliged to declare relentless war. The subjugation of sense, the triumph of soul over body, which come through abstinence and disciplinary self-sacrifice, are throughout her whole history the predominant features in the holiness of her saints and heroes, whom she holds up to us as models. Intemperance is, on the contrary, the triumph of sense over soul. In its strong moods it completely annuls the action of the soul; in its weaker ones it stirs passion and arms it for victory. The

Catholic Church renounces her own life and principles when she ceases to combat with all her might imtemperance, its causes and alliances. The American saloon is her foe : between her and the saloon there can be no truce.

In movements making for higher moral life, stronger civic virtue, better government of men in whatever appertains to their temporal or spiritual happiness, where is the place of the Church of Christ if not in front of the most advanced combatants, as teacher and leader ? Where else would Christ be ? Where else should be the Catholic Church, which makes the claim that she is His Church, His formal and commissioned representative in morals and faith ? The supernatural, moving over the earth, unites with and confirms the best action and aspiration of the natural : else it should not be recognized as descending from the skies. Now, in the convictions of the American people, and as a plain matter of fact, the American saloon is a personification of the vilest elements in our modern civilization. It means, in menace and in actual work, death to virtue, to piety of soul, to peace of family, to the material, moral, and intellectual welfare of the people, to the free institutions of the republic. The church that would prove herself to the country as Christ's must speak boldly against the saloon ; her sentinels must neither sleep on her watch-towers nor lack the courage of the battlefield.

The peculiar circumstances into which the Catholic Church in America has been thrown create a special obligation for her to make the country understand that she is opposed to the saloon. The anomaly exists that with the principles and traditions of temperance and self-denial which we have noted in her, the accusation has been made against the Catholic Church in America that she is lenient toward intemperance and courts alliance with the saloon. Nor is the accusation devoid of all apparent grounds.

A large proportion of the intemperate and of the liquor-dealers and saloon-keepers of the country profess membership in the Catholic Church. This lamentable fact has its explanation. The Catholic Church has a numerous membership among the poorer classes of the population. The servant and the laborer, the occupants of the tenement-house and the cheap hotel, are very often Catholics. They are immigrants from foreign countries where poverty was their portion, and they do not accumulate wealth im mediately on reaching our shores. The Church is not ashamed to

own them; it is a divine mark of Christ's Church to preach the Gospel to the poor. Yet, it is plain, their lot subjects them to strong temptations to intemperance. Fatigue of body, loneliness of heart, pains of poverty, lead one to use the bowl, which will drown sorrow and give momentary surcease from the hardships of toil. The aids to sobriety, which are lent by cultured thought, cheerful hearths, elevating companionship—although even these do not always keep off intemperance—are not the belongings of the poor. The sole clubroom open to them is the saloon. No wonder that they frequently drink, and drink to excess.

When the poor man, who has his own dreams of independence, seeks to go "into business," one sort of business is within his reach, the saloon. But little capital is needed for the enterprise, and that is willingly loaned to him by the brewer, the distiller, or the ward politician, each of whom will gain in money, or votes, a hundred-fold for the investment. Some consideration is due, also, to the previous conditions and social habits of immigrants, and we must judge them somewhat from the stand-point of their own history and ideas. Catholic immigrants come from Ireland, or from countries of southern and central Europe. Irishmen bring with them a natural temperament and customs begotten of ages of political thraldom, which incline them to the use of strong drinks and saloon-keeping; but for all this the Church, assuredly, can be made to bear no responsibility.

Immigrants from the continent of Europe had been drinking beer and wine as Americans drink tea and coffee; they had lived amid beer-gardens and cafés, which, to say the least, are very different from our saloon. Arriving in America they demand beer and wine, alongside of which they find in our saloons the more baneful alcoholic potions. Some among them will minister to the tastes of the others, and a substitute for the beer-garden and the café is opened, which from the influence of environment rapidly puts on all the aspects of the full-fledged American saloon. Immigrants and their immediate descendants grow slowly into our American ideas, and with difficulty understand the trend of public opinion, or perceive the evil workings of our American saloon.

We shall not deny that, as the natural result of these facts and conditions, the Church suffered. Saloon-keepers made themselves the centers of groups of their countrymen, whom they guided in the novel road of American politics, and whom they

sought to guide, also, in religious affairs. They were officials in church societies, marshals in church processions, chairmen in church meetings. They contributed liberally—as a matter of business—to church works, and paid rent for prominent pews. The public opinion of Catholics towards intemperance and the saloon was to a degree perverted, and things were done and allowed which appear at first sight inexplicable to persons more conversant with American ideas and practices. At times clergymen feared to offend the potent saloon-keeper; they softened the tone of denunciation when treating of intemperance; if total-abstinence was mentioned, emphasis was laid on the peril of running into the Manichean heresy—that liquor in itself is morally bad. At church fairs and picnics liquor was sold; religious societies at their annual outings kept their own bar and paid high tribute to it; at certain church fairs punch-bowls were voted to the most popular saloon-keepers; Catholic papers admitted into their advertising columns paid notices of saloons and liquor-stores, and, in one instance, a brewery invaded the grounds of a monastery. What was all this but an encouragement to patronize the saloon? And the saloon was patronized with a vengeance, and intemperance among Catholics was growing apace.

The Catholic Church in America was compelled, for her own honor and in loyalty to her mission, to set herself right before the country on the saloon question. She did so energetically in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore; she has done so no less energetically this present year, through the Bishop of Columbus and the Apostolic Delegate. The mind of the Church is manifest. Individual Catholics, Catholic societies, may follow the Church, or they may adhere to their own counsels and oppose her. But from the doings of such as these the Church will fear no reproach: she stands on record as the determined foe of the American saloon.

JOHN IRELAND.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

DROUGHT FIRES.

If sins and errors could be classed according to the risk of their natural penalties, the folly of forest destruction would probably head the list. Spring floods, summer droughts, sandstorms, and insect plagues, all nearly exclusively due to the reckless waste of arboreal vegetation, have turned the garden land of the Old World into hopeless deserts, and the inland regions of our own continent are threatened with the additional horror of yearly drought conflagrations.

Two hundred years ago these visitations were known only in the form of prairie fires. The aborigines of the Western forest States took no special precautions against the spread of their campfire blazes, and, indeed, often burned out the dry leaves of an entire mountain range to facilitate the search for nuts, but the forests were protected by the perennial moisture of their own atmosphere. In the Tennessee highlands, where I passed the summers of fifteen successive years on the comparatively dry ridge of the Chilhowee Range, I have seen the traces of nut-fires that had spread over a thousand acres of ground without causing a thousand cents' worth of actual damage. They had consumed the dry leaves, windfalls of dry twigs and mountain grasses (that could be relied upon to sprout up the next spring none the worse for the sprinkling of fertilizing ashes); here and there an old stump had been set a-fire, and in October bunches of pine knots could sometimes be seen flickering for days together, but the live trees had resisted the blaze, and the bushes were only singed or smoke-blackened to the edge of their sappy branches. After the lapse of six months the appreciable vestiges of injury might have been summed up in the retarded growth of a few whortleberry patches. Far different results are apt to follow the spread of a campfire in woodlands devastated by the activity of the lumber fiends. In Michigan, western Pennsylvania, western New York, Minnesota, and Wisconsin the tall trees of districts measured by hundreds of square miles have been felled and their dead branches scattered along the ground, together with dry leaves and chips of resinous wood. After the end of July the air currents reaching these half-cleared backwoods from the west are generally as dry as the breath of the Lybian Desert, and the moisture of the breezes from the east and south, too, has been absorbed by their passage over vast areas of parched hills and cotton-fields. By the middle of August the appearance of the vegetation resembles that of the Australian bushlands after a rainless summer. The foliage of the brushwood, no longer protected by the canopy of leafy trees, becomes yellow, then yellowish brown, and as dry as sun-heat and drought winds can make it. The facilities of combustion resemble those of a wrecked match factory, exposed to the glare of a furnace-fire.

In dry seasons effective precautions against the risk of a devouring conflagration become more and more difficult, and at last practically hopeless. The fatal spark may come from the engine of a passing train, from a smouldering cigar, from a bivouac of tramps or berry-gatherers. The mere love of mischief may prompt a schoolboy to celebrate his summer vacations with wood fireworks. An acre of burning weeds may escape detection till the flames have reached the brushwood piles, where resinous twigs and dry pine leaves flare up like gunpowder cotton, and within three hours after the rise of the first whirl of warning smoke the fire may have attained a rate of progress defying the control of anything short of a cloudburst. In a dead calm, a conflagration of that sort might "burn itself out" on a limited area, bordered by creeks or sand-roads; but experience has established the curious fact that a drought conflagration nearly always generates its own gales. The superheated air ascends and creates a vacuum, which is filled up by air currents rushing in from all sides with a violence proportioned to the difference of atmospheric pressure. Borne on the wings of those whirlstorms, showers of sparks are scattered in all directions, and overleap obstacles that would have stopped the flight of a feathered arrow. The citizens of Hinckley, Minn., had surrounded their little town with a "fire ring" nearly one hundred yards wide, by burning or sweeping out every wisp of combustible substance; but they might as well have opposed their brooms to the cannonade of a shell battery. An eyewitness' report says:

"About three o'clock in the afternoon the fire literally jumped into the town. Its approach was not gradual. It did not cut its way along, devouring everything in its path, but came on in huge leaps, as if to overtake everything fleeing before it, and then burn back at its leisure. The intense heat had developed a veritable whirlwind of flame that actually twisted off poplar trees several inches in thickness, and gathering huge blazing firebrands high in the air and carrying them forward from forty to eighty rods, there to fall and recommence the work of devastation."

The vehemence of that fire-tornado may be inferred from the fact that it overtook a swift-running passenger train of the St. Paul & Duluth Railway on the down grade to Mink Lake. Seeing the track crowded with refugees, the engineer stopped his train and took aboard about forty men and thirty women and children, with such bundles of household goods as they had been able to gather up in their hasty flight. By that time the horizon ahead was a sea of raging flames, and, after a hurried consultation with the conductor and express messenger, the engineer decided to turn back and try to regain the safe meadow lands of the lakeshore. But the cinder-storm was close at his heels. To the left and right of the track the woods caught fire, and a flame-wind that would have made a gust of an African simoom a blest relief almost took away the breath of the devoted crew and blistered their arms through their drenched shirts. A fireman extinguished his blazing clothes by leaping bodily into the watertank, and then seizing a bucket dashed it several times over the blazing engineer. The train was running under a full head of steam, but the cinder brands flew ahead of it, and the conductor estimates the speed of the pursuing storm at sixty miles an hour. Hot air, almost deprived of its oxygen, affects the brain like a narcotic poison, and when the cars themselves caught fire the passengers, already frenzied with fear, seemed to lose their wits altogether, and some of them actually leaped into the midst of the flames.

The voice of the flame-tornado out-roared the clatter of the train, and the horrors of the next ten minutes must have rivalled the scenes on board

of the Chilian supply-train that had to run the gauntlet of the rebel sharp-shooters. A burning bridge crunched and swayed as the locomotive rushed across, but the engineer stuck to his post till he was stopped by a chasm sixty feet wide and filled with the debris of a trestle across a little lake that proved the salvation of the half-roasted passengers. The train, tank-car and all, was burned to the trucks of the wheels. If the breath of that gale could burn its way through a water-tank, it is no wonder that the few remaining copses of greenwood failed to resist the havoc. Like the Chicago monster fire, the conflagration prepared its own fuel; for the spark-whirls parched the foliage the succeeding flames were to devour; and four miles north of Hinckley two hundred persons were burned in a swamp, where they had taken refuge in the hope that the rank vegetation would stop the progress of the fire. Fifty persons were burned with their houses at Sandstone, Minn., twenty at Kettle River, thirty at Rutledge and Pine-town, along the line of the Minnesota Southern Railroad, and, altogether, some five hundred human beings may have perished in a single forest fire—perhaps not the worst, and certainly not the last, of the present summer.

The only remedy against the repetition of such horrors can be found in precautions against the wholesale destruction of woodlands, and especially in the "isolation system" of the north European foresters. Instead of being allowed to sell large tracts of forests, to be devastated at the pleasure of greedy speculators, the proprietors of wooded districts are required by law to spare the *hoch-wald* ("high woods") of all mountain ridges too steep for the successful pursuit of agriculture, and utilize the forests of the plains in rotation, sparing the trees of certain sections till the saplings of the adjoining (cleared and replanted) areas have time to grow up, and taking care that each new clearing shall be surrounded by a broad belt of flame-resisting greenwoods. By the strict enforcement of that regulation and the careful removal of brushwood piles, the spread of forest fires has been almost entirely obviated even in countries like eastern Prussia and the Austrian Alps, where sixty to eighty per cent. of considerable areas are still covered with stately pine forests.

That prevention, in such cases, is better, because far more practicable, than cure, has been only too dearly proved by the experience of the last fifteen years, but the necessity of legislative reform is rarely admitted till the significance of the danger is brought home, *in terrorem*, to the citizens of populous settlements like those of the Minnesota lakeshore counties, where the veil of the smoke-clouds almost turned day into night, and where the approach of the conflagration could be *felt* from a distance of fourteen miles, even in buildings protected against the drift of the cinder-showers.

Even now, the demand for a revision of our forest laws is only local; but we should remember that the same agencies that have modified the climatic conditions of the upper Mississippi Valley are at work throughout the territory of our Atlantic seaboard. A risk from which the happiest geographical position of any country on earth could not protect sea-girt Asia Minor is steadily increasing with the progress of aridity, and before the middle of the twentieth century the last remaining forest, or rather brushwood, reservation of east America—the upland region of the Apallachian mountain system—may be swept by a fire-storm from the sources of the Potomac to the rock gates of the Tennessee Valley.

F. L. OSWALD.

THE PREJUDICE AGAINST FOREIGN PHRASES.

It is difficult to see reason in the objections urged by many against the use of foreign phrases whenever it is possible to avoid them. The day of American indifference to things trans-atlantic is indeed gone by; nor is it probable that the extreme position of Mr. Bryant in excluding foreign phrases from the daily paper of which he was editor will ever again be taken by a man of his breadth of mind. The current is setting in another direction, and a due regard for other standards than our own in art, in politics, and in the amenities of life is replacing the disposition to ignore them. Yet that contempt for things foreign which reached its height some fifty years ago was too deeply rooted not to survive in certain modes of thought, and to this source it may not be altogether unreasonable to refer the dislike of foreign phrases. No doubt the abuse of classical quotations and French phrases by ornate writers has prejudiced many against even a moderate use of things good in themselves. Yet it is hard to see why a happy medium may not be struck between use and abuse.

The objection not infrequently made to foreign phrases on the ground that their introduction into an essay or novel presupposes more learning than most readers have, is of little weight. It is scarcely to the credit of an educated American that his habit of getting at the contents of a book in the shortest possible time will not permit him to puzzle out or inquire into the meaning of an expression he has never before encountered. True, the well known books of reference or the legendary lady from Philadelphia may not always be at hand. But we will estimate that nine-tenths of the quotations commonly made are from the French, German, and Latin, and that of these at least half are current coin. If such expressions as *fin-de-siècle*, *zeit-geist*, and *nil admirari* are stumbling-blocks to the reader, his acquaintance with general literature cannot be wide, and it is not for him to take exception to them. The Russian, German, or Frenchman who reads and thinks, as a matter of course understands more than one language, and is not worried by a citation from *Hamlet* or *Paradise Lost*. Keats did not deem it necessary to translate his refrain of *La Belle Dame sans Merci*. Yet many excellent writers make a point of appending a transalation to every quotation they make, and of course much depends upon the class of readers a book is intended to reach. But the practical American wishes to know why in nine cases out of ten anything more than the English rendering is needed. *Cui bono* is his motto—I crave his pardon for a phrase he would undoubtedly repudiate—and Emerson's theory that where a bridge has been provided it is hardly worth while to breast the current, has settled the question for more than one mind. But even a bridge has its limitations, of which the uncompromising notice, "No gait faster than a walk" is only the outward sign. Surely the mental and physical sensations experienced in walking or riding over—Wordsworth on Westminster Bridge to the contrary notwithstanding—are not comparable to those derived from swinging or sailing across. When Renan repeated to his sister a certain saying of Augustine, would she have been likely to seize upon it and make it her life-motto if he had only given her the French equivalent? Was it not precisely the untranslatable element in the words "*In angello cum libello*," simple to baldness as they seem, which explains their hold on her mind? In reply to the suggestion that in this case rhyme and symmetry of arrangement are the only untranslatable elements, I venture to assert that the same is true

in the majority of cases. In all languages under heaven sound is so interwoven with sense that the most powerful effects, whether in prose or poetry, may be very largely accounted for on the ground of a particular arrangement of vowels and consonants. In imaginative English the instinct of rhyme at the beginning of a word is only less active than in Anglo-Saxon verse, and though many have found it even more irritating than the recurrence of foreign phrases, I cannot help thinking that in our language, at any rate, a certain amount of alliteration, initial or terminal, is necessary to the immortality of a sentence. From "Little Latin and less Greek" or "Cleanliness is next to godliness" or "Spare at the bung and spend at the spigot," there is scarcely a current expression which does not bear out this theory; nor can we be sure that such sayings as "Beating round the bush," and "Telling a hawk from a hernshaw," would retain their homely force were it not for the single repetition of an unobtrusive consonant.

Perhaps if our schools paid more attention to the genius and less to the grammar of a language it would be easier to detect a practical value in the material accumulated by teachers and scholars. What our language has in common with Latin, what it has in common with German, what it has in common with French, ought to be pointed out to every student capable of appreciating the vital connection. I believe that the pronunciation of a language like the Italian, which has furnished our entire musical nomenclature, should be taught as a matter of course, even to pupils who have no intention of studying Italian. Indeed I think an approximate idea of the pronunciation of French, German, Spanish and Italian should be imparted to every young man or woman about to enter good society, and I am convinced that a system of education which aims at completeness should include a knowledge of all foreign words in general use.

The seek-no-further is a North American product, and that ought to endear it to every inhabitant of the New England and Middle States. Ought we then to banish the pineapple from our banquets?

LUCY C. BULL.

A NEEDED PROFESSION.

IT is curious that the people of this great country should look calmly on, without raising a dissenting voice, and see their savings swept away from time to time, in consequence of the lack of a proper system of examining accounts.

Much has been said, if little has been written, on the subject of the incompetency of bank examiners. It is unfortunately true that men are frequently appointed as examiners through political influence—men who have absolutely no banking experience, no knowledge of figures, nor even the elementary principles of bookkeeping, and who scarcely know the debit from the credit side of a ledger. If incompetency were all that could be charged against examiners appointed under the present system, it might be bad enough, but it is on record that men of dissipated habits are sometimes selected, who are not only likely to neglect their duties, but are only too ready to make accommodating reports for a consideration.

As to railroads, it is a fact that a dozen or more American railroads are now in the hands of receivers, and it is fair to assume that if the audit of these corporations had been made by independent professional accountants, the causes of insolvency might have been avoided, or at least the state of bank-

ruptcy would have been disclosed at the outset, thus affording creditors and stockholders a chance to save something from the general wreck.

In the case of private or "close" corporations, a few have their books audited by expert accountants, but a very great majority run along without any outside supervision—frequently to their cost. Now and then one encounters a president of a corporation who declares that he would not hold office for a day if the books of the concern were not audited periodically by an expert, but considering the number of embezzlements and defalcations which are reported almost daily in the public press, it is astonishing how very few private corporations or firms employ a professional auditor.

It is, however, useless to diagnose the disease without being able to suggest a remedy. The recent scandal in connection with a prominent railroad has aroused a storm of indignation which will undoubtedly greatly help to bring about the adoption in this country of the system which prevails abroad, of having corporation accounts examined periodically by professional accountants. Until this is done, a solid argument is presented against confidence in many securities which are offered for the investment of capital. "Comparisons are odious," but competent judges agree that the English system of audit is the best protection the investing public can have against unscrupulous management. Probably many people do not know what the English system of audit is, and it may be explained that no railroad or "joint stock" bank could exist in England whose books were not periodically examined by experts; and no "limited liability company" or corporation could float its stock there unless the prospectus contained the name of a respectable and independent auditor.

Accountancy is a recognized profession in England and Scotland, and has held an honorable place there for very many years; so many, in fact, that we find it upon a firm footing in these countries two centuries ago. The auditing of accounts, public and private, was intrusted to men who made a specialty of the business; and there is mention of accountants in the diary of Samuel Pepys, under date of June, 1667, in which the reference is evidently made to public officials. In Scotland at the same period accountancy was a distinct profession, ranking with that of barrister, and in England, half a century later than the allusion of Pepys, a volume was pubished in which "professed accountants" are referred to in complimentary terms. The Institutes of Accountants are now corporate bodies holding Royal charters—that of the Scotch being dated 1854 and the of English 1883. Their ranks are recruited from the wealthier classes, a fact which will be readily understood when it is mentioned that a premium of five hundred guineas (about $2,600) has to be paid by the novitiate to the Chartered Accountants on signing "articles of indenture"; an apprenticeship of five years has to be served, and the candidate has to pass several stiff examinations before he can receive his diploma and practise as a chartered accountant.

The apprentice has to study hard, and in his period of probation he becomes acquainted with the most varied and intricate methods of accountancy, as well as many phases of human character. He is taught to be courteous and polite, but firm, self-reliant, and able to promptly suppress any attempt at "bulldozing," and, above all, he is impressed with the necessity of keeping his own counsel. Discretion is as important to him as to a lawyer or a physician, since he is frequently the recipient of confidences the divulgence of which would mean ruin to his client. The reputation of a professional man is his capital, and cannot be too jealously guarded. The accountant's

duties carry grave responsibilities, and he has to exercise the greatest care in the preparation of balance sheets and certificates of profits, as he is liable in damages for any errors of commission or omission. If bank examiners and railroad auditors in this country had been placed under similar obligations, millions of dollars might have been saved to confiding investors.

Mr. Shaw, during his tenure of office as Consul-General at Manchester, treating on this subject, reports to his government as follows:

"It may be well to state that the system of 'Chartered Accountants' is regarded in England with great confidence and favor. There is a well-organized and specially educated class of accountants whose business consists in supervising the accounts of private firms, public companies, banks, etc. By paying a retaining fee to a firm of chartered accountants, any one can have the books of any enterprise with which he is connected carefully examined by an expert, without in any way casting suspicion on bookkeepers, cashiers, secretaries, or others. The practical effect of this system is this: that bookkeepers and those responsible for public or private trusts know that, at any time, they may expect a visit from an accountant, sent by the firm in whose charge, in a sense, the books are placed: This plan has many obvious advantages, which will readily appear to every one. Many gentlemen connected with public or private trusts are virtually at the mercy of bookkeepers and haphazard 'auditors,' men who are frequently unfitted to exercise the important functions they are called upon to perform. In England the public accountants furnish a cheap, efficient, and responsible agency whereby the books of any concern, either public or private, can be properly and perfectly examined.

"It is largely the custom in this country to retain these 'Chartered Accountants' to supervise the books of individuals, corporations, etc. The system is well known and highly esteemed, and when an accountant comes to examine the books, no one regards the professional examination with the least aversion or suspicion. It is a business custom, and as such is looked upon as a necessary and desirable custom. I believe that a similar organization in our country would become most useful and popular. There is a wide field for its operations and great need of some better professional inspection in a multitude of interests, both private and public. In the belief that this English system of 'Chartered Accountants' is worthy of the fullest examination, and also of being adopted by our people, I have taken the liberty of furnishing these details, and transmitting full data bearing upon the laws, regulations, forms, etc., of this organization."

In the United States, it is true, the profession is still in its infancy, but the New York accountants have taken the lead by forming the "American Association of Public Accountants," which includes among its members many of the most able men in the profession in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. This association is making commendable efforts to elevate the standard of efficiency, and has founded a School of Accounts under the University of the State of New York, holding a charter from the State, where young men will be instructed in the science of bookkeeping and accounts, and taught the higher principles of accountancy.

At the present moment we are face to face with a question which, perhaps, does not come strictly within the scope of this paper, but which may be briefly referred to. Now, that the Income Tax has become a law, who is to make the necessary examinations of the affairs of corporations and private individuals? Shall it be the prototype of the bank examiner—notoriously incompetent—or the professional accountant, skilled in such investigations, with a high reputation for probity?

J. LINDSAY REID.

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THE FIGHT OFF THE YALU RIVER.

BY THE HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

ELEVEN years ago the United States began building a new navy to take the place of its old that was fast passing away. The progress made has attracted the attention of the world.

We have now, completed and nearing completion, a number of gunboats, cruisers, and monitors, and, also nearing completion, two second-rate and four first-rate battle-ships. We have only two torpedo-boats. Three more were recently authorized and are about to be laid down, but five boats of this class are totally insufficient even for our present fleet.

Congress was strongly urged by the Navy Department at its last session to authorize additional battle-ships and torpedo-boats, and it is believed that public sentiment approves the recommendation. All the works necessary for the carrying out of this programme are in full operation, and such vessels, if now authorized, could be built, armor and armament included, with promptness and dispatch.

Is there anything in the recent naval developments to justify the conclusion that the days of the battle-ship are ended?

Judging from what we see in the newspapers the fight off the Yalu seems to have created a somewhat widespread impression that they are, and that the naval battles of the future are to be

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won by swift unarmored cruisers, armed with powerful guns and fighting at long range.

The Japanese have undoubtedly illustrated afresh the value of sea power. This of course has been taught, time and time again, in lessons familiar to all. The most powerful factor in the downfall of Napoleon, one that operated all the time from 1805 to 1814, was the absolute control of the sea by his arch-enemy, England. He was shut off from transportation by sea, compelled to rely on land communications, and there was no point in the circle of his conquests from the easternmost shores of Italy along the coasts of the Mediterranean to Gibraltar, and thence around the Atlantic and the Channel and the North Sea into the Baltic, where the English could not assail him. The genius of the great conqueror and the wonderful impulse the revolution had given to his soldiery made him master of continental Europe, but he could not hold it. Wherever upon the sea there was a strategic point in his conquered territory there were English fleets, English diplomacy, and English allies, and these finally led first to the downfall at Paris and then to Waterloo.

A more recent, possibly a more forceful, lesson is to be drawn from our own civil war. The Union fleets blockaded the Confederacy and almost starved it to death. They shut it in from recruits and supplies and munitions of war. They cut it in two by their fleets on the Mississippi, and penetrated its vitals along the lines of other navigable streams. They hovered around it, as England hovered around Napoleon and his satrapies, and assailed it wherever it was weakest. When the true history of the conquest of the Confederacy is written it will undoubtedly appear that, in proportion to numbers engaged and expenses incurred, the navy of the United States was a far more efficient factor in the final result than even the armies in the field.

Japan is illustrating the same lesson. By her command of the sea, she outnumbered the Chinese at Ping Yang, and by the battle off the Yalu she seems now, at this writing (Oct. 10), to have acquired such further dominion over the water as to justify her, in the opinion of her Emperor, in landing troops on Chinese soil, and undertaking an invasion. The value of sea power is not, however, the topic this paper is intended to discuss. It is believed that a vast majority of the American people recognize the

fact that the United States ought to have more power on the sea than is represented by her present navy.

The question of present interest is, When we add to our navy shall we build battle-ships ?

In deciding upon vessels of war we are to keep steadily in view the purposes for which they are to be used. Strategy is the "art of determining upon the decisive points in the seat of war, and the lines along which forces must move to reach them." Successful strategy requires swift movement and often over great distances. We must therefore consider in building ships not only their powers of offence and defence, but also their radii of action and speed. When a decisive point in the seat of war has been determined upon, the rapidity with which fleets can be concentrated upon it becomes all important. General Bedford Forrest, the celebrated Confederate cavalryman, when asked what he considered the secret of success in war, answered pithily, "To get there first with the most men."

If unarmored cruisers, when they "get there," can successfully engage battle-ships, then, as their speed is greater and their radii of action by reason of increased coal capacity is also greater, they should undoubtedly be preferred. Not only would they cost less, but they would be of incalculably greater value for purposes of war. Is the news, as we have it now from the Yalu, sufficient to cause us to conclude that an unarmored vessel, having gotten to the battle-ground, can contend against an armored ship ?

It is admitted that for a complete understanding of the lessons of this exceedingly interesting fight, much fuller details are necessary than any now at hand, and it certainly is not the purpose of this article to attempt the impossible task of laying down final conclusions about the teachings of a battle, the knowledge of which is as yet so imperfect. The only purpose of this paper is to contend that what seems to be a largely prevalent present impression is not justified by any information now at hand. Certain postulates will also be suggested, which it will be well to bear in mind when we come to reason with the facts more fully before us, for it is believed to be in the highest degree improbable that anything ever can be learned from Yalu that will put an end to the building of heavily armored vessels.

The battle-ship of to-day is not the creature of yesterday. It did not, with its armor, its engines, its guns, its torpedoes, and

its ram, grow up in a night, like Jonah's gourd. On the contrary it is the evolution of ages. It is true that it is sometimes called, even by naval experts, an experiment. This is for the reason that, as an organized entity, it has never been tested in battle. But such a statement, though it be in itself strictly correct, is nevertheless likely to lead to erroneous conclusions, as there is no important factor generally used in modern battle-ships that was not, before its adoption, thoroughly discussed, *pro* and *con*, by the very brightest intellects that could be brought to bear upon it. These discussions have been enlightened by every physical test, including firing at plates, that could be devised, save only that the completed ship has not been fired at. Nor was this test applied at the Yalu. There was no first-class modern battle-ship there. If there was not, as will hereafter be shown, it is not easy to see how anything can possibly come out of that fight to disturb the general conclusions embodied in such a vessel by the common consent of naval experts after so much and such prolonged study and experiment.

The mind of the naval architect is naturally conservative.

"*Illi robur, et aes triplex*
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus."

A dread of the great deep seems natural to the human mind, and few have been so prone to caution and so slow to adopt innovations as the architect who builds the ships that are to encounter the dangers of the sea and of battle. It is astonishing how slowly, until of recent years, the art of shipbuilding has advanced; how much the barge in which Cleopatra sailed down the Cydnus to welcome Antony was like a modern yacht, and how similar the lines of the vessels with which the Greeks fought the Persians at Salamis, the Christians fought the Turks at Lepanto, and the English fought the French and Spanish at Trafalgar were to the lines of the warships of to-day. The changes the centuries have wrought in ships have been not essentially in shape, but in size, in motive power, in armament, and lastly in material. From the earliest times there has been unceasing effort to improve naval methods, and though warships have always in some sense measured the civilization of nations, yet the art of the shipbuilder has been, certainly until recently, a laggard in the progress of the world.

The Greeks had at Salamis better vessels than the Persians. The people who led the world in painting, sculpture, and architecture were better shipwrights and better workers in metals than the barbarian invaders, and the Grecian galleys had therefore stronger prows with which to ram an enemy, and their soldiers had better swords and shields and spears. These, with the courage and superior tactical skill of the Greeks, gave them victory over the superior numbers of the Persians, but the Persians and the Greeks both propelled their boats by oars. The galley period of naval warfare lasted until the 14th century was well under way.

Then came in the gun upon the vessel propelled by sail,—the gun to stay indefinitely, perhaps as long as naval warfare shall last upon the earth, and the sailing man-of-war to float its flag in triumph over the seas for four centuries.

The varieties of sailing men-of-war were infinite. So it had been with the galley, and though it always appeared that swift galleys and light swift sailing-ships had their uses and were indispensable to war fleets, yet experience has shown, in every period of naval warfare, and under all conditions, not only that boats and ships that were relatively strongest and best built were superior in battle, but that upon such superiority in battle, and not upon swiftness of movement, depends dominion over the sea. So it was at Salamis; so it was subsequently, when the Romans drove the Carthaginians from the sea; so it was with the powerful galleys which contributed so greatly to the victory of the Christian allies over the Turks at Lepanto; and the careful student of the war of 1812 will find that the many triumphs in naval duels won by the Americans were due in no small degree to the excellence of our ships and their armament.

Not only has experience taught that the be stand strongest ships, other things being equal, must win in single combat, but it has shown that successful battles must be fought by ships in line or other definite and methodical formation. Ships fighting without coöperation, or coöperating in confused masses without system or order, cannot hope for success against well-directed, systematic lines. Not only is some line of battle a necessity, but it is equally a necessity that a line of battle should be if possible composed of line-of-battle ships. Nelson put behind him at Trafalgar his weaker vessels, and so it

must always be. No fleet commander who can avoid it will expose his line to be broken by opposing a weaker to a stronger ship. Naval authorities, it is believed, agree without exception that these principles must obtain throughout all naval warfare, whatever may be the changes in the nature of ships or in the range of weapons, and therefore naval architects, during this century, full of so many startling developments, have been watching intently every discovery that could throw light upon the question what a naval vessel should be that is to hold its place in line in the day of battle. That it is to be propelled by steam, which has finally driven out sail power; that it is to be seaworthy and habitable, and capable of steaming to the points where it is likely to be needed with as much rapidity as is consistent with the other functions required of it; and that it is to combine in itself as much power offensive and defensive as may be—all experts seem agreed.

The gun after it got upon the ship advanced as slowly as the ship. The battles of the civil war in America thirty years ago were fought out with cast-metal, muzzle-loading guns, and cast-metal, muzzle-loading guns had been used for four centuries. Breech-loading small arms were in 1861 in their infancy, and wrought iron had only four years before begun to be associated with ordnance. The Parrott gun, with a heavy band of wrought iron around its breech, was the precursor of the modern built-up steel gun.

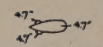
Iron, before our civil war, had begun to be used in shipbuilding. The U. S. S. "Michigan," still representing the government on the Lakes, was built of iron in 1844, but so conservative was naval architecture that sixteen years afterward there were very few iron vessels afloat. The Emperor Napoleon, in 1861, had put three and four inches of iron on the sides of a war vessel, and theorists were discussing plans of heavy armor for battle-ships when the destruction of the "Cumberland" and the "Congress" by the "Merrimac," and then the fight between the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor," startled the world. The one was an object-lesson proving that certainly at that time unarmored vessels could not fight armored ships; the other seemed to show that the plain iron armor of that day was superior to the gun. The shipyards and foundries of Europe went to work to build new navies. The gunmakers set about devising new guns and inventing new powder and new projectiles with which to pierce this armor.

Guns grew stronger and longer, and powder was made slow-burning, thus enabling larger charges to be used; and projectiles, in order that they shall not go to pieces on the armor, have come to be made of highly tempered steel. These improvements in guns and projectiles have been met by constant improvements in armor, which is now made of steel, toughened by an admixture of nickel and hardened by new processes.

This contest between the power of the gun to pierce, and the power of armor to resist, has gone on year after year. At one time it is proclaimed that armor has won, at another that the gun is master. The contest is not even yet at an end. The impression is gaining ground, however, that the gun has thus far the advantage; that is to say, that no armor a ship can carry, in extent sufficient to protect all her vital parts, can resist a point-blank blow from the highest-powered gun a ship can carry. Even if it be admitted that this is true now to the fullest extent, and further that it is to be thus for all time, still it does not follow that armor is to be abandoned, and that the unarmored vessel carrying heavy guns is to be the battle-ship of the future. It still remains to be said for the armor, as against the high-powered gun, that the gun that will pierce an armor plate at point-blank range on the proving-ground with unerring certainty, cannot be counted on to achieve the same result in the ever-varying conditions of battle, as the target is moving and shifting, and the angle at which the blow will be given will be largely a matter of accident. But omitting this consideration, and admitting even that armor would be no protection against very heavy guns, still the argument does not stop. The best ship can carry only a few of these, and their fire is necessarily slow. There remains to be encountered the terrible hailstorm of projectiles coming from rapid-fire guns and machine guns, and even from modern muskets, which could pierce the sides of an unarmored cruiser at the distance perhaps of half a mile. The improvement in guns of small calibre, in the range and rapidity of fire of 4, 5, and 6-inch guns, has been quite as marked as in heavy ordnance. A 5-inch gun, with a range of five miles, can deliver fifteen shots, while the 12-inch fires once,—the one firing at the rate of five shots per minute, the other at the rate of one shot in three minutes. A 4-inch gun, with a range of four miles, can fire eight aimed shots per minute, or twenty-four shots while a 12-inch gun fires once.

COMPARISON OF VESSELS ENGAGED
BATTLE OFF [illegible]ER, SEPT. 17, 1894.

TORPEDO BOATS



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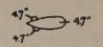
CLASS. GUN VESSEL
DISPLACEMENT 1030



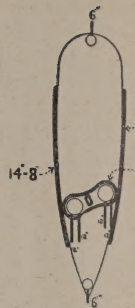
NAME. KWANG-KI
CLASS. GUN VESSEL
DISPLACEMENT 1030.

NAME. CHAO YUNG
CLASS. GUN VESSEL
DISPLACEMENT 1350.

SUNK.

CHING YUEN
PROTECTED CRUISER
2300.

PING YUEN
COAST DEFENSE VESSEL
2600.



CHEN YUEN
BATTLE SHIP
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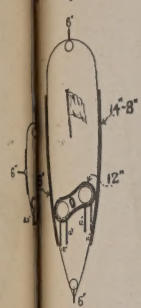

LAI [illegible] TING YUEN
COAST DE[illegible]
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BATTLE SHIP
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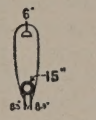
INJURED.

KING YUEN
COAST DEFENSE VESSEL
2900.

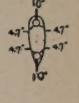
SUNK.



CHI YUEN
COAST DEFENSE VESSEL
2355.

CHIH YUEN
PROTECTED CRUISER
2300

SUNK.



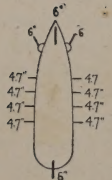
YUNG WEI
GUN VESSEL
1350

SUNK.

CHI FLEET.

NAME. AKAGI
CLASS. GUN VESSEL
DISPLACEMENT 614.

INJURED.



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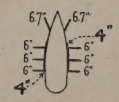

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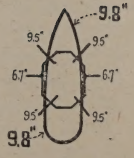

FUSO
ARMORED CRUISER
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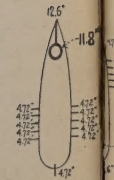
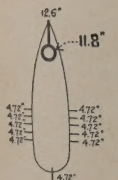


ITSUKUSHIMA
COAST DEFENSE VESSEL
4280.



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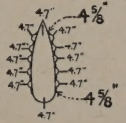

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ARMORED CRUISER
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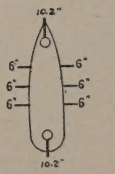

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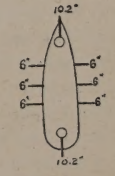

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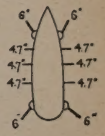

AKITSUSHIMA
PROTECTED CRUISER
3150.

JAPANESE FLEET.

A Hotchkiss revolving cannon, throwing a six-pound projectile accurately for three miles, will deliver its fire at the rate of twelve per minute, or thirty-six times as rapidly as the 12-inch gun.

Any one of these projectiles, whether from a rapid-fire, five-inch, or four-inch gun, or from a Hotchkiss gun, would pierce an unarmored cruiser through and through anywhere, certainly above its protective deck, and any one of such shots delivered into the complicated gun-mount of a ten or twelve inch gun would put the gun out of action. The storm of projectiles that would be rained upon a ship in battle from "secondary batteries," composed of these rapid-fire and revolving guns, carried by all well-armed ships, whether armored or unarmored, would be turned off from the best modern armor wherever it should strike it, as were the projectiles of the "Merrimac" from the tower of the "Monitor," whereas these same shots would, if they should strike its guns or gun-mounts, almost immediately disable the great guns of an unarmored vessel.

The effectiveness of modern ordnance is not matter of conjecture. At what is called the battle—or it should be more properly termed the massacre—of Min River in 1884, the French fleet, composed of eight vessels, annihilated within fifteen minutes eleven Chinese vessels which had no efficient protecting armor. It is true that the Chinese vessels and guns were awkwardly handled, that many of their pieces could not be brought into action, but the incident shows conclusively how terribly destructive is the accumulated energy of modern rapid-fire guns. Gordon's machine guns in the Soudan were so destructive that the Soudanese were absolutely unable to work their pieces. If it be true, then, that modern armor would successfully resist projectiles from these guns—and repeated experiments seem to leave no doubt that it is—then the armor must be worth its cost that would defend against them. It would be a large cruiser that would carry three guns that could be relied upon to pierce the armor of a battle-ship. These could deliver, say, one shot per minute. The armored vessel, besides its great guns, would be able to deliver from its secondary batteries, say, fifty shots per minute, any one of which, striking the complicated and unprotected machinery with which the great guns of a cruiser are loaded and worked, would disable them instantly. It would

seem to be desperation to put into the line of battle a ship at such a disadvantage. Indeed a careful consideration of the destructiveness of machine-gun fire would tend to the conclusion that the future, instead of seeing battle-ships built without armor, will see all cruisers protected, at least with light armor like that upon the "New York." If it comes to be admitted on all hands that armor will protect against all but the heaviest guns, it will be then, in a fight between two battle-ships, a question of give and take, just as it was in former times, say, between the "Constitution" and the "Guerrière."

Still another almost incalculable advantage in favor of the battle-ship is its greater stability and steadiness as a gun platform. The advocates of the unarmored cruiser as a fighting-ship, if there are any among experts, would, while distributing most of it in additional coal and motive machinery, insist upon putting some at least, of the weight the battle-ship is made to carry in armor, into additional heavy guns. These guns, though they should be fairly distributed along the deck, must be at a considerable elevation above the water, and so would make the ship top-heavy and uneasy in the water during the shock of battle. The battle-ship, on the other hand, having its heavy armor, much of it, on its sides and extending well down into the water, becomes the steadiest gun platform that can be floated. The charge of a 12-inch gun weighs nearly 1,300 pounds. Only about sixty of them per gun are carried; this and the time required in firing, not to speak of economy, which is not to be thought of in the supreme moment of battle, all alike proclaim the importance of accuracy in firing these guns. To hit or to miss with one of these shots may be to win or to lose a battle upon which empire depends.

Our actual knowledge about the battle of the Yalu and its results is at the present writing lamentably meagre. When we know what ships were engaged on both sides, we know enough to say with confidence that it does not show that an unarmored cruiser can successfully encounter a battle-ship. The material for the experiment was not present.

Comparing all the accounts, it is safe to say that both sides fought bravely, that the results favored the Japanese, as the Chinese suffered much greater loss of life and lost four vessels, while the Japanese are believed to have had probably three ships severely injured. The battle seems to have been fought at long range,

CHINESE SHIPS ENGAGED IN THE ACTION OFF THE YALU RIVER.

Name.	Class.	Displacement, tons.	I. H. P.	Batteries.		Torp. tubes.	Armor.			Max. speed. knots.	Remarks.
				No. and class of guns.	Total wt. of fire. lbs.		Hull.	Battery.	Deck.		
Chen Yuen ...	Battle-ship	7,430	7,300	IV. 12.0″ B. L. II. 6 0″ B. L.	3,126	3	Belt, Partial, 8-14″	Barbette, 12″	2-3″	15.5	Completed 1883, Germany.
Ting Yuen.. .	Battle-ship	7,430	7,200	IV. 12.0″ B. L. II. 6.0″ B. L.	3,126	3	Belt, Partial, 8-14″	Barbette, 12″	2-3″	15.4	" 1883, "
King Yuen....	Coast defence vessel	2,900	5,000	II. 8.3″ B. L. III. 6.0″ B. L.	954	4	Belt, Partial 5.25-9.5″	.....	.....	15.0	" 1887, "
Lai Yuen.....	Coast defence vessel	2 900	5,000	II. 8 3″ B. L. III. 6.0″ B. L.	954	4	Belt, Partial 5.25-9.5″	.....	.....	15.0	" 1887, "
Ping Yuen....	Coast defence vessel	2,600	2,400	I. 10.2″ B. L. II. 6 0″ B. L.	637	4	(Belt) 8″	Turret, 5″	2″	10.5	" 1890, Fuchau, China
Chi Yuen. ...	Coast defence vessel	2,355	2,800	II. 8.3″ B. L. I. 6.0″ B. L.	750	4	.....	Barbette, 15″	1.5-3″	17.5	Completed 1884, Germany.
Chih Yuen....	Protected cruiser	2,300	6,000	III. 8.3″ B. L. II. 6 0″ B. L.	1,124	4	.....	....	2-4″	18.5	" 1887, England.
Ching Yuen...	Protected cruiser	2,300	6,000	III. 8.3″ B. L. II. 6.0″ B. L.	1,124	4	.....	.....	2-4″	18.5	" 1887, "
Yung Wei. ..	Gun vessel	1,350	2,800	II. 10.0″ B. L. IV. 4.7″ B. L.	1,180	3	....	.....	Partial 2-5″	16 2	" 1881, "
Chao Yung...	Gun vessel	1,350	2 800	II. 10.0″ B. L. IV. 4.7″ B. L	1,180	3	.....	. . ..	Partial 2-5″	16.2	" 1881, "
Total, 10...		32,915	47,300	12.0″ = 8 10.2″ = 1 10.0″ = 4 8.3″ = 12 6.0″ = 17 4.7″ = 8 Total = 50	14,135	36					

JAPANESE SHIPS ENGAGED IN THE ACTION OFF THE YALU RIVER.

Name.	Displ'cement, tons.	Class.	I H.P.	Batteries.		Torp. tubes.	Armor.			Max. speed, knots.	Remarks.
				No. and class of guns.	Total wt. of fire, lbs.		Hull.	Battery.	Deck.		
Matsushima	4,277	Coast defence vessel	5,400	I. 12.6″ B. L. R. XII. 4.72″ R. F.	1,416	4	.....	Barbette turret, 11.8″	1.5-2″	16.0	Completed, 1891, France.
Itsukushima	4,277	Coast defence vessel	5,400	I. 12.6″ B. L. R. XI. 4.72″ R. F.	1,370	4	.....	Barbette turret, 11.8″	1.5-2″	16.8	" " "
Hasidate	4,277	Coast defence vessel	5,400	I. 12.6″ B. L. R. XI. 4.72″ R. F.	1,370	4	.....	Barbette turret, 11.8″	1.5-2″	16.0	" 1894, Japan.
Fuso	3,717	Armored cruiser	3,500	IV. 9.5″ B. L. II. 6.8″ B. L.	1,460	..	Belt, 9-5.8″	9-8″	.....	13.2	" 1878, England.
Chiyoda	2,450	Armored cruiser	5,600	X. 4.72″ R. F.	460	3	Partial belt, 4.6″	.....	2-1″	19.0	" 1890, "
Hiyei	2,250	Armored cruiser	2,490	III. 6.8″ B. L. R VI. 6.0″ B. L. R.	1,028	2	Partial belt, 4″	.....	.....	14.0	" 1878, "
Naniwa	3,650	Protected cruiser	7,235	II. 10.2″ B. L. R, VI. 6.0″ B. L. R.	1,499	4	.....	....	2-3″	18.9	" 1886, "
Takachiho	3,650	Protected cruiser	7,500	II. 10.2″ B. L. R. VI. 6.0″ B L. R.	1,499	4	....	.....	2-3″	17 9	" " "
Yoshino	4,150	Protected cruiser	15,000	IV. 6.0″ B. L. R. VIII. 4.7″ R. F.	760	5	....	.....	1.75″ to 4.5″	23.0	" 1893, "
Akitsushima	3,150	Protected cruiser	8,400	IV. 6.0″ B. L. R. VI. 4.7″ R. F.	670	4	.....	.....	2-3″	19.0	" 1891, Japan.
Akagi	614	Gun vessel	700	I. 8 2″ B. L. R. I. 4.7″ R. F.	354	..	.....	.....	.....	13.0	" 1890, "
Total, 11	36,462		66,025	12.6″ = 3 10 2″ = 4 9.5″ = 4 8.2″ = 1 6.8″ = 5 6.0″ = 26 4.72″ = 59 Total.. 102	11,886	34					

from 1,000 to 5,000 yards. The Japanese admiral appears to have chosen the fighting distance, and he probably preferred the long range because he knew his ships, having most of them little or no protection, could not stand pounding, and he believed his gunners to be the better marksmen. The event seems to have justified his tactics.

Torpedoes appear to have played no part. If either fleet had been as much distressed as its adversary has represented, when night had fallen the victor might, with a few swift torpedo-boats, have finished under cover of the darkness the work of destruction. The fact that nothing of the kind was attempted is significant.

It is believed we have correctly the names of all the ships engaged, not counting torpedo-boats. If so, then the accompanying tables show accurately the nature and class of every vessel including armor, armament, when and by whom built, and every other essential.

It will be seen that the Japanese had of tonnage 36,462, the Chinese 32,915. The total weight of metal thrown at one discharge by the Japanese was 11,886 lbs., Chinese 14,135 lbs. The Chinese had eight 12-inch, four 10-inch, and one 10.2-inch guns, while the big guns of the Japanese were three 12.6-inch, four 10.2-inch, and four 9.5-inch. The heavy guns of the Chinese were all built in 1883–84, as were the vessels which carried them. The guns were good enough, however, to have sunk or disabled every ship in the Japanese fleet, unless by a bare possibility the armor of the "Fuso" could have resisted them at long range, if only they had thrown their projectiles accurately.

The three 12.6-inch guns of the Japanese were of the very best make, built in 1891. The Italians have and the English have a few 15-inch and 16-inch guns afloat, and our battle-ships are armed with 13-inch guns, but no nation is now beginning the construction of naval guns larger than 12-inch. A high-powered 12-inch gun is considered everywhere by experts equal to the requirements of a first-class battle-ship. The three 12.6-inch guns, one on each of the three largest Japanese ships, were all well protected by steel turrets 11.8 inches thick, and they had tubes, 9.8 inches thick, through which ammunition was hoisted. If these guns had sunk every ship in the Chinese line the fact would not have proven that armor such as is being put to-day

upon our battle-ships is useless or that it would not be worth in the day of battle every cent of its cost.

Turning from the guns to the armor with which the vessels of the two fleets were protected, the Chinese ship that had a belt of 8 inches from stem to stern left the fight, so far as we know, uninjured. So did the two ships "Chen Yuen" and "Ting Yuen," which had about 60 per cent. of their belts protected by armor from 14 to 8 inches thick, though the "Ting Yuen" had her large guns disabled. One of the two so-called armored ships having the least protection, the "King Yuen" and the "Lai Yuen," which had about 25 per cent. of their lengths covered with armor from 9.5 to 5.25 inches, was sunk, and the other was badly injured. The "Chih Yuen," "Chao Yung," and the "Yung Wei," which had no armor, were sunk.

Now, turning to the Japanese fleet, the only armored vessels they had were the "Fuso," with a complete belt from 9 to 5.8 inches thick, which was uninjured; the "Chioda," 60 per cent. of its length protected by a belt 4.6 inches thick, also uninjured; and the "Hiyei," with only 25 per cent. of its length belted with 4-inch armor, which was injured. The other injured vessels of the Japanese were the "Akagi," unprotected, and the "Matsushima," the flagship, which had no protection except for its one big gun.

Certainly there is nothing in these facts to induce the conclusion towards which so many writers seem to have been straining, that instead of battle-ships we should rely on cruisers as fighting-vessels; and yet the above is the substance of all that is known at this writing, October 10, about the battle off the Yalu that would enable us to judge of the efficiency of modern navies. Another table is inserted showing at a glance the nature and extent of armor on each vessel.

The truth is, so many wonders have been accomplished during the present century that we are perpetually on the lookout, expecting to be astonished; and nothing is now so attractive to the public as a sensational discovery that on some point, it matters not what, the world is all wrong, and the people who think they know and call themselves experts are simply a lot of ignorant pretenders.

When during the Chilian war the two torpedo-boats belonging to the Balmaceda Government sank the Blanco Encalada, quite a

number of writers began to contend that the torpedo-boat was to entirely supplant the battle-ship. But after a little thought and a modicum of inquiry it was ascertained that the torpedo-boats had simply done, under favoring conditions, what they were expected to accomplish—shown that they were to be useful implements of war. So when the lamentable accident to the "Victoria" occurred, the press was crowded with articles commending the ram as the chief weapon of battle-ship; but the discussion that followed soon developed the fact that the ram of the "Camperdown" had accomplished the purpose for which it was intended, sunk the vessel its ram came in contact with, that every well-designed modern ship of war is a ram, and that a battle-ship in addition combines every other known means of offence and of defence. It is not possible to say what changes may be wrought in its present features, but it is safe to predict that, while naval warfare shall remain, ships will be built with the view of taking their places in line of battle, and that such ships will never discard armor so long as it can be expected to afford protection against any considerable proportion of an enemy's projectiles.

When we get all the possible facts from the Yalu action, though they need not be expected to abolish, they may yet help us to improve the battle-ship. One question of doubt is whether additional protection is not necessary to prevent the pieces of shells, exploding on the deck, from injuring the machinery below and even piercing the bottom of the vessel; this it is hoped to get light upon.

Another disputed point is as to whether it is safe to follow the general practice of extending the armor over what are called the vitals of the ship, and leaving the ends to rely upon compartments to keep the ship afloat. This practice is bitterly opposed by some of the best authorities. Naval experts will welcome the light, if any, that may be let in on this question.

But, however much or little the naval architect may get from Yalu, that battle carries one lesson our country must heed, viz.: that unless either China or Japan is to be wiped off the map as an independent nation, the United States are to have west of them two nations each steadily increasing its naval power, while our trade relations with both are rapidly becoming more intricate and more complicated.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

THE ORIENTAL WAR.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE JAPANESE MINISTER AT WASHINGTON, S. KURINO.

IN commenting upon the war between Japan and China I must confess that I find the task more difficult than I anticipated when I undertook it. The fact that recourse to this method of utterance is in some sense a violation of diplomatic usage and tradition does not constitute all the difficulty. At a time like this, when such grave issues hang in the balance, an apparent indiscretion of this nature may be forgiven to one who seeks to appeal to intelligent public opinion, not in a disputatious spirit, but with firm confidence in his country's cause, and with the purpose of making its rightfulness clear to others. The doubt I have to overcome is more formidable than any question of propriety, and arises from the fear that the office which I have the honor to hold may cause too much significance to be attached to words which have no official weight, but which are merely the expression of personal opinion. If those who do me the favor to read these lines will bear this in mind, they may rest assured in turn that no effort will be spared on my part to free what is herein said from any trace of prejudice or unseemly partisanship.

Every loyal Japanese naturally hopes for his country's success in the present struggle. After that the desire nearest to his heart must be the wish that the intelligent, thinking world shall understand and appreciate the weighty reasons which have caused Japan to allow her quarrel with China to be submitted to the arbitrament of war. No one understands better than the Japanese government and the Japanese people that, no matter how serious the quarrel, war should be the last recourse, to be resorted to only when every other mode of settlement has failed. It would be a sad thing for them if, even amid the plaudits which

now greet their victories, they were not certain that right is on their side. It is precisely because we feel that right *is* on our side that we have gone so far and ventured so much in the present crisis.

This assertion naturally brings to mind a statement that has not infrequently been made concerning the causes of the war. It has been charged that Japan is imbued with a spirit of jingoism; that she courted war with China and did nothing to avoid it; and that this national tendency was reinforced by the necessity of seeking foreign conquest in order to avoid complications which threatened domestic revolution. Nothing could be farther from the truth than this charge. The most charitable excuse to be made for it is the total lack of knowledge of Japan's real condition upon which it rests. It has its origin in a complete misapprehension of the extent and effect of the political agitation which has on several occasions occurred in Japan since the establishment of a parliamentary government. The gravity of the charge must be my excuse for a moment's digression.

The transformation through which Japan has passed during the past four decades is a story that has been often told. Although the harsher among our critics do not admit all the claims we think our progress has entitled us to make, no one will say that we have not gone far and sacrificed much to attain our ideal. Nor can any one claim that our designs have been carried out in a haphazard or desultory fashion. The same object has been held consistently in view throughout, the elevation of Japan to a place among the sisterhood of civilized states. It would have been fatuitous to hope that so many and such great changes could have been made without some disturbance and agitation; but our country has passed through the ordeal without serious harm, and each step forward has been an advance towards greater enlightenment, greater liberty, and more strongly assured national prosperity. The throne has a firm foundation in the affection and reverence of the people, and no act of our Emperor has endeared him more to his loving subjects than the voluntary and unsolicited surrender of a portion of the Imperial prerogatives for the purpose of establishing a constitutional form of government. That surrender was not the result of any sudden political exigency, but was the full fruition of a plan graciously promulgated by his Majesty more than twenty-five years ago.

A parliament implies parties, and these the new order of things has naturally and properly brought to Japan, with all the heated political contests to which even favored lands like this are not strangers. But at no time since the first parliament met has the stability of the State been threatened, and at no time has the government been menaced by revolution. We are adapting ourselves to the new order of things to the best of our ability, and, I think I can safely say, with a very fair degree of success.

To notice another and a similar charge, which has been often repeated, it can be denied with equal emphasis that Japan, in undertaking this war with China, has been moved by a vain-glorious desire to usurp the leading rôle in the East, or, as a distinguished writer has put it, to "play to the gallery." Japan has long recognized the fact that, so far as Korea is concerned, her interests and the interests of China are substantially identical. Neither needs that country for any purpose of practical aggrandizement, and self-protection dictates to both a friendly and helpful attitude toward their weaker neighbor. The consistent course of my government ever since this question has come prominently to the front proves the truth of this statement. In 1875, in 1882, and again in 1884, Japan had ample reason for making war, if conquest had been her object. That she did not do so can only be reasonably ascribed to her desire to adhere to the line of action she had mapped out for herself, and which she has followed undeviatingly. If China had joined her loyally and effectively in carrying out that policy, there would have been no war, for there would have been no Korean question.

The author to whom I have already alluded, whom natural aptitude, close study, and brilliant literary ability have combined to fit for the task of dealing in a masterly manner with Eastern questions (I hardly need say I refer to Mr. Curzon), has said that China regretted the surrender of her suzerainty over Korea, as consummated by the negotiation of the Korean treaties, and sought to retrieve her position by interfering in Korean affairs in order to demonstrate that her supremacy was unimpaired. Of the propriety and dignity, not to say the utility, of the methods which she adopted to accomplish this end,—the surreptitious maintenance of an armed force in Korea, the forcible abduction and deportation of the Tai-wan-Kun, the secret politi-

cal intrigues set on foot by Chinese agents, the petty criminal spite shown to the remains of Kim-Ok-Kiun,—I leave others to judge. Of the unhappy results which can be directly traced to this insincere and mischievous course, the present war is an eloquent witness.

It should not be forgotten that Japan's interest in Korea is neither "academic" nor "sentimental." She surrendered any claim she might have had to suzerainty when she concluded the treaty of 1876. In lieu of that ancient claim she has secured by legitimate means interests in Korea second to those of no other nation. In addition to these interests, geographical position and the resultant considerations of national defence, make the affairs of Korea of as much moment to her as those of Egypt or of Afghanistan are to Great Britain. Self-respect, self-interest, and self-protection forced her into the position she assumed, after she had done all that was consistent with national dignity and honor to settle her differences with China and to avoid an actual rupture.

Japan and China have a great deal in common, and in the past Japan owed much to China. But the two peoples differ greatly in many ways, and of recent years their paths have diverged more and more widely. I have already said something of the progress of Japan since she emerged from a state of almost complete isolation. The sturdy conservatism of China is not less a subject of wonder. The difference between the two peoples consists in this : that the Japanese realized the perils of their former condition, and sought to obtain the benefits of western civilization ; while the Chinese are perfectly contented to remain as they are, and have no desire to depart from traditional methods. The practical results of these diverse national tendencies have been signally emphasized by recent occurrences. The success that has thus far crowned the arms of Japan, for example, has been attributed to the warlike spirit of her people. In a measure this is correct, but to a greater extent Japan's success is due to laborious and patient adherence to a systematic plan of military organization as a component, but by no means the principal, part of the general scheme of national development and progress. The ancient samurai of Japan were conspicuous for their bravery and warlike accomplishments, but they did not by any means form the bulk of the nation, and many, perhaps the majority, of those who are now serving in the army

and navy of Japan are from that part of the population which under the ancient feudal *régime*, wherein the rights and duties of all classes were minutely prescribed and rigorously observed, did not even have the privilege of bearing arms.

China, on the other hand, has men and ships and abundant resources, and no one can truthfully accuse her people of cowardice. The history of Gordon alone would be sufficient refutation of such a charge, for it proves conclusively that even although their system of ethics may render the Chinese averse to the profession of arms, that system can on occasion be laid aside with very excellent results. And, moreover, if recent events have shown that China has now ventured upon war with soldiers badly armed, poorly drilled and ill provisioned, it is not because there has not been an ample show of preparation for war in China within the past few years. The figures are not at hand, and it would doubtless be impossible to obtain them, but I am certain that I do not err when I state that China for many years has spent far more money than Japan upon her army and her navy. Nevertheless, under the system which prevails in China in all branches of the public service, such expenditures apparently count for little in time of real need. With a form of government which even the invading conqueror was forced to adopt ; with a code of morals which has been esteemed worthy of the highest commendation; and certainly with no lack of natural intelligence or of executive ability, China finds that these avail her nothing, because of the corruption which has permeated every portion of the body-politic.

It may perhaps be thought by some to be in bad taste to thus criticise one's enemy. But I can sincerely disclaim any thought of a pretence to superiority over those whose motives and actions I am attempting to analyze. The facts I recite are patent to all ; the lesson they teach has an important bearing not alone upon the present struggle, but also upon the events which led to it. It shows us that China, with all her warlike preparations and with all the power and prestige which her immense population and her great riches give her, is not capable of adequately defending herself against an enemy numerically much weaker than herself and not possessing a tithe of her wealth. Yet this is the government which assumed to control the destinies of the Korean kingdom, to guard it against aggression, and to protect it in the paths of peace and prosperity. If China can do so little for herself in her

own hour of need, if the faults of her rule become so glaringly apparent at the first touch of adversity, what, we may ask, could she do for her whilom *protégé*, aimlessly yet earnestly striving for better things, save to check every aspiration for improvement, to perpetuate every ancient evil, and finally to surrender the poor victim, a sheep ready for the shearer, to the first comer strong enough to enforce his demands?

There is another phase of the war between Japan and China upon which a certain amount of stress has been laid. It has been predicted that although Japan might at first be victorious, China's hoarded wealth and teeming millions would in the end overwhelm her adversary. It is not given to every man to be a prophet, or the son of a prophet, and war is not a safe subject upon which to hazard prophecy. Of such predictions it is sufficient to say that they would be notable for the ignorance they display as regards the ordinary progress of warfare, were it not for the still more extraordinary theory which they involve on the subject of national redemption. They assume, for example, that the Chinese administration, permeated as it is by corruption and incapacity, is to spring into rejuvenated vigor and efficiency under the spur of disaster and defeat.

They take it for granted, also, that Japan will stand idly by while this is going on, without seeking to profit by the advantages which her arms have won for her. To say the least of it, the assumption is a violent one. Of what effect, it may be asked, is China's vast reserve of strength if her rulers do not know how to utilize it? If after years of preparation and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the Chinese Government can only muster a comparatively small force of trained soldiers, or gather together not more than a fragmentary part of the stores and munitions obtained at such great cost, who will say that better results can be achieved in the midst of the distress and confusion of serious reverses? Such an assumption is purely conjectural, and would hardly be worthy of serious notice, did it not involve another hypothesis; that is to say, that Japan has entered upon a war of conquest and of selfish aggrandizement. A war of that kind must necessarily be protracted, and it is only in such a war that this supposititious recuperative power would have the opportunity of displaying itself. There is nothing either in the course of events or in the declarations of the Japanese Government to justify such

a supposition. Certainly that is not the view which the Japanese people take of the matter. We are not waging a war of conquest or of aggrandizement, but fighting for a principle which involves our own safety and wellbeing. If we had challenged China to this conflict with only the advantage which our military superiority gives us, and if we continued the contest from mere greed of conquest, we might have reason to dread the recuperative power which wealth and numbers give, and, even more, the disapproval which sooner or later overtakes him who provokes an unjust quarrel.

For proof that Japan has never sought to provoke such a quarrel we can refer to our efforts during the past quarter of a century to establish a cordial understanding with China. The mutual benefit of friendship and of a helpful and neighborly spirit between two nations who have so many interests in common has been one of the motive powers of our state policy. This has been the sentiment of the men who have done most to develop and to direct public opinion in Japan, and our leading statesmen and thinkers have attempted to guide the nation's course upon these lines. But their advances have met with cold suspicion or with words that had no tangible result. The attitude of China has been most peculiar, at times apparently friendly, frequently tinged by a hardly concealed hostility, and never marked by the genuine warmth of sincere good-feeling. She has seemed incapable of understanding or of forgiving Japan's abandonment of ancient standards. She has hovered between perplexity and disdain, and at times has assumed the airs of a stern schoolmistress astonished and dismayed by the incomprehensible actions of an errant scholar. Japan has borne this treatment with equanimity, confident in the belief that finally even Chinese conservatism must yield to the impact of modern ideas. But the task has not been an easy one, and there have been occasions when her patience has been taxed to the utmost. The crisis came in Korea, where, after years of endeavor to establish a state of things which would be beneficial to all three countries, Japan found herself confronted by a manifestation of arrogance and duplicity which threatened to perpetuate a chaotic condition of affairs wherein lurked the gravest dangers to herself, and to China, also, if she had but realized it. To have yielded then would have been to abandon interests that were vital to the wellbeing of the empire. Japan did

not hesitate, but stood firmly on her rights, leaving to China the responsibility of deciding whether the difficulty should be honorably and peacefully adjusted or whether it should be allowed to drift to an open rupture.

The decision has been made, and the two leading nations of the East, after centuries of peace, are arrayed against each other in open hostility. Both have hazarded much upon the fortunes of war, but it seems to me that the world at large will gain much more by the victory of one than by that of the other. For I trust I may say, without appearing to be boastful, that this war is in some measure a struggle between the forces of modern civilization and the *vis inertiæ* of a conservatism the strongest and most stubborn the world has ever seen. The advance of the one may be checked by the stolid resistance of the other, yet in that case not Japan alone, but in the end China also, will be the loser, for victory in her case will give renewed life to that spirit of intolerance which has hitherto been an insuperable bar to her progress, while defeat will make the truth clear even to the most obstinate and cause the obstacles to national development to disappear in the conflict. I do not mean to say that it is Japan's design to act as the regenerator of China any more than it is her purpose to wage a war of conquest or of selfish aggrandizement. The one attempt would be as presumptuous as the other would be culpable. Japan is contending for the protection of her rights, and for that alone; but, unless all auguries fail, in her victory in this war the truly sincere friends of China may see the brightest hope for the future of that country.

S. KURINO.

HOW A LAW IS MADE.

BY SENATOR JOHN L. MITCHELL, OF WISCONSIN.

MORE than a hundred years ago an English jurist, whose fame as a writer increases with each year, said in his *Commentaries* that there was too much legislation. The wisdom of that saying is more forceful now than it was a century ago, when the population of England was small, a new era of civilization beginning, and this country had just emerged from the throes of the Revolution. Our country needed a good deal of legislation then, but the representatives sent to our national Congress had in mind the idea which was crystallized by the English jurist. Even though a new nation was building, there was not too much legislation then. The Constitution preceded all laws, and every schoolboy knows of the months spent by our patriotic forefathers in preparing that great paper. Every word, phrase, clause, paragraph, and section was in its turn considered, and the result was an instrument that commands the admiration of the whole civilized world.

Most of the framers of the Constitution were elected members of the first Congress. Their wisdom and patriotism did not desert them, and every bill that became a law was the subject of active debate by all. To prevent the hasty consideration of any measure, rules were adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate, but while it is true that many of these early rules still remain in the manual of each House, their force has been lost in the needs and demands of increased legislation. It is seldom, indeed, that a bill is deemed important enough to arouse general debate, and frequently bills are rushed through Congress which have been hastily considered and are possessed of little merit. In such cases personal solicitation by the promoters of a bill obtains consideration for it more frequently than its merits demand. It does not necessarily follow that the course now pursued is im-

proper, but with the great mass of business that comes before each Congress it is impossible for an individual member to give his attention to every bill that is introduced, or even to give his time to every bill reported.

In the Fifty-second Congress there were over fifteen thousand bills introduced in the Senate and House. They were referred, as they were in the earlier Congresses, to the proper committees. Thousands of them were considered by these committees, and reported back to their respective Houses either favorably or unfavorably, and hundreds of them were passed, but of the whole number introduced only a small percentage became laws.

The course of a bill through Congress is most interesting. Take for instance a private bill that has had its origin in the Senate (and for the purpose of illustration the Senate will do as well as the House, for in both of these bodies the system is practically the same). A private bill is, as the term indicates, for the relief of some individual, while a general or "public" measure is far-reaching in its effect. In nine cases out of ten the Senator who introduces a private bill is solicited to do so by one of his constituents who wants a pension, or who desires the charge of desertion removed from his military record, or who has a claim against the Government of some kind or the other. The bill may or may not be properly draughted, but whether it is or not, it is usually introduced by the Senator without careful consideration. Any error in language or intention is left to the committee to correct by amendment. There is a legend printed on the bill that the Senator first asked and obtained consent to introduce the bill; but, in fact, the Senator does nothing of the kind. He rises in his place during the morning hour, when the introduction of bills is in order, and simply reads the title of the bill and asks that it be referred to the proper committee. The title of the bill is then read by the reading clerk, and the reference is made in a perfunctory way by the President of the Senate. That is called the first reading of the bill. It is true that an objection might be raised to the first reading of the bill, but that has not been done for years, if, in fact, it was ever done. However, this is a safeguard against objectionable legislation. The reason, perhaps, why the rule has never been enforced is that no bill is ever considered in the Senate that has not first received consideration by one of the committees of that body.

It is not difficult to get a bill introduced in the Senate. If the Senator does not care to be responsible for it, he states that he introduces the bill by request, and it is so printed. There are many people, ignorant of the course of legislation, who believe that the mere introduction of the bill insures its passage, and it is a lamentable fact that there are Senators who give false hope to their constituents by simply introducing the measure, sending a copy of it to the claimant, and then dismissing the whole matter from their minds. The life of a bill terminates with the Congress in which it was introduced, and it is customary with some Senators to reintroduce in the new Congress all of the old bills which were not favorably acted upon. In the Fifty-second Congress one Senator from a Middle State, probably through the zeal of his private secretary, introduced an old bill four times. In each case the bill was referred to the same committee and was for exactly the same relief.

When the bill is referred by the President of the Senate to the committee, it is usual for the chairman of that committee to send it to the proper executive department for the purpose of obtaining information that will justify either a favorable or an unfavorable report. This is the course when the bill is new ; but if it should be a measure that has been before Congress at some previous time, the archives of the Senate are searched for the purpose of ascertaining what prior action had been taken upon it. When adverse action has been taken on a bill, two or three Congresses are sometimes permitted to intervene before it is re-introduced. In the mean time new evidence may have been secured or the old facts may be susceptible of a stronger presentation and in a more favorable light.

The old bill is usually accompanied by a mass of papers that have upon them the earmarks of preceding Congresses. These papers cannot be withdrawn from the files of the Senate if at any previous time the measure has been reported upon adversely. They are retained in evidence of that adverse action, but if a measure has been reported favorably the papers may be withdrawn upon a motion of a Senator. Old claims may or may not be meritorious, but they are invariably regarded with suspicion as well as dislike. The multitudinous duties of a Senator leave him but little time to delve into musty papers and to prepare written reports which will stand the test of the committee, let alone the Senate But there was once a Senator who did take the time to

thoroughly investigate a number of these stale claims. He found what none of his predecessors on the committee had found, that there was undoubted merit in them. It is true that he sat up for many nights to make these investigations, and that it took him a long time to write his reports. But each report contained such a lucid and concise presentation of the facts, and was so logical and convincing in its reasoning, that the bills were passed by the Senate, and became laws. This Senator made so lofty a reputation among his colleagues in dealing with these old claims that when a vacancy occurred in the Federal judiciary they united in urging the President to nominate the industrious Senator to that high position, and to-day he is a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is a hard matter to get a bill out of committee, for several reasons. Most of the committees of the Senate are composed of nine members. These members are in turn appointed sub-committees, to which are assigned the various bills which have been referred to the whole committee. In the course of a Congress these references to the working committees of the Senate consist of from three to nine hundred measures. All of this means a great deal of exacting work. Perhaps in the mass of bills referred to an individual Senator, as a sub-committee, there is a large percentage which is not deserving of favorable recommendation. These bills are usually held back, out of consideration to the Senators who have introduced them. If a report is urged upon any one of them it means unfavorable action, and that is never desired, as an unfavorable report practically kills the bill. But outside of these bills there are many meritorious measures which lie dormant until the sub-committee in charge is stirred up to make a report upon them. Sometimes a Senator who has become interested in a private bill will appear before the committee, make a statement of the case and personally appeal to have the matter acted upon at once. He may go so far as to write the report on the bill, and, if a majority of the committee favor its passage, the report may be adopted.

When a bill has passed the committee, the Senator who has prepared the report submits the bill to the Senate, amended or not, as the case may be. The bill is reprinted with its amendments, and is given a calendar number. The report is also printed and given the same calendar number, the calendar being

a record of each of the bills in the order in which it is reported back to the Senate with the favorable or unfavorable recommendation of the committee. At this period in the course of the passage of the bill, the claimant feels hopeful. He believes his measure is nearly a law, for if it is passed by the Senate, he will then have to get it only through the House. Perhaps he has anticipated the action of the Senate, and has had a similar bill already introduced in the House. His efforts may have been successful in that body and the bill may be on the House calendar also. If such is the case he believes that he stands near success. But the work of getting the bill on both the Senate and House calendars has been the work of months. The committees usually meet but once a week, and then remain in session not over an hour and a half. For weeks at a time no legislative business may be considered by the committee in charge of his bill, on account of nominations made by the President. In the present Fifty-third Congress the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, on March 1, 1894, had not given up one session to the consideration of legislative business, but this action is not usual. However, the private claimant finds that weeks have passed into months, the long session ended, and the short one begun before he gets his bill on the calendar of each house. There is not much time for legislation of a private character in the short session, except at the beginning. The appropriation bills for carrying on the government for the ensuing fiscal year must be prepared, and, as they have the right of way over all other legislation, a private bill must take its chances. But being on both the Senate and the House calendars, it has a favorable prospect.

The claimant then urges the Senator who has had charge of the bill to call it up at some odd moment for consideration and passage. This is not difficult in the Senate, but in the House only the greatest popularity with the Speaker and the Representatives can secure such a favor. Sometimes in the Senate, under one of its rules, that body will proceed to the call of the calendar, as it is termed, and, if there be no objection to the bill, it is only a question of how rapidly it can be read to secure its passage. This reading of the bill at full length is called the second reading of the bill. It is then open to amendment, and, if none be made, the title is read (which is called the third reading), and the bill is passed. When the bill has passed either the House or

the Senate, it becomes an act, and is signed by the Clerk of the House if it be a House bill, and by the Secretary of the Senate if it be a Senate bill.

The Senate bill has now become an act and is again reprinted, but still retains its identity as a Senate measure. The only changes are in the heading, which reads "in the House of Representatives," and in affixing the date of passage and the name of the Secretary of the Senate. While the reprinted bill is correct in every particular, it is not recognized as the original, which eventually finds its way into the bound files of the Senate. From the time of the organization of the Senate up to the beginning of this Congress, the original act was engrossed on blue sheets of paper, each line being numbered for convenience in quickly determining where amendments were to be inserted. It was only by the hardest work on the part of the engrossing clerks that, under this old custom, the work of the Senate could be kept up. Now the original act is printed. When the act is ready to be transmitted to the House, the Secretary or one of his clerks takes it and appears before the Speaker, who suspends business until the message from the Senate is received. If the claimant has been active he will have interested some member of the House in the passage of the bill by the Senate, and will have requested him to call up the House bill on the calendar, and ask unanimous consent of the House to have the Senate bill substituted. Sometimes this consent is given, but more frequently it is not. The member may ask that the Senate bill lie on the Speaker's table, and wait for a more favorable opportunity to call up the bill. If he again calls up the bill and fails to get consideration, the bill is referred to its committee, and is generally considered promptly. It may be that the language is not expressive of the ideas and policy of the House committee, and it is amended. The bill is then reported back with a recommendation that it pass. It is still a Senate bill, and goes on the calendar of the House under that heading. Should there be an amendment, the bill is reprinted, the omitted part having a line run through the word. Type specially cast for this purpose is used. If there be anything added, the words are printed in italics.

During the course of a Congress many bills are reported. The House calendar in the last days of a Congress is usually a thick,

voluminous document, and it would be a matter of impossibility to dispose of all of the bills which still remain on the calendar. It is customary, therefore, for the House to assign to the several important committees one or two days each for the consideration of the business which these committees deem most pressing. Only a few of the many bills can be selected to be pushed to a final passage. The claimant must still be on the alert to secure for his bill a place among those which shall be given this great favor. If his bill passes, it goes back to the Senate, with the amendments made by the House. A new complication then arises if the Senate does not at once accede to these amendments, and a conference is then asked between the two houses. The short session is near its close. Night sessions may be necessary—and they usually are—for the purpose of getting the big appropriation bills through. But, nevertheless, desperation spurs the claimant on. He urges the conferrees to get together and settle their differences. Sometimes this is done quickly, and, even though a conference report is privileged and may be called up any time for consideration, other conference reports are pressing, and above all loom the appropriation bills and their innumerable conference reports. The private bill must wait its chance. The representative in charge of the bill in the House solicits the Speaker for recognition, and the name goes on the list at the foot of fifteen or twenty others, who in turn give way whenever the Sundry Civil, the Indian, or the Legislative and Executive appropriation conference reports come in. All these reports provoke discussion. Congress is drawing near its close and yet the conference report on the private bill has not yet been called up. At last an opening is secured. The report is called up, adopted, and the member in charge rushes to the clerk's office to secure its speedy transmittal to the Senate. Perhaps the President and his Cabinet have already arrived at the Capitol, and are in the red-room on the Senate side, when the conference report comes to the Senate. It is there adopted, but the claimant must not relax his exertions. The act must then be enrolled, and the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House must affix their signatures to the parchment. This means that the Secretary of the Senate must "message" the bill to the House. It is hurriedly signed, and "messaged" back to the Senate. Already the clock that is supposed to mark the hour of 12,

mid-day, when the session of Congress ceases, has been turned back two or three times, in order to get the bill before the President. The Senator who has had charge of the bill goes with the chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, who carries all the bills passed by the Senate to the President. No time has been given to compare the bill as enrolled with the copy of the bill as it came out of the conference committee. It may be full of errors, for, in the rush of copying, grave mistakes are often made which vitiate the full force and effect of the bill, but that is a chance which the private claimant must take. When the act is laid before the President, a few hurried words, needed to explain the purport of the bill, are spoken. If they are not satisfactory, a "pocket veto" follows, which means that the President has declined to approve the law, and it therefore dies with the Congress. This frequently happens. But if the President is satisfied, he affixes his signature, his executive private secretary records the number of the bill in his book, and then rushes out of the doorway to appear calmly in front of the President of the Senate and announce that the President has approved Senate bill No. 4,896. The private bill has become a law, and the claimant is at rest.

JNO. L. MITCHELL.

FRENCH VERSUS ANGLO-SAXON IMMORALITY.

BY MAX O'RELL.

Two years and a half ago, at a Chicago dinner-table, the conversation turned upon the subject of the coming World's Fair and its probable effect upon America in general and Chicago in particular. Great was my amusement at hearing one of the guests relate that a certain Chicago lady had given it as her opinion that the Exposition was likely to do a great deal of harm, because it would attract numbers of foreigners, and the morals of Chicago would be corrupted. The French especially were particularly feared by this Chicago lady, who expressed her determination to be absent from the great city during the World's Fair, in order to escape contamination.

Chicago morals! You will excuse me if I roared, won't you?

As one who has knocked about the world a great deal and seen many foreigners at home, I should like to be permitted to say a few words on this to me very interesting subject, for I am getting pretty sick of hearing idiotic imputations of this kind from the Anglo-Saxon representatives of pharisaism.

And, at the threshold of these remarks, let me state my firm conviction—one that deepens every year as I see more of the world—that one nation is neither better nor worse than another, but only different, that is all: different in its ways, in its tastes, in its virtues, and in its vices. Would that, all over the world, this were the teaching to be heard from every platform and every pulpit! One nation is not more virtuous or more immoral than another; it is merely different in its way of showing its virtues and hiding its vices. Nations are like individuals: in their morality, they are hypocritical or sincere; in their immor-

ality they are sly, ugly, unclean, above-board, honest, picturesque, coarse, refined, as the case may be.

So much for the world in general. Now to particularize.

Let us take the French nation as representing the Latin race, and compare it with the Anglo-Saxon one as found in America, in England, and the British colonies. I have no intention of holding up my countrymen as models of virtue, having already affirmed my belief in the universal frailty of man, in which I believe as firmly as in the universal goodness of woman; but just as a sin confessed is half atoned for, I claim that such vice as may exist—as does unfortunately exist—in France loses some of its ugliness by its refusal to masquerade as virtue.

To take the question of drink, for instance.

France is a country where temperance is properly understood, where man uses and enjoys the divine gift of wine with which a fertile soil has supplied him, and he is not ashamed to own it. He uses and enjoys it, as becomes a man, moderately. *Temperance* means *moderation*, and has never meant *total abstinence*. When a Frenchman takes his glass of wine, he does so *coram populo*. When the Parisian takes his absinthe (few Frenchmen outside of Paris do take it), he does not hide himself. He takes it on a table outside the café, and, much as I deplore the increasing consumption of this beverage, I have never seen a Frenchman take it until he gets tipsy.

In the British colonies, at the hotels, you will see men take tea or water with their meals. That is what they do in the presence of their fellow-creatures; but they spend the evening at the bar quietly, sadly imbibing whiskey till they are unable to get to their bedrooms unaided. In the prohibition States of America, I have seen men drink liquor, like castor-oil, out of a little graduated glass, in the drug stores. Everybody in America knows that this is so. Once a day, after lecturing, I take a little stimulant, a glass of hot grog. In the prohibition States I had to take it behind the counter of a chemist, or down in the cellar of the hotel. On one occasion it was sent to my bedroom, carefully wrapped up in brown paper, with a label, "The mixture as before."

This is truly edifying!

It seems to me that the sly obtaining and drinking of spirits in this fashion is likely to do as much harm to a young man's moral character as ever the dram itself could do to his body. But

this is always the attitude of Anglo-Saxon pharisaism: "Let us hide certain failings out of sight, and pretend to the world that they do not exist, while we draw attention to our virtues and pray for the conversion of the French."

In this spirit, London vaunts itself that it possesses no state-visited houses of ill-fame, whilst, all the while, its great West-End thoroughfares are literally swarming with poor, wretched creatures from sunset to early morn—a sight unparalleled in the world. Whence this overpowering impulse to wrap the pharisee's cloak around one and cry, "Stand aside, for I am holier than thou"? It is an attitude ugly and unchristian enough in the most virtuous person, but despicable and disgusting in those who use the cloak as a cover for a multitude of sins.

I have often had Anglo-Saxons hurl at my head the number of French unfortunates who are to be seen in the West End of London. My answer has always been that if they were not less appreciated in France than in England, in France they would undoubtedly remain. Surely it is not the climate and atmosphere of London that tempt them to cross the English Channel.

French immorality is often refined, artistic, Attic. Anglo-Saxon immorality is gross, brutal, and debasing, and perhaps, on that account, less attractive and therefore less dangerous.

Whoever has known anything of life in Paris knows that the young man who has a *liaison* plays at an imitation of the best days of matrimonial life, which does not entail the laying aside of all self-respect and respect for woman. He takes his *Fifine* for walks, drives, and picnics. He takes her to the restaurant, to the theatre, and is not ashamed, I am sorry to say, to be discovered in her company. For a time he brings this woman up to his level, and behaves in her presence almost as he would in the presence of a respected wife. The Anglo-Saxon, for the time being, behaves "like a brute beast that has no understanding." As with the drinking of whiskey in the prohibition States or the taking of absinthe in France, so with woman in Anglo-Saxon land or in France.

"All this is very well," will perhaps exclaim some Anglo-Saxon; "but look at your Moulin-Rouge and Jardin-de-Paris and such places! See how they flourish!"

Alas, yes, they rather flourish, I grieve to say, but thanks to whom? One stroll around any one of them will convince you

that but for the foreigner these places would have to close their doors. Englishmen, Americans, Spaniards, Italians, foreigners from all parts of the world, come to Paris on pleasure bent, crowd those places, and return to their respective countries with "impressions" of France and her people. But the people of France are not there. These resorts entirely depend on the visitors to Paris, just as do the venders of most objectionable illustrated sheets that are sold on the Boulevards. The last time I was in Paris as I was buying a paper of one of the women who keep the kiosks where the daily papers are sold, a man came and, in broken French, asked her for a copy of one of the above-mentioned sheets, representing *danseuses* in all sorts of attitudes, and with which hoarse huxters pester the frequenters of the cafés.

"We do not sell those things (*ces saletés-là*)," replied the good woman. And, turning to me, she added: "Only foreigners buy *that*" (*Il n'y a que les étrangers qui achètent ça*).

The young Englishman or American, as he peruses this literature, is quite convinced that he is reading what the French enjoy, and he goes on concluding that the French are a very immoral people.

To be sure, there are thousands and thousands of foreigners who come to Paris every year to visit its magnificent museums, hear its new plays, enjoy its lovely drives, especially from England and America, I am glad to say; but, alas, how many also, because they have heard of resorts of gayety in that city, come only to visit its objectionable places where no Frenchman who respects himself a little ever sets foot! There are thousands of foreigners who are acquainted with what is most refined, beautiful, and lofty in French literature; but how many are there who know M. Zola's name and who, without being able to appreciate the literary value of his works, fling at our faces second-hand criticisms on their so-called immorality? These Anglo-Saxons will tell you that M. Zola handles very shocking subjects in his novels, and that, in France, he is the most popular writer of the day. You would think, perhaps, that they therefore avoid reading the works of M. Zola. What are the facts? The manager of the greatest French bookselling firm in London told me that his house alone had sold over thirty thousand copies of *La Terre*, by far the most objectionable of the great writer's novels, and that no book had ever sold to that extent in London. Figures like these speak for themselves. And they

even say a great deal more than appears on the surface. The French are an artistic people. In literature, elegant style and dramatic power stand first and foremost with them. M. Zola being undeniably a great artist and a most powerful dramatist, his countrymen read him for the sake of his style and of his wonderful attainments, even when loathing his subjects and regretting the manner in which he handles them. But, often, this is not why Anglo-Saxons read him, for I venture to say that not one foreigner out of a thousand is able to appreciate half the beauty of his works in the matter of style. Frenchmen read and enjoy the writings of M. Zola *although* they are sometimes coarse (I deny that they are immoral) ; Anglo-Saxons often read them *because* they expect to find them so.

Now all this is very plain speaking ; but I was not born an Anglo-Saxon, and I think that one of the greatest treats in life is to be able to look at people straight in the face, and to speak the good, healthy, plain, honest truth.

To return to Chicago, from whence I started. The day after the dinner-party, I mentioned the Chicago lady's pious regret at the threatened influx of foreigners to a friend of mine, who is a sincere hater of self-righteousness. He invited me to follow him and take one glimpse at hidden Chicago. That glimpse was a terrible revelation, although I had never had any illusion concerning the relative blackness or whiteness of Chicago or of any other large centre of population. Alas, Chicago is like any other great city: it has its very black spots, and if you make careful inquiries as to where they are, and if you get properly directed, there is a chance for you to find them out ; with this difference between French and Anglo-Saxon cities—that in the former there exists very little more than what you see ; whereas, in the latter, with the exception of London, most of it is hidden.

As I said before, man is not better in one part of the civilized world than in another : he is different.

It is absurd for the crock which contains unutterable dives and home-grown Nautch girls to call attention to the hue of the kettle whose darkest spots are gaudy gardens frequented by gay, cheerful, and elegant *demi-mondaines*. Vice that is gay is not hopeless. Sombre, unsmiling vice is incurable.

It is high time that international stone-throwing should cease, now that all the world travels and can see for itself. It is not alone

to outsiders like myself that the ugly stone-throwing virtuousness of Anglo-Saxons appears as the great offence of an otherwise great people. In one of the most earnest and stirring sermons it has ever been my fortune to hear, Archdeacon Farrar brought home the charge to the English, comparing their rigid, angular self-righteousness to that of the elder brother in the parable of the prodigal son. The excellent Chicago lady is only a humble private in the army of the stone-throwing Christians. It is an army appalling in its numbers, whose commanders fill the world with self-applause, and so much assurance do they put into the manner of doing it that even charitable and true Christians are carried away and have a lurking suspicion that the foreigner cannot hope to ever rival the English in goodness.

Oh, my dear Anglo-Saxon friends, do take it out of your heads that you are more moral than other people. Be a little modest. Try to be satisfied and comforted by the thought that, probably, you are not worse. You have performed wonderful achievements. You are little by little quietly securing all that is worth having on the surface of the earth. Do leave us something—our character, for instance. You push us aside in every part of the globe. It would really be so kind of you not to take away from us the hope that one day we may have a little corner in the abode of the seraphs.

I know the West-End and the East-End of London; I have seen Argyle street, in Glasgow; High street and the Canongate, in Edinburgh, on Saturday nights; I have visited the dives of Chicago, the dens of New York and San Francisco; I have seen the gambling-hells of Denver and the rest. I have seen Paris in all its nooks and corners, and I really cannot make up my mind that Anglo-Saxon land scores in the comparison.

Everywhere, in every shape or form, immorality and vice are detestable, and I condone them neither in the French nor in the Anglo-Saxon. To show that, when the Frenchman is immoral, he is not more so than the Anglo-Saxon, but *differently so*, is the only aim of these remarks.

MAX O'RELL.

POSSIBILITIES OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN REUNION.

BY CAPTAIN ALFRED T. MAHAN, U. S. N., D. C. L., LL. D., AND CAPTAIN LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, ROYAL NAVY.

CAPT. MAHAN:

THE words kinship and alliance express two radically distinct ideas, and rest, for both the privileges and the obligations involved in them, upon foundations essentially different. The former represents a natural relation, the latter one purely conventional—even though it may result from the feelings, the mutual interests, and the sense of incumbent duty attendant upon the other. In its very etymology, accordingly, is found implied that sense of constraint, of an artificial bond, that may prove a source, not only of strength, but of irksomeness as well. Its analogue in our social conditions is the marriage tie—the strongest, doubtless, of all bonds, when it realizes in the particular case the supreme affection of which our human nature is capable; but likewise, as daily experience shows, the most fretting when, through original mistake or unworthy motive, love fails, and obligation alone remains.

Personally, I am happy to believe that the gradual but, as I think, unmistakable growth of mutual kindly feelings between Great Britain and the United States during these latter years—and of which the recent articles of Sir George Clarke and Mr. Arthur Silva White in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW are pleasant indications—is a sure evidence that a common tongue and common descent are making themselves felt, and breaking down the barriers of estrangement which have too long separated men of the same blood. There is seen here the working of kinship—a wholly normal result of a common origin, the

natural affection of children of the same descent, who have quarrelled and been alienated with the proverbial bitterness of civil strife, but who have all along realized—or at the least have been dimly conscious—that such a state of things is wrong and harmful. As a matter of sentiment only, this reviving affection might well fix the serious attention of those who watch the growth of world questions, recognizing how far imagination and sympathy rule the world ; but when, besides the powerful sentimental impulse, it is remembered that beneath considerable differences of political form there lie a common inherited political tradition and habit of thought, that the moral forces which govern and shape political development are the same in either people, the possibility of a gradual approach to concerted action becomes increasingly striking. Of all the elements of the civilization that has spread over Europe and America, none is so potential for good as that singular combination of two essential but opposing factors—of individual freedom with subjection to law—which finds its most vigorous working in Great Britain and the United States, its only exponents in which an approach to a due balance has been effected. Like other peoples, we also sway between the two, inclining now to one side, now to the other ; but the departure from the normal in either direction is never very great.

There is yet another noteworthy condition common to the two states, which must tend to incline them towards a similar course of action in the future. Partners, each, in the great commonwealth of nations which share the blessings of European civilization, they alone, though in varying degrees, are geographically so severed from all existing rivals as to be exempt from the burden of great land armies ; while at the same time they must depend upon the sea, in chief measure, for that intercourse with other members of the body upon which national well-being depends. How great an influence upon the history of Great Britain has been exerted by this geographical isolation is sufficiently understood. In her case the natural tendency has been abnormally increased by the limited territorial extent of the British Islands, which has forced the energies of their inhabitants to seek fields for action outside their own borders ; but the figures quoted by Sir George Clarke sufficiently show that the same tendency, arising from the same cause, does exist and is operative in the United States, despite the diversion arising from the immense

internal domain not yet fully occupied, and the great body of home consumers which has been secured by the protective system. The geographical condition, in short, is the same in kind, though differing in degree, and must impel in the same direction. To other states the land, with its privileges and its glories, is the chief source of national prosperity and distinction. To Great Britain and the United States, if they rightly estimate the part they may play in the great drama of human progress, is intrusted a maritime interest, in the broadest sense of the word, which demands, as one of the conditions of its exercise and its safety, the organized force adequate to control the general course of events at sea; to maintain, if necessity arise, not arbitrarily, but as those in whom interest and power alike justify the claim to do so, the laws that shall regulate maritime warfare. This is no mere speculation, resting upon a course of specious reasoning, but is based on the teaching of the past. By the exertion of such force, and by the maintenance of such laws, and by these means only, did Great Britain, in the beginning of this century, when she was the solitary power of the seas, save herself from destruction, and powerfully modify for the better the course of history.

With such strong determining conditions combining to converge the two nations into the same highway, and with the visible dawn of the day when this impulse begins to find expression in act, the question naturally arises, What should be the immediate course to be favored by those who hail the growing light, and would gladly hasten the perfect day? That there are not a few who seek a reply to this question is evidenced by the articles of Mr. Carnegie, of Sir George Clarke, and of Mr. Arthur Silva White, all appearing within a short time in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. And it is here, I own, that, though desirous as any one can be to see the fact accomplished, I shrink from contemplating it, under present conditions, in the form of an alliance, naval or other. Rather I should say: Let each nation be educated to realize the length and breadth of its own interest in the sea; when that is done the identity of these interests will become apparent. That identity cannot be firmly established in men's minds antecedent to the great teacher, Experience; and experience cannot be had before that further development of the facts, which will follow the not far distant day when the United

States people must again betake themselves to the sea, and to external action, as did their forefathers alike in their old home and in the new.

There are, besides, questions in which at present doubt, if not even friction, might arise as to the proper sphere of each nation, agreement concerning which is essential to cordial co-operation; and this the more, because Great Britain could not reasonably be expected to depend upon our fulfilment of the terms of an alliance, or to yield in points essential to her own maritime power, so long as the United States is unwilling herself to step in and assure, by the creation of an adequate force, the security of the positions involved. It is just because in that process of adjusting the parts to be played by each nation, upon which alone a satisfactory co-operation can be established, a certain amount of friction is probable, that I would avoid all premature striving for alliance, an artificial and possibly even an irritating method of reaching the desired end. Instead, I would dwell continually upon those undeniable points of resemblance in natural characteristics, and in surrounding conditions, which testify to common origin and predict a common destiny. Cast the seed of this thought into the ground, and it will spring and grow up, you know not how—first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. Then you may put in your sickle and reap the harvest of political result, which as yet is obviously immature. How quietly and unmarked, like the slow processes of nature, such feelings may be wrought into the very being of nations, was evidenced by the sudden and rapid rising of the North at the outbreak of our Civil War, when the flag was fired upon at Fort Sumter. Then was shown how deeply had sunk into the popular heart the devotion to the Union and the flag, fostered by long dwelling upon the ideas, by innumerable Fourth of July orations, often, doubtless, vainglorious, sometimes perhaps grotesque, but whose living force and overwhelming results were vividly apparent, as the fire leaped from hearthstone to hearthstone throughout the Northern States. Equally in the South was apparent how tenacious and compelling was the grip which the constant insistence upon the predominant claim of the State upon individual loyalty had struck into the hearts of her sons. What paper bonds, treaties or alliances, could then have availed to hold together people whose ideals had drifted so far

apart, whose interests, as each at that time saw them, had become so opposed?

Firmly though I am convinced that it would be to the interest of Great Britain and the United States, and for the benefit of the world, that the two nations should cordially act together on the seas, I am equally sure that the result must not only be hoped but also quietly waited for, while the conditions upon which such cordiality depends are being realized by men. All are familiar with the idea conveyed by the words "forcing process." There are things that cannot be forced, processes which cannot be hurried, growths which are strong and noble in proportion as they imbibe slowly the beneficent influence of the sun and air in which they are bathed. How far the forcing process can be attempted by an extravagant imagination, and what the inevitable recoil of the mind you seek to take by storm, is amusingly shown by Mr. Carnegie's "Look Ahead," and the demur thereto of so ardent a champion of Anglo-American alliance—on terms which appear to me to be rational though premature—as Sir George Clarke. A country with a past as glorious and laborious as that of Great Britain, unprepared as yet, as a whole, to take a single step forward toward reunion, is suddenly confronted—as though the temptation must be irresistible—with a picture of ultimate results which I will not undertake to call impossible (who can say what is impossible?), but which certainly deprives the nation of much, if not all, the hard-wrought achievement of centuries. Disunion, loss of national identity, changes of constitution more than radical, the exchange of a world-wide empire for a subordinate part in a great federation—such *may* be the destiny of Great Britain in the distant future. I know not; but sure I am, were I a citizen of Great Britain, the prospect would not allure me now to move an inch in such a direction. Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird.

The suggestions of Sir George Clarke and of Mr. White are not open to the reproach of repelling those whom they seek to convince. They are clear, plain, business-like propositions, based upon indisputable reasons of mutual advantage, and in the case of the former quickened, as I have the pleasure of knowing through personal acquaintance, by a more than cordial goodwill and breadth of view in all that relates to the United States. Avoiding criticism of details—of which I have little to offer—

my objection to them is simply that I do not think the time is yet ripe. The ground is not yet prepared in the hearts and understandings of Americans, and I doubt whether in those of British citizens. Both proposals contemplate a naval alliance, though on differing terms. The difficulty is that the United States, as a nation, does not as yet realize or admit that it has any strong interest in the sea; and that the great majority of our people rest firmly in a belief, deep rooted in the political history of our past, that our ambitions should be limited by the three seas that wash our eastern, western, and southern coasts. For myself, I believe that this, once a truth, can no longer be so considered with reference even to the present—much less to a future so near that it scarcely needs a prophet's eye to read; but even if it be but a prejudice, it must be overcome before a further step can be taken. In our country national policy, if it is to be steadfast and consistent, must be identical with public conviction. The latter, when formed, may remain long quiescent; but given the appointed time, it will spring to mighty action—aye, to arms—as did the North and South under their several impulses in 1861.

It is impossible that one who sees in the sea—in the function which it discharges towards the world at large—the most potent factor in national prosperity and in the course of history, should not desire a change in the mental attitude of our countrymen towards maritime affairs. The subject presents itself not merely as one of national importance, but as one concerning the world's history and the welfare of mankind, which are bound up, so far as we can see, in the security and strength of that civilization which is identified with Europe and its offshoots in America. For what, after all, is our not unjustly vaunted European and American civilization? An oasis set in the midst of a desert of barbarism, rent with many intestine troubles, and ultimately dependent, not upon its simple elaboration of organization, but upon the power of that organization to express itself in a menacing and efficient attitude of physical force, sufficient to resist the numerically overwhelming, but inadequately organized, hosts of the outside barbarians. Under present conditions these are dyked off by the magnificent military organizations of Europe, which also as yet cope successfully with the barbarians within. Of what the latter are capable—at least in will—we have from time to time, and

not least of late, terrific warnings, to which men can scarcely shut their eyes and ears ; but sufficient attention is hardly paid to the possible dangers from those outside, who are wholly alien to the spirit of our civilization; nor do men realize how essential to the conservation of that civilization is the attitude of armed watchfulness between nations, which is now maintained by the great states of Europe. Even if we leave out of consideration the invaluable benefit to society, in this age of insubordination and anarchy, that so large a number of youth, at the most impressionable age, receive the lessons of obedience, order, respect for authority and law, by which military training conveys a potent antidote to lawlessness, it still would remain a mistake, plausible but utter, to see in the hoped-for subsidence of the military spirit in the nations of Europe a pledge of surer progress of the world towards universal peace, general material prosperity, and ease. That alluring, albeit somewhat ignoble, ideal is not to be attained by the representatives of civilization dropping their arms, relaxing the tension of their moral muscle, and from fighting animals becoming fattened cattle fit only for slaughter.

When Carthage fell, and Rome moved onward, without an equal enemy against whom to guard, to the dominion of the world of Mediterranean civilization, she approached and gradually realized the reign of universal peace, broken only by those intestine social and political dissensions which are finding their dark analogues in our modern times of infrequent war. As the strife between nations of that civilization died away, material prosperity, general cultivation and luxury flourished, while the weapons dropped nervelessly from their palsied arms. The genius of Cæsar, in his Gallic and Germanic campaigns, built up an outside barrier, which, like a dyke, for centuries postponed the inevitable end, but which also, like every artificial barrier, gave way when the strong masculine impulse which first created it had degenerated into that worship of comfort, wealth, and general softness which is the ideal of the peace prophets of to-day. The wave of the barbarians broke in—the rain descended, the floods came, the wind blew, and beat upon the house, and it fell ; because not founded upon the rock of virile reliance upon strong hands and brave hearts to defend what was dear to them.

Ease unbroken, trade uninterrupted, hardship done away, all roughness removed from life—these are our modern gods ; but

can they deliver us, should we succeed in setting them up for worship? Fortunately, as yet we cannot do so. We may, if we will, shut our eyes to the vast outside masses of aliens to our civilization, now powerless because we still, with a higher material development, retain the masculine combative virtues which are their chief possession; but, even if we disregard them, the ground already shakes beneath our feet with physical menace of destruction from within, against which the only security is in constant readiness to contend. In the rivalries of nations, in the accentuation of differences, in the conflict of ambitions, lies the preservation of that martial spirit, that alone is capable of coping finally with the destructive forces which from outside and from within threaten to submerge all that the centuries have gained.

It is not then merely, nor even chiefly, a pledge of universal peace that may be seen in the United States becoming a naval power of serious import, with clearly defined external ambitions dictated by the necessities of her interoceanic position; nor yet in the cordial co-operation, as of kindred peoples, that the future may have in store between her and Great Britain. Not in universal harmony, nor in fond dreams of unbroken peace, rest now the best hopes of the world, as involved in the fate of European civilization. Rather in the competition of interests, in that reviving sense of nationality, which is the true antidote to what is worst in socialism, in the jealous determination of each people to provide first for its own, of which the tide of protection rising throughout the world, whether economically an error or not, is so marked a symptom—in these jarring sounds which betoken that there is no immediate danger of the leading peoples turning their swords into ploughshares—are to be heard the assurance that decay has not yet touched the majestic fabric erected by so many centuries of courageous battling. In this same pregnant strife the United States will doubtless be led, by undeniable interests and aroused national sympathies, to play a part, to cast aside the policy of isolation which befitted her infancy, and to recognize that, whereas once to avoid European entanglement was essential to the development of her individuality, now to take her share of the travail of Europe is but to assume an inevitable task, an appointed lot in the work of upholding the common interests of civilization. Our Pacific slope with an instinctive shudder has felt the threat, which able Europeans

have seen in the teeming multitudes of central and northern Asia; while their overflow into the Pacific Islands shows that not only westward by land, but also eastward by sea, the flood may sweep. I am not careful, however, to search into the details of a great movement, which indeed may never come, but whose possibility, in existing conditions, looms large upon the horizon of the future, and against which the only barrier will be the warlike spirit of the representatives of civilization. Whate'er betide, Sea Power will play in those days the leading part which it has in all history, and the United States by her geographical position must be one of the frontiers from which, as from a base of operations, the Sea Power of the civilized world will energize.

But for this seemingly remote contingency, preparation will be made, if men then shall be found prepared, by a practical recognition now of existing conditions—such as those mentioned in the opening of this paper—and acting upon that knowledge. Control of the sea, by maritime commerce and naval supremacy, means predominant influence in the world; because, however great the wealth product of the land, nothing facilitates the necessary exchanges as does the sea. The fundamental truth concerning the sea—perhaps we should rather say the water—is that it is Nature's great medium of communication. It is improbable that control will ever again be exercised, as once it was, by a single nation. Like the pettier interests of the land, it must be competed for, perhaps fought for. The greatest of the prizes for which nations contend, it too will serve, like other conflicting interests, to keep alive that temper of stern purpose and strenuous emulation which is the salt of the society of civilized states, whose unity is to be found, not in a flat identity of conditions—the ideal of socialism—but in a common standard of moral and intellectual ideas.

Also, amid much that is shared by all the nations of European civilization, there are, as is universally recognized, certain radical differences of temperament and character, which tend to divide them into groups having the marked affinities of a common origin. When, as frequently happens on land, the members of these groups are geographically near each other, the mere proximity seems, like similar electricities, to develop repulsions that render political variance the rule and political combination the exception. But when, as is the case with Great Britain and

the United States, the frontiers are remote, and contact—save in Canada—too slight to cause political friction, the preservation, advancement, and predominance of the race may well become a political ideal, to be furthered by political combination, which in turn shall rest, primarily, not upon cleverly constructed treaties, but upon natural affection and a clear recognition of mutual benefit arising from working together. If the spirit be there, the necessary machinery for its working will not pass the wit of the race to provide; and in the control of the sea, the beneficent instrument that separates us that we may be better friends, will be found the object that neither the one nor the other can master, but which may not be beyond the conjoined energies of the race. When, if ever, an Anglo-American alliance, naval or other, does come, may it be rather as a yielding to irresistible popular impulse, than as a scheme, however ingeniously wrought, imposed by the adroitness of statesmen.

We may, however, I think, dismiss from our minds the belief, frequently advanced, and which is so ably advocated by Sir George Clarke, that such mutual support would tend in the future to exempt maritime commerce in general from the harassment which it has hitherto undergone in war. I shall have to try for special clearness here in stating my own views, partly because they may appear to some retrogressive, and also because they may be by others thought to contradict what I have elsewhere said in more extensive and systematic treatment of this subject.

The alliance which, under one form or another,—either as a naval league, according to Sir George, or as a formal treaty, according to Mr. White,—is advocated by both writers, looks ultimately and chiefly to the contingency of war. True, a leading feature of either proposal is to promote goodwill and avert causes of dissension between the two contracting parties; but even this object is sought largely in order that they may firmly stand by each other in case of difficulty with other states. War may thus even be more surely averted; but, should it come, it should find the two united upon the ocean, consequently all-powerful there, and so possessors of that mastership of the general situation which the sea has always conferred upon its unquestioned rulers. Granting the union of hearts and hands, the supremacy, from my standpoint, logically follows. But why,

then, if supreme, concede to an enemy immunity for his commerce? "Neither Great Britain nor America," says Sir George Clarke, though he elsewhere qualifies the statement, "can see in the commerce of other peoples an incentive to attack." Why not? For what purposes, primarily, do navies exist? Surely not merely to fight one another—to gain what Jomini calls "the sterile glory" of fighting battles in order to win them. If navies as all agree, exist for the protection of commerce, it inevitably follows that in war they must aim at depriving their enemy of that great resource; nor is it easy to conceive what broad military use they can subserve that at all compares with the protection and destruction of trade. This Sir George indeed sees, for he says elsewhere, "Only on the principle of doing the utmost injury to an enemy, with a view to hasten the issue of war, can commerce-destroying be justified"; but he fails, I think, to appreciate the full importance of this qualifying concession, and neither he nor Mr. White seems to admit the immense importance of commerce-destroying, as such.

The mistake of both, I think, lies in not keeping clearly in view—what both certainly perfectly understand—the difference between the *guerre-de-course*, which is inconclusive, and commerce-destroying (or commerce prevention) through strategic control of the sea by powerful navies. Some nations more than others, but all maritime nations more or less, depend for their prosperity upon maritime commerce, and probably upon it more than upon any other single factor. Either under their own flag or that of a neutral, either by foreign trade or coasting trade, the sea is the greatest of boons to such a state; and under every form its sea-borne trade is at the mercy of a foe decisively superior.

Is it, then, to be expected that such foe will forego such advantage—will insist upon spending blood and money in fighting, or money in the vain effort of maintaining a fleet which, having nothing to fight, keeps also its hands off such an obvious means of crippling the opponent and forcing him out of his ports? Great Britain's navy, in the French Wars, not only protected her own commerce, but also annihilated that of the enemy; and both conditions—not one alone—were essential to her triumph.

It is because Great Britain's sea power, though still superior,

has declined relatively to that of other states, and is no longer supreme, that she has been induced to concede to neutrals the principle that the flag covers the goods. It is a concession wrung from relative weakness—or possibly from a mistaken humanitarianism; but, to whatever due, it is all to the profit of the neutral and to the loss of the stronger belligerent. The only justification, in policy, for its yielding by the latter, is that she can no longer, as formerly, bear the additional burden of hostility, if the neutral should ally himself to the enemy. I have on another occasion said that the principle that the flag covers the goods is forever secured—meaning thereby that, so far as present indications go, no one power would be strong enough at sea to maintain the contrary by arms.

In the same way it may be quite confidently asserted that the concession of immunity to what is unthinkingly called the "private property" of an enemy on the sea, will never be conceded by a nation or alliance confident in its own sea power. It has been the dream of the weaker belligerents in all ages; and their arguments for it, at the first glance plausible, are very proper to urge from their point of view. That arch-robber, the first Napoleon, who so remorselessly and exhaustively carried the principle of war sustaining war to its utmost logical sequence, and even in peace scrupled not to quarter his armies on subject countries, maintaining them on what after all was simply private property of foreigners —even he waxes quite eloquent, and superficially most convincing, as he compares the seizure of goods at sea, so fatal to his empire, to the seizure of a wagon travelling an inland country road.

In all these contentions there lies, beneath the surface plausibility, not so much a confusion of thought as a failure to recognize an essential difference of conditions. Even on shore the protection of private property rests upon the simple principle that injury is not to be wanton—that it is not to be inflicted when the end to be attained is trivial, or largely disproportionate to the suffering caused. For this reason personal property, not embarked in commercial venture, is respected in civilized maritime war. Conversely, as we all know, the rule on land is by no means invariable, and private property receives scant consideration when its appropriation or destruction serves the purposes of an enemy. The man who trudges the highway, cudgel in hand, may claim for his cudgel all the sacredness with which civilization invests

property; but if he use it to break his neighbor's head the respect for his property, as such, quickly disappears. Now, private property borne upon the seas is engaged in promoting, in the most vital manner, the strength and resources of the nation by which it is handled. When that nation becomes belligerent, the private property, so called, borne upon the seas, is sustaining the well-being and endurance of the nation at war, and consequently is injuring the opponent, to an extent exceeding all other sources of national power. In these days of war correspondents, most of us are familiar with the idea of the dependence of an army upon its communications, and we know, vaguely perhaps, but still we know, that to threaten or harm the communications of an army is one of the most common and effective devices of strategy. Why? Because severed from its base an army languishes and dies, and when threatened with such an evil it must fight at whatever disadvantage. Well, is it not clear that maritime commerce occupies, to the power of a maritime state, the precise nourishing function that the communications of an army supply to the army? Blows at commerce are blows at the communications of the state; they intercept its nourishment, they starve its life, they cut the roots of its power, the sinews of its war. While war remains a factor, a sad but inevitable factor, of our history, it is a foud hope that commerce can be exempt from its operations, because in very truth blows against it are the most deadly that can be struck, nor is there any other among the proposed uses of a navy, as for instance the bombardment of seaport towns, which is not at once more cruel and less scientific. Blockade, such as that enforced by the United States Navy during the Civil War, is evidently only a special phase of commerce-destroying; yet how immense--nay, decisive—its results!

It is only when effort is frittered away in the feeble dissemination of the *guerre-de-course,* instead of being concentrated in a great combination to control the sea, that commerce-destroying justly incurs the reproach of misdirected effort. It is a fair deduction from analogy, that two contending armies might as well agree to respect each other's communications, as two belligerent states to guarantee immunity to hostile commerce.

A. T. Mahan.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD:

DURING the last eighteen months three articles, by Mr. Carnegie, Sir George Clarke, and Mr. White, have appeared in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. These articles, all written with the same object in view, converge from different points of the compass. Their object was to bring about a reunion of some character between two great nations who had become separated through the savage stupidity of the British Government of 1774–1776.

I have been pressed to give an opinion on this question of reunion, and gladly do so, believing that every effort, no matter how small, to promote good feeling and harmony between the two countries must be for the benefit of both.

It would be impossible to overestimate the advantages to English-speaking peoples if such a reunion could be brought about, in the near future, as that contemplated by the writers referred to above. It would mean an almost certain continuity of trade and the prosperity which trade induces. Moreover, to the world at large it would mean the creation of a tremendous force which would naturally be exercised in the interests of peace. The sentiments of affection, sympathy, and esteem which found expression in both Houses of Parliament, as well as in Congress, during the debates which immediately preceded the ever-to-be-regretted rupture (and which sentiments must be inseparable from race brotherhood), have of late years again been exhibited in the most striking manner by both nations.

The relations between Englishmen and Americans in China, Egypt, and Samoa, and last year the visits of the *Blake* to the United States and the *Chicago* to England, showed how genuine and hearty is the feeling of goodwill existing between the two countries. Efforts are also being made by different sections of the community on both sides of the Atlantic to bring about some sort of practical union or alliance between Great Britain and the United States. With such sentiment openly and repeatedly expressed, surely it might be possible to effect an alliance so advantageous to each in the event of war and so invigorating in times of peace. Putting aside question of sentiment, however, the selfish interests of both countries would appear to encourage the idea of reunion. It is notable that after the most bloody battles, but before the actual Declaration of Independence, the colonists strained

every nerve to effect a peaceable conclusion to the difficulties which were upsetting the hitherto happy relations existing between Great Britain and the States, although it was through the imbecility of Great Britain that the rupture ever occurred. No one can think the colonists were wrong in fighting the War of Independence, under the circumstances forced upon them. In fact, they would not have been worthy descendants of Britain had they not done so.

Turning to the first of the papers to which I have referred, that by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for June, 1893, I will notice what, in his opinion, are the proposals for and the impediments to the reunion.

I entirely agree with the first four of his contentions in support of reunion :—1. The natural sympathy and brotherhood between two nations sprung from one race. 2. The quick, comfortable, and efficient line of communication between the two countries. 3. The excellence of the telegraphic communication. 4. The easy possibility of confederation between two races similar in character, ideas, and sentiments.

His fifth suggestion—"the alteration in the fiscal policy of the two countries"—is for the present a complete impossibility. Mr. Carnegie says that the chord of patriotism existent in the breasts of the people of America, if properly played upon, might be attuned in favor of the abolition of the present fiscal arrangements; but that patriotism (as is shown by the expressed opinion of the Americans) is entirely opposed to such an alteration, and I am afraid, if the question of fiscal policy be touched upon at all, no hope for an alliance can be entertained.

Mr. Carnegie appears to think it possible for the United States to allow free entry of British products, and at the same time continue her protective policy to the rest of the world. Is this likely? Should the United States declare free trade with Great Britain alone, the benefit would be principally on the side of Great Britain. On the other hand, were the United States to declare universal free trade, it is possible that eventually Great Britain would suffer considerably, as the United States, the larger and most self-containing country, would then share with Great Britain a very large proportion of those advantages which unquestionably have accrued to her through the influence of free trade.

Looking to the fiscal position held by Great Britain towards her colonies, it does not appear necessary to adopt Mr. Carnegie's proposals in order to bring about a reunion with the United States. If the colonies, who are more or less dependent upon Great Britain, refuse to make any alteration in their fiscal policy, it is not likely that the United States, who are not in the remotest degree dependent on Great Britain, would consider the question at all. It is possible to lay down theoretical lines of fiscal policy between two countries, but practically each country will carry out that policy which appears best for its own selfish interests.

Allowing that Mr. Carnegie's suggestion of the free entry of British products into United States could be carried out, it does not follow that the agricultural interest now so sorely depressed in this country would once more become prosperous.

There is no doubt that for a short time the prosperity of all branches of trade would be enormously increased by the freedom of the richest market in the world. But taking the facts as they are with regard to the volume of trade in the United Kingdom, it will be found that, although it has been steadily increasing of late years (notwithstanding the depression so often referred to, which is one of prices, and not of volume), still the agricultural interest becomes more and more depressed and less of a paying character. It is not necessary to seek for the reason. The cheapness of freight, added to the labor saving machinery in the United States, and the difference in wages between our agricultural laborers and those of corn-producing countries other than the United States, make it absolutely impossible for the land of this country to produce foodstuffs for our people at as cheap a rate as that at which they can be imported and bought.

It is a sad and painful fact, but if this question be looked squarely in the face there can be no doubt that in many parts of the United Kingdom the agricultural industry is an industry that has failed ; and, to my mind, by far the most difficult question which politicians will have to settle in the near future are those connected with the land.

Protection is impossible. If one industry is to be protected all must be protected. The workingman knows well enough that although his wages might be increased by the protection of the particular industry in which he is engaged, the price for the commodities necessary to his existence would be increased also, and

his balance-sheet at the end of the year would show him poorer than under existing arrangements.

As for the nostrum called bimetallism, it appears to be advocated on the theory that as things are so bad something of some sort ought to be tried. But it is earnestly to be hoped that the country will never allow such a gigantic gamble with its currency, the benefits claimed for the proposal being entirely theoretical and in the nature of an experiment. Prices may be low; but whether they be low or high, we at present enjoy the substantial advantage of being able to convert everything into gold.

With Mr. Carnegie's sixth suggestion, "that the individual parts of the empire hail such a union with enthusiasm," I cannot agree. The United Kingdom must be spoken of as a whole, and it is impossible to talk of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales as semi-independent states. The United Kingdom must remain a whole, if it is to remain at all. If split up it could not retain that force and character which have enabled it to build up and govern the greatest empire the world has ever seen.

Mr. Carnegie dwells with great emphasis on the impediments to the reunion as he wishes to see it. The first impediment he mentions is the present position of the great British colonial empire. He considers that the colonies will ultimately develop into independent states, and appears to consider that such an event would be for the benefit of Great Britain. It is within the bounds of possibility that the colonies may in the future declare themselves independent, but such an event, so far from being to the benefit of Great Britain, would be to her serious detriment.

Mr. Carnegie's second impediment is based on the idea that the British occupation of India is only temporary. It would be impossible for Great Britain to give up the duties and responsibilities she has undertaken in India. India always has been held by the sword and ruled by the sword, and is so held and ruled at this moment; and if the present dominant race—the British—left, there would be a repetition of those ruthless religious wars which devastated the country before the advent of the British.

Mr. Carnegie's third impediment is the monarchical form of government in this country, but as Sir George Clarke points out, "never in the history of our land has the monarchy been so beloved and respected by the people as it is at the present time." This love

and respect are due to the individuality and personality of the greatest monarch that has ever sat on any throne. No words can express the devotion and universal admiration which animate the hearts of the people over whom Queen Victoria reigns. Their love for her is similar to that which children bear towards their mother, and in addition to the affection shown by her own people there is apparent in every country an unbounded respect and admiration for the great sovereign. This unique position has been attained not only by her unequalled qualities as a sovereign, but quite as much by her domestic virtues.

Mr. Carnegie's forecast of the durability of the monarchy in England would hardly be accepted in this country. The duration of the monarchy in England is more likely to depend upon the individuality and personality of the monarch than upon precedent, and he or she will have to be very careful that the moral tone of both public and private life which has for so long and so eminently distinguished Her Majesty is not lowered. Should (which is most unlikely) some future monarch offend public taste, principle, or sentiment, or depart from constitutional practice, the freedom of the press and the irresistible force of public opinion would speedily call attention to the fact that such acts could not be continued.

The next "impediment" Mr. Carnegie advances is the present position of the House of Lords or as he calls it "a House of Hereditary Legislators." There can be no doubt that the hereditary principle of this assembly has in argument not a leg to stand upon, and apparently is totally unsuitable to the modern requirements of a country which daily grows more democratic in its feelings, wishes, and laws. But surely the statements that frequently appear, "that the Lords paralyze the government of the country and invariably oppose themselves to the wishes of the people," are an exaggeration. All that the Lords do now is to protect the country from hasty legislation. A violent state of party feeling, would often produce hasty legislation, and to this the House of Lords is a wholesome check. The Lords do not oppose the wishes of the people, for the simple reason that it is impossible for them to do so. What they do is to give time for second thought and sound reasoning; and their action has been amply justified on very many occasions when the votes of the people have proved that proposed legislation

was hasty and had not been properly ventilated in the constituencies.

That some reform is necessary in the constitution of the House of Lords is generally admitted by all sides of political opinion, and no doubt a reform will be forthcoming ere long.

Mr. Carnegie's final "impediment" is the Established Church. There again I cannot agree with him. The church may be disestablished, but at any rate for the present it is doing all that it can to correct the abuses that used to exist; and having regard to the fact of the good the church does among the people, there will possibly be fewer advocates of disestablishment as years roll on. There are no anomalies at present existent similar to those which brought about the disestablishment of the Irish church.

Mr. Carnegie seems to think that that portion of society which is generally described as the "upper classes" is going to be disbanded and scattered on the near advent of a powerful democracy. This is hardly likely in a country where the welfare of each class of the community is so intimately connected with and so entirely dependent upon the other.

The so-called upper classes of the United Kingdom have nothing to fear as long as they work with and for their countrymen and the state, and take care to maintain their reputation for chivalry and patriotism, and abhorrence of all sordid motives. If there be any danger ahead it is the unprecedented position of the plutocrat, who, as long as he can and will pay, can buy from a small section of these upper classes what was absolutely unsalable in days of the past. This, added to the deplorable prevalence of cant, may, like the weak link in a chain, temporarily affect the wellbeing of the whole.

That the whole social condition of the country may be altered is not unlikely; but if care, judgment, and foresight are exercised by the political leaders of the people, there is no reason to fear such drastic disturbances as would border on revolution. It is better to look at things as they are rather than as they could, should, or might be.

Will any one assert that the working-classes as a whole have had their fair share of the abundant riches which have found their way to this country during the last hundred years? These riches have to a very great extent been produced by the industry, energy, zeal, and loyalty of these working-classes; but

during the time referred to, education was not as wide-spread as it is now, and political power was for the most part unknown to them. How do matters stand at the present time? Not only are the working-classes educated, but the future of the empire is absolutely in their hands, owing to the political power which they now possess.

No reform is advantageous to the community as a whole, unless the good old principle of "give and take"—or compromise—largely enters into its character. There will have to be give and take in the future. If the propertied classes are not inclined to give, for the benefit of the community as a whole, the working-classes are in the position, if they choose to assert it, of being able to take. It is earnestly to be hoped that democracy, charged with this tremendous power, will be led by men whose characters are entirely unselfish, whose equitable instincts will be unbiassed by party necessities, and whose whole aim and object will be to benefit the nation as a whole.

If the rights of property are materially interfered with, as they might be under the new political forces, all classes of the country would eventually suffer so severely that trade and credit, which has raised the British Empire to its present condition, would disappear from it.

Mr. Carnegie describes his views on the question of reunion as a dream, and he says it is a dream nobler than most realities—in which I entirely agree. Whether his views be accepted or not, his object is a glorious one, and he deserves the generous thanks of both great nations for starting the theory that reunion would be for the benefit of each. Were it possible for his happy dream to be converted into a reality, the English-speaking nations could control the future of the world, insure perpetual peace and prosperity, and maybe advance the advent of the millennium.

Sir George Clarke, in his paper (March, 1894), after criticising Mr. Carnegie's paper in the most able way, comes to the conclusion that the best method for bringing about a reunion between Great Britain and the United States would be by means of a complete naval union. In this I agree, but before it is possible there must be extensive preliminaries. Sir George suggests an Anglo-American Council of four members from each country, with a president appointed alternately by each nation for five years, the intelligence department of each nation to exchange in-

formation and ideas as to the construction and armament necessary in order to protect the water-borne commerce between the two countries.

Theoretically his idea is splendid, but practically I do not think either country is in any way ripe for such a detailed scheme, and the mere fact of forcing the details of such a scheme might break down the attempt to form a reunion. It would appear easier for the present to strengthen and promote the sentiment for reunion by endeavoring to lay fully before the public of each country the value and amount of commerce between them that might be disturbed or lost in the event of either of them being engaged in war. If the people as a whole truly realized how much each country is concerned in the punctual and certain delivery of this water-borne commerce, it is not unlikely that the sentiment which exists might irritate them into declaring that these mutual interests should not be interfered with in the event of a war.

Mr. White, in a most able paper (April, 1894) on the question of reunion, clearly proves (to use his own language) that "the welfare of the United States is bound up in the maintenance of the British Empire." If a plan of campaign be made out giving as opponents Great Britain on one side and the two strongest naval powers of the continent on the other, and the details entered into of the £1,200,000,000 of water-borne trade which Great Britain has to defend, it would clearly be demonstrated that even under the unlikely contingency of Great Britain being successful, the disturbance in her trade would be so thorough that the victory would have many of the worst elements of defeat. Would it not be for the benefit of the United States, as it would unquestionably be for Great Britain, to endeavor to make some alliance which would reduce in time of war the chances of disturbance of that part of British trade which is connected with the United States.

Mr. White proposes to draft the terms of an Anglo-American alliance in the following words :

"Great Britain shall become an ally of the United States in the event of any European power or powers declaring war against the latter. On the other hand, the United States shall guarantee friendly neutrality in the event of Great Britain becoming involved in a war with one or more of the European powers concerning issues that in no way concern the pacific interests of the United States ; and under such circumstances the United States shall render to Great Britain every assistance, positive and negative, allowed to neutrals."

This is admirable in intention. I do not think it strong enough. The suggestions contained in Mr. White's proposal do not ask the United States to do any more than is allowed now to any friendly neutral power in the event of war, whereas it binds Great Britain to an offensive and defensive alliance with the United States in the event of any power declaring war against that country.

The following are the broad facts of the case concerning commerce as worked out by Sir George :

APPROXIMATE VALUE OF SEA-BORNE COMMERCE FOR 1891.

British Empire	£970,300,000
United States	357,700,000
France	300,200,000
Germany	212,000,000

The total British trade with the United States for 1891 equals £168,000,000—that is, nearly one-half of the whole foreign trade of the United States is with Great Britain.

Why should not the United States and Great Britain enter into a defensive alliance for the protection of those interests upon which the prosperity of each so much depends? Mr. White himself holds that the terms of his suggested Anglo-American alliance "might ultimately lead to a defensive alliance." Without entering into the details necessary for an effective defence of the 168 millions referred to, it would help matters forward considerably if the governments of the two countries could be induced to exchange *pourparlers* on a question manifestly so important to both. I believe that the mere fact of the existence of an alliance such as I have indicated, combining the almost unlimited latent resources of two such great countries, would deter other nations from attacking that which for the moment appeared inadequately defended. Although the United States would undoubtedly gain by such an alliance, it cannot be denied for a moment that Great Britain would be by far the greater gainer of the two, particularly in the future.

It is much to be feared that in the time coming when the United States may adopt the policy of free trade, and also build up, as she has apparently commenced to do, a navy sufficient for her needs, it might not be worth her while to undertake the responsibilities of an alliance with Great Britain. Now is the time to bring about the alliance, when its advantages are apparent to both countries.

As years roll on, Great Britain might or might not remain the workshop of the world, but anyhow she will less and less be able to feed her people from the produce of the land within her shores.

That there are numerous difficulties attending such an alliance, or even the proposals for such an alliance, cannot be denied. As circumstances at present hold, it would appear that the United States might benefit in time of war enormously by assuming ownership of a very large number of the bottoms now hoisting the British flag, but that would necessitate very considerable increase of her military shipping. The United States, not being a party to the treaty called the Declaration of Paris,* could also utilize the innumerable advantages which that position of exclusion gives her. But that also would entail the difficulty of arming and armament, for which she could hardly be prepared for some time after war was declared.

Having the same object in view as those who have already written so ably on this matter, I respectfully submit that the suggestion contained in this paper is more practical and therefore easier to carry through than those which have been presented already. Briefly summarized, my suggestion amounts to: An alliance between Great Britain and the United States for the protection of those commercial properties in which both countries are equally interested.

What is coming in the near future, who can tell? But will anybody deny that an alliance such as is advocated here would do much to insure the continued peace and prosperity, not only of the Anglo-Saxon race, but of the entire civilized world?

CHARLES BERESFORD.

* While referring to this Declaration, it is to be hoped that if ever the question of alliance for the protection of mutual interests is discussed between the two nations, the false, rotten, misleading, and treacherous treaty by which Great Britain voluntarily gave up half her power of protection and offence at sea would be abrogated as far as she is concerned.

EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

BY BISHOP STEPHEN M. MERRILL, LL. D., OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE bitterness of party spirit is never to be excused or defended, much less commended; yet the existence of parties seems unavoidable in the conditions of our people, and should not be regarded as necessarily an evil. They promote watchfulness on the part of the people, and render it next to impossible for those in power to betray their trust or to cherish abuses that imperil the nation. From the beginning of our history there have been parties, and it may be something of an encouragement to know that, with the expansion of the public domain, the increase of population, the development of resources, and the progress of learning, wealth, and social power among the people, there has not been such an increase of political rancor in our party strifes as many imagine, and which superficial observers regard as the bane of our times, and as the prophecy of disaster to our franchises and liberties.

The political parties of the colonial period were transplants from the mother-country, with issues allied to those which represented the divisions of public sentiment on the other side of the ocean. The Tory was the loyalist party in England, which supported the prerogatives of the crown, and defended its exactions and tyrannies, often to the hazard of the liberties and prosperity of the people. Of course, this party took sides with the king in all those measures and controversies which agitated the public mind in the colonies prior to the outbreak of the war for independence, and supported him in his struggle to subdue his rebellious subjects to obedience. Tories in England and America were one in sympathy and purpose, loyalists in the highest sense. The liberalists of that day, both in England and in the colonies,

were known as Whigs. They stood for the rights of the people, under constitutional government, against the aggressions of the crown. In the estimation of the Tory, the people exist for the government; but in the estimation of the Whig, the government exists for the people. This difference characterizes the issues between the Conservatives and Liberalists of England till this day, and its manifestations are easily traceable through all their partisan contests for ascendency in the government.

During the period of the Revolution, the words Tory and Whig fitly expressed the sentiments of the parties in their relation to the mighty struggle; but, after independence, the word "Tory" became too obnoxious to loyal Americans ever to be used in this country as the name of a political party. The word "Whig" never incurred odium of any sort, but it lost much of its significance in the new conditions which followed the war, particularly under the Articles of Confederation. While as yet there was no national constitution to be interpreted, and no central government strong enough to excite the jealousy of States or sections, the old party names and disputations disappeared, and public men patriotically devoted themselves to the rudiments of government, to the study of fundamental principles and their application to the urgent needs of the times, to the consideration of questions of finance, foreign relations, domestic order, and to the adjustment of the relations between the States and the nation.

The result of their ponderings appeared in the Federal Constitution, which displaced the Confederacy, formed "a more perfect union," and cemented the elements of republicanism into a compact nationality; and all this without disturbing the autonomy of the several States. The adoption of this instrument was the crowning act of American patriotism, the pivotal point in political history, the triumph of self-government, the culmination of the contest which gave to the world political and religious liberty, and enthroned intelligence and the popular will as the governing forces in the empires of the earth. This great achievement, not inferior in results to that of the English barons in extorting the great charter from King John, was not accomplished without opposition. At that early day the dogma of State sovereignty was broached and advocated by men whose favor gave it strength, and whose patriotism was above reproach.

Honestly believing in the sovereignty of the States severally, these men consistently opposed the adoption of the Constitution, which required the concession of some of the elements of sovereignty to the General Government, thereby constituting it a veritable nationality, instead of an assemblage of confederated sovereignties. Their views differed widely from those of modern advocates of that dogma; for they were unable to find State sovereignty in the Constitution, and opposed its adoption on that account, while it is now contended—or was till the war settled it—that this principle forms the "warp and woof" of the instrument itself. The contention was not about States' rights, but State sovereignty.

Those who favored the Constitution and secured its adoption, believing in a strong Federal Government, were designated Federalists; while those who opposed it in the interest of larger powers for the States, were called Republicans. These were the parties under the Constitution. The Federalists elected the first President, George Washington, and set the new government in operation. They interpreted the grants of power made in the Constitution quite liberally, assuming that the purpose of that instrument was to constitute the United States an independent sovereignty, superior to the sovereignty inhering in the several States; and assuming also that these grants were sufficient for that purpose without trenching upon the reserved rights of the States. Thus this question of the division of rights between the General and the State governments presented one of the first issues before the people of the United States, gave rise to the first political parties under the Constitution, and in some way or other questions relating to this old controversy have had to do with all the parties which have had more than a tentative existence from the beginning till the present time.

The Federalist party, after incorporating its essential principles in the government, and electing Washington twice and John Adams once, would seem to have had prestige and power enough to maintain itself and conquer opposition; but the opposition grew in intensity and virulence, and the party in power fell under odium through the unwise action of some of its adherents who, in its name, sought for enlargements of power not in the Constitution and never contemplated by the real founders of the government. The Hartford Convention became the

synonyme of political infamy, and an incubus which the Federal party could neither carry nor dislodge from its shoulders. In the mean time the opposition, then known as the Democratic-Republican party, had acquiesced in the adoption of the Constitution, accepted its provisions, increased in public favor, and gathered strength to gain control of the government by the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency. By this time the original issues between the parties had passed away, and new questions had arisen, so that "Federalist" and "Republican" had come to mean something widely different from the ideas which attached to them in the earlier history of the parties.

Multitudes believe that Mr. Jefferson was elected President by the Democratic party. He is sometimes spoken of as the first Democratic President, and as the founder and patron of that political organization. Of course this is a delusion. Mr. Jefferson was "out of politics" before the modern Democratic party was born. The party which elected Mr. Jefferson was called both Republican and Democratic, but the assumption that the present Democratic party ever had any relation to that old party of the time of Jefferson is utterly groundless. The party of Jefferson and Madison, the first competitor of the party which elected Washington and Adams, became the party of the government upon the accession of Mr. Jefferson, and, in the broadest sense, the National party, the events preceding and causing the war of 1812 contributing largely to the expansion of its principles, as well as to its triumph, in the complete overthrow of the Federalist party.

Mr. Jefferson came into power as the representative of strict constructionism, fearing centralization, and advocating the reserved rights of the people and of the States. After his inauguration, with the responsibilities of office upon him, in the controversies which arose under his administration with Great Britain, resulting in war under his successor, Mr. Jefferson asserted the full powers of the General Government in a way that would have been creditable to his Federalist predecessors, and he never found occasion to reassert the looser theories of his earlier life. Mr. Madison inherited his controversies, followed in his footsteps, maintained his principles, asserted the full powers of the General Government, and demonstrated the national sovereignty, without any invasion of the reserved rights of the people or of the States. The people who supported Jefferson and Madison

approved the enlargement of their ideas, carried the war to a successful issue, and elected Mr. Monroe to the Presidency, leaving the remnant of the Federalist party scattered and powerless. Under Mr. Monroe's first administration the old issues became obsolete, and party organizations ceased to exist. He was re-elected substantially without opposition. In the fullest sense he was the President of the people. When his second term expired there were no organized parties to put candidates in the field, after the modern methods. The old Federalist party was dead; the old Republican party had outgrown itself as a party, had expanded its creed, possessed the government and lost identity as a party in successful administration. No existing political party can possibly antedate this epoch in our national history—an epoch distinguished in our political annals as the era of peace and goodwill.

It is neither for nor against the Democratic party of to-day that it is not as old as its less intelligent advocates imagine it to be. In the nature of the case political parties must change. Old issues die, sometimes with marvellous suddenness, and new issues spring into life with surprising swiftness. Policies come and go with the surging tides of time. Methods yield to the forceful currents of popular thought, which sweep away favorite theories as well as factious oppositions; but principles abide. He is the true Democrat, whether in the party bearing that name or not, who believes in the rule of the majority, and in that interpretation of the Constitution which makes the union permanent, the nation a sovereignty, and gives to the General Government all the powers nominated in the bond, and to all the States their reserved rights of self-control and local government.

Such was the creed of the Democratic party when it first became a party. That creed, like all creeds, was a growth. It never sprang matured from any man's brain. Its germinal ideas accorded with the principles which guided Mr. Jefferson's administration after his practical statesmanship had lifted him above the vagaries of his earlier years, and made his conduct of the government wise and vigorous. The real seed-thoughts of the party, however, were found in the administration of Andrew Jackson, or rather in the discussions excited by his acts while in office. The doctrines promulgated by his followers, which were

afterwards formulated into a creed for the party, were not made prominent in connection with pending questions, so as to be effective in his first election. He came into power with little reference to his beliefs touching the underlying principles of our governmental system, but with a wide acknowledgment of his patriotic spirit and high personal qualities.

When Mr. Monroe's successor was to be chosen, there were no political organizations to nominate candidates. In this condition of affairs what might have been anticipated came to pass. Several statesmen of high character were brought forward by their personal friends as worthy to receive the electoral votes of the States. Adams, Jackson, Clay, Crawford, and White became candidates, although the last two were scarcely recognized as such outside of their own States. The first three were the real competitors. They were all friends of the administration ; their following was not partisan, but personal. The electoral votes were so divided that no choice was made, and the election was carried into the House of Representatives. Jackson had the largest number of votes, but not enough to elect him. The friends of Adams and Clay united their forces, and gave the election to Adams, and Adams made Clay his secretary of State. This transaction had the appearance of barter, and gave great offence to the followers of Jackson, who raised the cry of bargain and sale, and lost no time in determining to oppose the administration thus inaugurated. They rallied to the support of their chief, determined to elect him at the end of four years, a purpose they pursued with tireless energy till it was accomplished. This organized opposition to John Quincy Adams, in the interest of Andrew Jackson, was known as the Jackson party. The supporters of Adams were known as the administration party. Thus the lines were drawn between political parties with little regard to political faiths, and with less regard to the parties which previously existed, but which as parties existed no more. This was an epoch in the political history of the country, as it was the birthtime of two of the greatest parties that ever contended for the mastery in the presence of the American people.

It was inevitable that political parties so distinctly marked and openly struggling for success, should have distinguishing names. These were soon found. The Jackson party took the name Democrat, and became the Democratic party. As an organi-

zation it remains till this day. The other party took to itself the honored name of the party of the revolutionary patriots, and became the Whig party. Adams was its candidate for re-election, but failed; Jackson was elected. He was the first Democratic president, using the term in its modern sense. Jackson brought great prestige to the office, and entered upon its duties with much popular enthusiasm. The shouts of the people were for Jackson, with little thought of his political platform. He soon found himself confronted with questions demanding for their sclution the expression of positive opinions. In the emergency he was not found wanting. The nullification acts of South Carolina called him out on the subject of State sovereignty. Democrat that he was, he did not accept the doctrine of Mr. Calhoun. His declaration that the "Union must and shall be preserved," enforced by expletives more vigorous than pious, has become famous in political parlance. He believed in the centralization of power in the General Government, under the Constitution, sufficient to maintain the Union, even if it required the coercion of a State. But in the matter of a national bank, and on other questions of policy in relation to tariffs, public moneys, and public improvements, he proved to be a strict constructionist—or, at least, his actions compelled his friends to assume the ground of strict constructionism in order to his defence. This necessitated defence of General Jackson's arbitrary action with regard to the national bank and the public funds is the real source of the Democratic creed, so far as it has ever had a formulated creed of distinctive principles, based on definite interpretations of the Constitution.

It was simply impossible that the followers of Adams and Clay should be strict constructionists. With Jackson, these champions of American nationalism, believed that the constitutional grants of power to the General Government were sufficient to maintain the union in its superior sovereignty over the States; and they believed, also, that its lawful powers extended to the regulation of the currency, to the fostering of internal improvements, to aiding in the development of the resources of the country, and to the protection of the industrial pursuits of the people when brought into competition with foreign trade. As a result, the Whig party favored a national bank, a protective tariff, and national aid in improving rivers and harbors, and in constructing roads and canals. The one party would reduce the

General Government to the exercise of police regulations, and the procurement of revenue for the maintenance of its officers and necessary expenses; while the other party gave it a higher function in promoting education, in encouraging industries, arts, sciences, and in co-operating with the States in the general uplift of the people. These points indicate the issues between the parties of simultaneous birth, which sprang from the competitions of Jackson, Adams, and Clay; and upon these issues the mighty political battles of half a century were fought, engaging the energies of men whose superiors were not in the days before them, and have not been found amongst their successors. There is scarcely room for doubt that the ever-present dread of the effect on slavery of the increase of the power of the General Government prevented the slaveholders from fully trusting the Whig party, and kept them from committing to it the practical interpretation of the Constitution. They feared that the liberal construction of that instrument might open the way for action that would jeopard the institution in places under national control. It was pre-eminently a State institution, the creature of State law, and naturally took refuge under the higher conception of the rights of the States as understood by strict constructionists. In this the Southerners were logical as well as prudent; for the position of the Whig party implied the right of the General Government to hedge the institution about with limitations inimical to its prosperity. They knew that by regulating the traffic in slaves between the States, and by restricting it to the States that fostered it, its profitableness as a trade could be diminished, and they foresaw that the moral instincts of the people would in time demand the exercise of all the power in this direction the Constitution afforded; and therefore they never fully trusted the Whig party, notwithstanding the fact that the leaders of the party disavowed any desire to interfere with the institution in the States, and made their platform as strongly pro-slavery as was that of the Democrats. There was a deep conviction in the minds of slaveholders that the foundation principles of the Whig party were antagonistic to the pretensions of slavery; and they were unable to free themselves from the suspicion that, with that party firmly established in power, the rising spirit of freedom in the land would close up the outlets of the traffic which were deemed necessary to its profitableness and life. It was

manifest to all that with the vast domain of freedom rapidly increasing in population, wealth, and influence, it would be impossible for slavery long to maintain itself if shut up within its old limits. It was therefore neither by accident nor blind chance that the slaveholders adopted and took possession of the Democratic party, moulded it to their liking, and subjected it to their will. They saw in it their only hope of controlling the nation in their interest, and depended upon that party to hold back the strong hand of the General Government while they pushed into the territories with their human chattels and forced upon the whole people the recognition of their cherished assumption that "slavery was national and freedom sectional." No doubt now exists that their ambition contemplated that consummation, and we shudder to think how near they came to realizing their ultimate purpose.

The fate of the Whig party, coming as it did through complications with the slavery question, affords lessons of profound significance. As a party it comprised a large share of the intelligence and talent of the country. Its principles commanded the approval of the most gifted of the nation. Its methods were open and honorable; and, so far forth as it affected the legislation of the country, its influence was beneficial. A more patriotic party never sought the favor of the American people; yet its success was limited, as it never enjoyed the privilege of an unbroken administration of the government. It elected two Presidents, and both died in office. Its first President, General Harrison, died in a month after his inauguration, before his policy could be developed, and the Vice-President, on whom the duties of the Presidency devolved, proved untrue to the party which elected him, and defeated the measures on which the hearts of the people were set.

This bitter disappointment was followed by new developments in the interests of slavery, which produced a reaction in the country and defeated Henry Clay and the Whig party, in 1844, giving the election to "Polk and Annexation." Texas wished to be annexed to the United States, and the slaveholders desired it, and the Democrats adopted "annexation" as their battle-cry, and succeeded. The Whigs opposed it, and predicted that the annexation of Texas in the interest of slavery-extension would result in war with Mexico, and produce a more violent

agitation of the slavery question than had ever been known—one that would imperil the Union, shake the foundations of the government, and disturb all the business and social relations of the country. These dire predictions were all verified; yet through the disasters came the deliverance. The enlargement of the area of slavery brought the country into war with Mexico, as had been foreseen; and this in turn brought us Arizona, New Mexico, and California, to be added ultimately to the area of freedom. Then followed the election of General Taylor, with the hopeful outlook for a Whig administration. In the midst of the confidence inspired by the steadiness of the veteran warrior in the conduct of civil affairs, guided by the principles of his party, came the calamity of his death. Mr. Fillmore took the helm, and piloted the ship of state through stormy seas without betraying his party; but the breakers of slavery aggressiveness and anti-slavery protests rendered a smooth voyage an impossibility. Slaveholders became rampant, demanding the right to carry their slaves through the States in their journeys, to settle them in the territories and to have fugitives returned to their masters at government expense. The agitation became alarming. Statesmen trembled before the storm, and became more than partisans. Clay and Webster, believing the union in danger, thought duty required that questions of party be waived in order to avert the calamity of disruption and civil war; and these great lights stood forth the champions of "compromise." The restriction of slavery to the south side of a given line, and the fugitive-slave law, ensued. The odium of the "compromise" fell with crushing weight on the administration. The anti-slavery sentiment in the free States turned against it, while the South adhered more closely than ever to the party most devoted to its interests. Thus the Whig party, after dallying with slavery to the verge of dishonor, and bidding for its support in a platform out of harmony with its fundamental principles, went down before the power it courted—went down in the sense that it could not again carry the election, nor longer hold the confidence of its most conscientious friends.

The capture of the Democratic party by the slaveholding power was its last and greatest victory. It was an achievement which promised great things in the way of nationalizing slavery, but it proved a brilliant example of "vaulting ambition" o'er-

leaping itself. The aggressive spirit which the institution exhibited after assuring itself of the support of the party which came into power in the election of Franklin Pierce in 1852, provoked resistance more spirited and persistent than had been anticipated. The removal of the Whig party, as a party, from the political arena did not assure the quiet possession of the government by the worshippers at the shrine of slavery, but opened the way and created the occasion for the concentration of the anti-slavery forces of the country in a party destined to fill a mission more glorious than had ever been assigned to a party of the people under the sun. This result, however, was not reached till the Democratic party had full opportunity to display its subserviency to the oligarchy which governed it. It held its ground till its commission was renewed in the election of 1856, placing James Buchanan in the Presidency and intensifying the spirit which prompted the "rule or ruin" determination of the South.

Now, as never before, questions relating to slavery overshadowed everything else, while those relating to banks, tariffs, internal improvements, and all others were dwarfed or disregarded. The whole fabric of Democratic policy stood on pro-slavery ground. Then, with that party in power, confirmed by the election of 1856, with the fugitive-slave law in force, and the whole government committed to the demands of slavery, so that its votaries controlled Congress, dictated duty to the President, and touched springs which reached the Supreme Court of the United States, making the Dred Scott decision a possibility, it looked as if the nation were chained to the chariot-wheels of this arrogant monster for years to come. Inspired by its successes, and conscious of its ability to sway the government, it rushed confidently into strife for the possession of the virgin soil of territories dedicated to freedom; and on this rock it split.

The downfall of the Whig party dates from its defeat in 1852. The influence of the "Third Party" was something, but not a powerful factor in its overthrow. The assumption that it was a chief agency is not supported by the facts. In 1840 and in 1844, the abolition party cast an inconsiderable vote, which did not amount to a disturbing element in the elections of those years. In 1848, the "Free-Soil" party was in the field with a broader platform and with greater elements of strength. The nomination of General Taylor by the Whigs alienated the Quakers and

some other anti-slavery people from the Whig party; while the nomination of Lewis Cass by the Democrats offended many in that party, particularly in the State of New York, and prepared the way for the large Free-Soil vote cast that year—the largest ever cast. Martin Van Buren bolted the nomination of Cass, and he and his special adherents expressed sympathy with Free-Soilism, probably as much to defeat his old competitor, General Cass, as to advance the cause of freedom. He was nominated by the Free-Soil party and accepted. His candidacy drew from the Democrats about as many votes as were drawn from the Whigs, and aided not in the destruction of the Whig party, but in the election of General Taylor. The Free-Soil vote of 1852 was much less than in 1848. Then came the Know-Nothing furor, which swept the country like a tornado, disrupting party lines as nothing had ever done before. It was not a third party, but a movement of extraordinary character, forming an anomalous chapter in the history of American politics. The Whig party was already out of the field, and never again confronted its old competitor.

The Democratic party, though badly shattered, being in power, managed to survive as a party. Out of the debris came the Republican party, organized and drilled, ready for the fray, in 1856. Into it came the anti-slavery elements of all the old parties, including all the voters of the Free-Soil party, who were in it from principle. Pro-slavery Whigs went over to the Democrats. Thus, after the culmination of the slave power, and after the sifting in the Know-Nothing storm, the lines of the parties were finally drawn upon the issues thrust upon the country by the aggressions of slavery. The practical question demanding settlement was the extension of slavery into the territories. The Republican party squarely accepted this issue; but, anti-slavery as it was, it proposed no interference with the institution in the States where it existed. As a party of principle it entered the lists courageously, and made rapid strides toward victory in the first national campaign; but the Democratic party had rallied after the Know-Nothing shaking up, and with the South nearly solid in its support, and with the accession to its ranks of the pro-slavery Whigs, losing only the meagre anti-slavery element which was left to it after the defection of 1848, it was nearly as strong and quite as defiant in 1856 as in 1852, while its devotion to slavery was as complete as ever before.

In some sense the Republican party became the successor of the Whig party. It inherited much of its distinguishing faith from that source, and took its place as the antagonist of the Democracy. In the emergency precipitated by the rebellion, the Republican administration found it necessary to apply the essential principles for which the Whigs had always contended, for the maintenance of the Union, so that the exact features of that old party's construction of the constitutional powers of the government were brought into requisition, and these proved to be the sheet-anchor of hope to patriotic hearts in the darkest night of discouragement, the inspiration to our leaders in the great struggle, and therefore the strength and victory of Republicanism in its sorest trials. On the other hand, nearly all the old-time issues held by the Democratic party, in opposition to the Whigs, perished in the rebellion, or became obsolete through the progress of public opinion. In the one case the body died, but the soul survived in a new form of vigorous life; while, in the other case, the body retained vitality enough to keep it from dissolution, yet was animated by a spirit that may or may not claim kinship with the ghost that went out into darkness when slavery met its fate. As is common with old men, this party lives largely in the past. Its eyes are turned backward. Even in its newly found vigor its creed is mostly negative. It denies much and affirms little. It accepts the amendments to the Constitution because it must. It accepts the national currency, formerly so offensive to it, because it cannot do otherwise. Its hard money record is retired into the shades of forgetfulness. Its wildcat money record is an unsavory memory. Its financial policy is undeveloped. Its tariff ambiguities abide. It lives upon what it has been, but the retrospect does not cheer. It is a great power. It has the strength of numbers and the prestige of age and success. Its power of adaptation to the passions and prejudices of races and religions is marvellous.

The history of the Republican party is not yet written. As a party it was born in troublous times. It sprang into manhood as the embodiment of loyalty to the Union, intelligent in the recognition of constitutional guarantees, and yet resolute in the purpose that human slavery—the gangrene of the body-politic—although entrenched in constitutions of so many States, should not blight the fair domain of the nation's territories, whose broad acres stood in untarnished purity, inviting the coming

millions to erect homes consecrated to virtue, liberty, and progress. It came with the primal affirmation inscribed on its banners, that freedom is national, and slavery sectional. It had a mission which was broader and grander than its founders knew, and it came to its mission with men more richly endowed for leadership in the emergencies to be met than the most sanguine dreamed. It will not be possible for future generations to read the story of the slaveholders' rebellion and its outcome without the impression that Mr. Lincoln was a Providential character, a man come to the kingdom for such a time. Others in their different spheres were as marked as the great leader himself, and as important in their places. The country will never blush for the men or measures which gave character to the Republican party in the early years of its victorious progress. Wisely and bravely did they grapple with difficulties more formidable than ever before confronted American statesmanship, and heroically did they conduct the nation through perils more dreadful than the people ever knew to exist. The lustre of their names will shine with increasing brightness as the years roll on, and unborn millions will crown their memory with grateful applause.

Looking backward from the present, the discovery that the Republican party has made mistakes is no evidence of superior discernment. It did not develop its own scheme of reconstruction. The death of Mr. Lincoln was followed by embarrassments through the defection of Andrew Johnson that crippled its operations and forced contentment with half-way measures. With his unquestioned loyalty to the Union, Mr. Johnson was at heart a Democrat, and in the crisis of reconstruction his Democratic instincts asserted themselves, throwing into confusion the counsels of those who had given him power. In debate he was the peer of the strongest men of his times, and having the courage of his convictions his exercise of the veto power was prompt and vigorous. With less of kindliness toward the South than Mr. Lincoln possessed, his sense of obligation to the whole country and to the future was dull in comparison with that which characterized his predecessor, the illustrious martyr. In these circumstances it was impossible for the party to carry into effect any measure that encountered his prejudices. Compromise in reconstruction was therefore inevitable. If the idea of dead States had been consistently enforced, and if the whole area of

the seceded States had been laid out with new boundaries and in better shape, and if to each new State there had been given a new name suggestive of loyalty, the names and pride of the seceded States perishing in the rebellion, secession would have met deserved fate and become odious more rapidly than was possible under existing conditions.

Nevertheless the Republican party has been a success, and as such it will pass into history whether it shall ever elect another President or not. Its fundamental principles inherited from the Whig party, and those developed in the fires of its conflicts, have been wrought into the fabric of the government, so that no party will attempt their elimination. The stamp of its power is in the Constitution, in the established rights of suffrage, in the national currency, and in everything essential to the maintenance of the national honor at home and abroad.

The Republican party has been less wise in the management of its party concerns than in the conduct of the government. Its party discipline has been less rigid than that of other great parties. Through defeat it may learn wisdom, however, and discover what vast results follow slight derelictions. Want of harmony has characterized its counsels, and personal ambitions have brought it distraction. The real weakness of this party has been its failure to sustain its own administrations. Early in General Grant's first term factious opposition appeared. Before it was ended, a "liberal republican" party was organized and nominated Horace Greeley for the purpose of assuring the President's defeat. The Democrats indorsed the nomination, and defeated the purpose of the malcontents. After his second election, the Republican press vied with the opposition press in detraction of General Grant. His judgment was assailed, his intelligence belittled, his counsels derided, his motives aspersed, and all was done that malignity could do to destroy his influence. The calumniations of the Democratic press were rehearsed by Republican papers with a relish that showed the deepest animosity towards the "old commander," and these papers, instead of loyally defending the administration, or kindly criticising their chief if criticism were deserved, denounced his actions and opinions as "Cæsarism" and "Grantism," and not republicanism. When he discouraged the cry of a "solid South" in the campaign, and insisted that five Southern States were Republican, and ought to be held steadily

in the Republican ranks, his advice was repudiated, and the cry of a "solid South" rang out from all the Republican rostrums in the land. After the election it was found exceedingly important to break that solidity, which was righteously done, but under conditions not desirable for repetition. No wonder the party was reduced to the verge of defeat!

In a short time after the inauguration of President Hayes, dissensions arose in the Republican party over his earliest efforts to adjust complications in the Southern States. Had he not beforehand proclaimed his purpose not to stand for a second term, the bitterness of the dissension would have been much more intense than it became. During his entire term he was belittled and discounted by a large portion of the Republican press, and found shallow support from any quarter, when it ought to have been cordial and persistent. Nevertheless, he made an administration honorable to himself, creditable to his party, and useful to the country. Under his prudent and upright conduct of the government, the lines of the party were strengthened, in spite of dissensions, so that the election of another Republican was a possibility: but who of all the leaders of the party ever acknowledged indebtedness to President Hayes for his share in bringing about the victory? All adored the rising rather than the setting sun. Mr. Garfield came into office with the goodwill of all the factions, so that it looked for a time as if the party would at length honor itself by honoring its chief. This appearance was deceptive. The spoils of office were not distributed till faction broke out with such violence that the Democracy could not surpass the bitterness with which Mr. Garfield was assailed by many who had aided in his election. Nor did his tragic death heal the breach. While lying prostrate from the murderer's bullet, the tongue of Republican detraction was turned away from him only to create distrust of the one who must take his place. Mr. Arthur encountered Republican coldness when he most needed sympathy, and was greeted with cruel suspicion when he most needed the help which could only come from the united support of his party. Nevertheless he gave an administration which challenged the admiration of all candid men and well nigh disarmed criticism. Having earned the nomination to be his own successor, other leadership was sought, and Mr. Arthur was complimented with approving words, while the substan-

tial token of the party's favor was passed over to another—to one worthy the honor, indeed, but unable to take the prize. Defeat came to the party at last, which, with all the noble principles embodied in its creed, and with the grand record of its past achievements, was never wise enough to stand firm and united in the generous support of its own administration.

Did it overcome this weakness in the humiliation of defeat? The record will not justify this assumption. After the nomination of Mr. Harrison, the party rallied to his support with commendable unanimity, and gained success. He was scarcely in his seat when the old practice of belittling the incumbent of the office, in the interest of a possible candidate in the future, was resumed. Mr. Blaine was in the cabinet, and Mr. Blaine was the morning star of Republican hope. Whatever was good in the administration was credited to Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine never needed the fulsome praise bestowed upon him, and was never benefited by it; and Mr. Harrison never deserved the "faint praise" with which he was so often condemned. While his administration will stand high in honor in the history that is yet to be written, and while the passing years will add to the fame of his admirable personal qualities, it is, nevertheless, an indisputable fact that the Republican party weakened itself during the period of his incumbency by failing to render merited support to its own administration.

There have been other parties which have figured more or less in the political field. The Anti-Masonic party had an ephemeral existence, but never reached the dignity of a national party, and exerted only an incidental influence in public affairs. The same is true of the Abolition and Free-Soil parties, previously named. There was an American party, the product of know-nothingism, which lingered for a while after the storm, and contributed to the confusion that reigned in political circles during the interval between the going down of the Whig party and the development of the Republican party. There was a "Union" party in the field prior to the war, known as the Bell-Everett party, from the names of its candidates; but it was only a temporary expedient, a sort of post-mortem wriggle of defunct Whiggism, where the Republican movement was unable to obtain recognition. The Prohibition party came into the field at a later date, and exhibited greater persistency than some of the other "third parties," hav-

ing under it a noble sentiment, and in it men of moral worth and philanthropic aim; but even this party never had the ghost of a prospect of reaching the goal of its ambition, and never made any direct contribution towards the destruction of political evils. Most of these "third parties" resulted from some sporadic outburst of moral sentiment, and all failed through lack of rooting in distinct constitutional principle. Some of them have served an admirable purpose in furnishing occupation for disgruntled politicians; some, as counter-irritants, drawing inflammation from the vitals of the other parties, and others in affording a stage on which amateur politicians might play at election campaigning. The last experiment in this line, the so-called People's party, has puzzled and bewildered many astute manipulators of public sentiment, yet without inspiring any high degree of hopefulness with regard to beneficial results.

The practical lesson deducible from this summary of political history is that there is no foundation for a political party to stand upon that is either broad enough or strong enough to give the slightest hope of achieving success in controlling the affairs of the nation, except some principle of construing the constitution of the United States, which is sufficiently far-reaching to touch every department of the government, and to determine the character and genius of our institutions. No temporary issue, in legislation, however urgent; no isolated moral sentiment, however valuable in itself; nor any sectional or race prejudice, however powerful or inveterate,—will serve to justify or sustain a separate political organization, in the presence of the American people, long enough to assure success.

S. M. MERRILL.

THE MODERN NOVEL.

BY AMELIA E. BARR, AUTHOR OF "JAN VEDDER'S WIFE," "A DAUGHTER OF FIFE," "THE LAST OF THE M'ALLISTERS," "A BOW OF ORANGE RIBBON," ETC., ETC.

THE smart scandalous stories of Mrs. Behn and Mrs. Manley were the beginnings of the English novel, and from these erotic attempts, by Sterne's wayward fancy, and Johnson's severe morality, we come to Fielding, Richardson and Miss Burney, the real indicators of the province of the novelist: laughing at the follies of society, ridiculing its petty vices, and making pictures of the every-day life of the period. This is an evanescent rôle; therefore novels, like almanacs, lose their interest, and pass away with the time they represent.

No novelist has escaped this contingency of his vocation; not even Bulwer, whose finger was ever on the pulse of the age. Scott has long ceased to charm; and if Dickens and Thackeray could bring us another *Pickwick* and *Esmond*, would they again find a multitude of enthusiastic readers? Not likely, unless the world should step backward, for the novelist who hits the taste of his own generation cannot be abreast of the taste of the generation that follows him.

So then the popular novel is the one which reflects best the time and circumstances wherein we each play our own interesting parts; and this truth accounts for the variety and number of the novels of the present day. The whole world is now open to the story-teller; and life has infinite diversities. It is also physically and mentally restless, and it has vast spiritual uncertainties and speculations. And, as on many of these lines women have a keener instinct and further intuition than men have, women find their work quite as much in request as that of the other sex. In-

deed, there is an impression that the sensational novel is entirely a feminine production, while it is really men who excel in it. Nor is there anything derogatory in this fact, for the good sensational novel requires a practised writer, and evinces as much genius in one direction as the analytic novel does in another. To make murder and bigamy interesting to educated people, a vigorous style and plenty of incident are needed.

Even the sensational stories of a low grade—crude, romantic, and without literary merit—are not to be wholly condemned. They are the sole mental food that great masses of slightly educated people will accept; and though only the adventures of cowboys, or the sorrows of pretty dressmakers, they are something better than the blank stupidity of their own minds. Intellectually, they may be trashy; and morally, they may be weak; but as a rule they do show that virtue gets the better of vice. This class of the community is just beginning to enjoy books, and the first steps in any popular development are full of vulgarities; but as it advances, the books written for it will improve in tone and quality.

It is the erotic-sensational novel which deserves unqualified anger and disgust, for it is the representation, by genius, of a society that lives for the gratification of its five senses, and that only. These novels, with their demi-nude and demi-monde experiences, sap all moral perceptions, and teach only one vile lesson —that we may sin, if we only sin neatly and take care not to be found out. A good writer stooping to work of this kind is like a fine lapidary wasting his skill in cutting pastes instead of diamonds. And the worst of the position is that he knows it and makes money by it.

The criminal novel is another development of the sensational novel, and it has lately grown in popularity; but though it takes a high order of genius to make its complications move steadily and swiftly to their *dénouement*, not even the master pens of Balzac, Gaboriau, and Conan Doyle can divest it of the flavor of brothels, prisons, and morgues. However, if people enjoy the game between criminals and detectives, the question is simply whether the exhibition is, or is not, a moral one—whether the details of crime, the telling of how it was done, how it was concealed, and how it was found out, may not be a kind of criminal school, for those whose inclinations lead them in that di-

rection. Both in the criminal and the erotic-sensational novel, the most dangerous element is the *contemporaneous* one. If such stories could be laid a few centuries back, they would do no harm; men are not made thieves by reading of Ali Baba, and women are not led astray by the example of Queen Guinevere. But when the heroes and heroines are men and women of like passions with ourselves, and living in our midst, they have all the wicked influence of personal bad company.

The staple, however, of our modern novels may be called domestic and semi-religious, and it is highly creditable to modern society that this is the case. These "fireside concerns," as the critics call them, have given us heroines of purity and unselfishness, women who have never, it is true, felt impelled to study art or acting, or to take to the lecturer's platform, but who have upheld the highest standard of womanly virtue and tenderness. The heroines of Miss Austen, Mrs. Gaskell, Miss Yonge, Mrs. Oliphant, George Eliot, Mr. Trollope, and others may have their little fits of bad temper, envy, spitefulness, and waywardness, but murder, adultery, and theft would be impossible ideas in connection with them. And they have had during the last fifty years a distinct social power, for it was these novels which first showed girls how beautiful a thing it was to visit the poor and the sick, to teach in Sunday-schools, and to embroider altar cloths. Even in the direction of fashionable society, no girl could have a finer chaperon than Mr. Trollope, for he never introduces her to exceptionable characters, and he makes love and marriage healthy domestic pleasures.

It is probable that this class of novels has had an equally good influence over the respectable young men of the same period; for they gave to their good and lovely heroines men worthy of them—high-souled students, soldiers, and sailors; conscientious curates; or, as in Mr. Kingsley's novels, earnest, God-fearing young fellows, physically and morally healthy, doing their duty without any nonsense about it. Of course such novels were a temptation in the hands of weak writers, to prose and preach, and make books full of prigs and prudes, which quite deserved the quasi-contemptuous name of "fireside concerns," or "annals of the drawing-room"; but even so, they are far better than those other "concerns" of the brothel and the prison.

Another popular form of the domestic novel is the analytic.

Mr. Trollope's and Mr. Howells' works may be taken as fine representatives of it. This novel is at the antipodes of the novel of incident, or romance, which finds in Mr. R. L. Stevenson its present illustrator. There is a natural antagonism between these two novels. Mr. Howells thinks that "it is, after all, what a writer has to say, rather than what he has to tell, that we care for nowadays"; and Mr. Stevenson is puzzled at the people who "look down on incident, and reserve their admiration for the click of teaspoons and the accents of curates." The fact is, Mr. Stevenson likes incident, and can describe it well; and Mr. Howells likes analyzing character and motives, and he wisely does what he can do so cleverly. Both are favorites, though Mr. Howells' thoughtful readers call Mr. Stevenson's incidents "improbabilities"; and Mr. Stevenson's readers say "they like to know what was done, and don't care about the state of mind it was done in." In weaker hands than Mr. Howells', this "analysis of character" is often carried to a point where the author, like the knife-grinder, "story has none to tell"; and then we naturally weary of descriptions of vacillating women, and selfish lovers, and of dull people who never make a remark without explaining *why* they make it.

To be a popular novelist is to be the recipient of a love passing the love of woman. Even newspapers, who scold senators and accuse every public institution and every form of religion, have a peremptory "*Hush!*" if a word is said against their favorite novelist. For when an honest reader is made better, or wiser, or happier by a book, he feels justly indebted to the author of it. And it is well for writers that the rewards and renown of literature are now conferred by ballot of the people, and not by the educated antipathies and prejudices of any school or academy. Indeed, the academical spirit is dead, and no literary senate sits either in the Old World or in the New. If, then, an author is popular, he has the verdict of a world-wide tribunal, and a *prima-facie* evidence that what he writes has a positive value to some class of humanity.

It is not, however, likely that any novelist does constantly his best work. The public taste is to be consulted, and the larger a writer's audience, the lower must be its average taste; yet it is the average that must be written for, if financial rewards are looked to. This accounts for the commonplace character of the

modern novel; the general taste of the era is commonplace, and it has no more desire for the heroic in its books than it has for tragedy in its theatres. What people want first of all is a story, a good plot, and not many tepid enthusiasms about scenery. The landscape business in novels has been overdone; the very worst use scenery can be put to is to describe it in a novel, unless it is used in connection with humanity, or as productive of some actual sensation in those who see it.

The age scarcely does justice to the power of the popular novel, even when it works on an average level. Mr. Mill might have included novelists who have clear views on any subject, with members of legislative bodies and editors of great newspapers as "direct and immediate influences." For novels now depict everything and everybody, and all kinds of human character may be found on a railway bookstall. Novels are the sermons of this era, and a favorite novelist exerts a deeper and far more extensive influence than any living clergyman; not in the formation of this or that special opinion, but in a subtle and permanent bias and prepossession over the whole character. And when men and women of all ages are constantly under these interesting sermons, it is worse than idle to say that "nothing comes of it."

The best novels are written by men and women who have seen life in all its variations of joy and sorrow, triumph and failure. With this rich experience, and a fine imagination, the novel lends itself to every variety of emotion, political, social, and religious; to every mode of thought, to every shade of speculation, on every topic, in heaven or on earth. This necessity for experience, with all it comprehends, is the reason we have so few young novelists of continuous power. The imaginary pictures constructed out of the inner consciousness of the young can have little value, since they must be the result of what has been read in other novels, and not of what has been suffered or experienced by the writer.

No gift of the Almighty is so little valued by the hand-workers of the world as the royal power of imagination. Parents nearly always think it a disqualifying preparation for money-making. Yet, imagination is one of the grandest forces in actual life, and only the ignorant despise it. The ability to "conceive the absent as if it were present" would enable many a man to set his temptation visibly before him, and see the consequences of his act. An eminent English historian attributes the Indian

Mutiny to Lord Dalhousie's want of imagination ; his inability to conceive the results of his provoking acts. Mr. Disraeli finds the same fault with the political genius of Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Mill says the want of imagination vitiates the whole philosophy of Bentham. In the same way, fraud arises less often from conscious roguery than from an inability to "conceive the absent as if it were present," and by the power of imagination see the results of a dishonest act. We all know people who will weep over a novel or a play, and yet care nothing for the suffering around them. This is because the novelist or the playwright brings vividly before their imagination the fictitious suffering ; but they have no imagination of their own to realize the actual suffering. Therefore, even men who are to be employed in commerce or statesmanship might take a course of good novels to stimulate their imagination ; for imagination aids foresight and enables us to estimate probable results.

As for novels being unlike life, this charge cannot be brought against the best of modern novels. It is really a succession of brilliant photographs of contemporary life ; and the improbable incidents in most novels are very likely the real ones ; for ordinary lives appear to be commonplace, because we know nothing about them. The records of our criminal courts are more improbable than any modern novel ; and families that seem to differ in no way from other families might be subjects for epics, as wonderful and horrible as the houses of Pelops and Labdacus.

Another advantage in the modern novel is that it gives the young a much better idea of the relations between men and women than they could form for themselves, or from bad books or company. Novels do not breed sentiment ; however early they come to a boy or girl they find the sentiment already there. The oldest and best nursery books recognize this element. Whittington's master's daughter is quite as important as Whittington's cat ; and never a fairy prince without a fairy princess. The young man of the present day does not fail on the side of modesty, but it might tone down his disagreeable self-confidence if he learned through Mr. Trollope and others how often the irresistible young man of a tale is rejected by the heroine, and that the rejection is in no way fatal to her.

As to the important subject of "asking *the* question," novels are a perfect school of ways and means, of what is to be sought,

and what is to be avoided. Would any lover who had read *Granby* take his mistress on the water to propose to her? No; he would consider the possibility of having to row her back, a sulky and disappointed man. The men who become old bachelors are the men who take no counsel from Miss Yonge or Mrs. Oliphant, from Mr. Besant or Mr. Trollope, or any other reputable guide. Indeed, the latter gentleman's strong point is his delightful lovemaking and his straightforward proposals.

Women are practically affected by novels far more than men are, for the experience of men enables them to dispute or dilute or correct many things said. But a woman's life is greatly influenced by the fiction she reads. She draws her ideas from her favorite books; she tries to speak, and act, and dress like her favorite heroines. How good, then, it must be for an egotistical, selfish girl to have a course of George Eliot's novels! for her constant lesson through her characters is that the world was not made for them alone. She knocks the selfishness out of them all, or she punishes them for retaining it. She is also a good teacher for girls self-willed and self-opinionated; for all her good, lovable women need a master and a rule of life; yes, even Romola needed Savonarola.

The one thing to be regretted in many of the lighter novels of the day is their kind of heroine. She is not a nice girl. She talks too much, and talks in a slangy, jerky way, that is odiously vulgar. She is frank, too frank, on every subject and occasion. She is contemptuous of authority, even of parental authority, and behaves in a high-handed way about her love affairs. She is, alas! something of a Freethinker. She rides a bicycle, and plays tennis, and rows a boat. She laughs loudly, and dresses in manly fashion, and acts altogether in accord with an epoch that travels its sixty miles an hour. She is very smart and clever, but in her better moments she makes us sigh for the girls who thought their parents infallible and who were reverent churchwomen—the girls who were so shrinkingly modest, and yet so brave in great emergencies—the girls who were so fully accomplished and so beautiful, and who yet had no higher ambition than to be the dearly loved wife of a noble-hearted man and the good house-mother of happy children. Perhaps fifty years after this, the world will look back to this picturesque, lovable creature, and give her a glorious resurrection.

There is more probability of this resurrection, if we reflect that women are likely to be the popular novelists of the future, although there must always be some departments of fiction which they will be incompetent to undertake. They may preserve the finer ideals and illusions of the race, but they can never know life as a soldier, or lawyer, or a man of business can know it; nor would a man's knowledge of life be a gift that any kind fortune would bestow upon a women. There will then continue to be specialties for both sexes, though it is likely in poetry and fiction women will take the leading part. Indeed this is evident in the periodical literature of the day; for if a few numbers of the current magazines be examined, it will be seen that in the long run there are six, perhaps nine, muses to one Apollo; nor will unprejudiced criticism find appreciable difference in the quality of the work, though it may differ in kind. On the whole, it is likely that women will prove themselves to be just as good as men at their best, and just as dull as men at their worst.

But good or bad, no one can consider the young men of the rising generation, and hope much from them in a literary direction. At every university, at every petty country school, the "terms" are fast becoming mere periods for the education of the human muscles—a fact parents may consider if they please—and the interest that used to attach to the class list, and to Tripos papers, is now transferred to the ball game or the boat race. Athletic contests have certainly one moral advantage—they teach men to deserve success, and yet be prepared to suffer defeat and disappointment without losing hope or temper.

However, it is not the moral, but the literary, side of the athletic question which interests us at this time. Are young men who consider bodily strength the one thing needful, likely to give much time to mental speculation and fanciful dreaming? Are human beings who have turned themselves into machines for making a "score" likely to tell love-tales and evoke romance from their pugilistic consciousness? And if they do, what will be the character of their heroes and heroines? Will not the hero be a famous "pitcher," leaping and loving, and free from faults as from fat? And the heroine, will she not be a smart girl, enthusing her lover by wearing his colors and screaming "*'Rah! 'rah! 'rah!*" till her voice fails her?

Perhaps so; but we have more reason to expect that men

trained in this fashion will be the *doers*, and not the dreamers, of the future. They ought to open up mines and drain lands, and drive machinery, and fight battles, and carry ships across the ocean. Thews and sinews are not needed for novel writing; but they are needed to colonize Africa and to revolutionize Asia; to fight anarchy and to protect liberty. They are needed to utilize old inventions and to perfect new ones; and these young athletes may look over the map of the world and find that thews and sinews have their work laid out for the next century.

Woman is the born story-teller of humanity, and men may very well leave her to strike the note to which the fiction of the twentieth century will respond. No one has yet prophesied how low, or how high, that note will be; but it is not likely that we shall have in the future such elaborate, careful, thoughtful work as the past has given us in *Middlemarch*, *Romola*, *Les Misérables*, or the best of Meredith's novels. The world will live too fast, and travel too fast, to read tales which are really epics and philosophy. Life will be too eager and mechanical for fine novels, though the world will never grow too old or be too busy to say, "Tell us a story." It may like to have its religion, philosophy, and politics administered in novels; but it is far more likely to ask only amusement, only the ever-welcome repetition of that old story of love, that is forever young; for when men and women seek amusement as a relief from positive work, they do not like to enter what they think is a theatre, and find it to be a temple.

If this view of novel-writing does not promise any enduring fame for novelists, if it leaves them as simple chroniclers of the work and ways of their own day, instead of writers for future ages, there is no discredit and no injury. Blessed are those who can serve their contemporaries! they have some tangible results for their labor. Posterity may mean well, but it cannot be trusted. If Byron, Keats, Carlyle, Coleridge, and others know anything now of this life, they must wish they had never written for posterity. An appreciative present is a very good thing; and to be forgotten is a greater posthumous luxury than to be tied to an eternity of human investigation, whether for praise or for disapproval.

AMELIA E. BARR.

PUBLIC DINNERS IN LONDON.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

PERHAPS there is no country in the world in which so much is done by the system of "voluntary contributions" as in England, and in which, accordingly, the managers of charitable institutions have to keep so keen an eye open to the main chance. Hospitals, homes, and benevolent funds blessed with any special endowments are very rare with us, while state aid is practically unknown; and as a very large amount of money is annually needed for the support of the charities, useful and otherwise, of which we are, on the whole, not unjustly proud, it is necessary that something of the instinct of the showman should be combined with business tact and organizing power to make a really successful secretary or manager to any institution which is "supported by voluntary contributions."

Of late years every sort of dodge has been tried to attract the public, and every kind of bait has been used to extract the money from their not unwilling pockets. Bazaars and fancy fairs; balls and dramatic entertainments; hospital Sundays with their more or less persuasive sermons; hospital Saturdays with their young women rattling money-boxes at every street corner,—all these and many other devices, sometimes in very questionable taste, are tried in turn by the astute professional philanthropist. Nor, if we may judge from their frequent repetition, do these allurements ever fail of success. Charity is a good thing in itself, and when it can be combined with a reasonable amount of amusement it is, in the eyes of most people, still better. It is, to be sure, a pity that it should be necessary to incur so much outlay in such matters that by far the larger amount of the public money which is spent upon them should be swallowed up in expenses; but even in the sacred cause of charity people like to have something for their

money, and it is very seldom that the subscribers waste a thought on the excessive cost of the advertising and of the entertainment which has wheedled them into such a frame of mind as to induce them to part with their half-crowns or their sovereigns, or even, in extreme cases, with their banknotes.

But all these devices are of mere mushroom growth compared with that time-honored institution, the public dinner, which was one of the primitive methods of appealing to the charitable, and which flourishes even more luxuriantly to-day than it did in its earlier years. It is, perhaps, the most extravagant and wasteful way of filling a subscription list that was ever invented, but that doesn't matter. We are a conservative people even in these days of democracy, and "advanced" principles—or want of principles—of all kinds; and the great institution of the public dinner seems to be one of those things which have attained the unassailable rank of fetish in the eyes of Englishmen of all classes, and which are not to be disturbed by any absurd considerations of the proper relation of expenditure of time and money to the ultimate result in available net cash.

It would seem as if there must be something peculiar about the public dinner, which has for generations appealed to the average Briton; and, as an institution, it must surely in its early days have possessed an enviably sound and robust constitution. For, in truth, anything more depressing to mind, body, and estate than most of the dinners of bygone days it is difficult to imagine. The Freemasons' Tavern, Willis's Rooms, the Albion in Aldersgate Street, and the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street over against the offices of the then great house of Baring, were the chief scenes of these sacrifices to dyspepsia and gout as I remember then in the later 'fifties. Sometimes a good dinner and a fair glass of wine were to be had at the Albion and the London Tavern, but, as a rule, and for the guinea which was the customary charge for a dinner ticket, the banquets were but ill-designed and ill-cooked affairs abominably served by a tribe of dirty, ill-dressed waiters, the like of whom these later days could scarcely produce, while the wine, even at this distance of time, is not to be thought of without a shudder. Bottles of a vapid, acid hock, and decanters of a sherry of a peculiarly stinging quality used to be ranged on the tables at the commencement of these remarkable feasts; a sweet liquid, which

was supposed to fulfil all the functions of champagne if only it retained a certain friskiness for a minute or two after the cork had popped, was served in thrifty quantities during the progress of the meal, and the subsequent toasts were drunk in a specially thorny port or a fatally loaded claret, as the victim might select. Little attempt was made at table decoration. A few hideous articles of plated ware—epergnes filled with artificial flowers which could not have been expected to deceive the most innocent and credulous mind, empty wine coolers, well-worn salvers and the like—straggled in disorderly fashion about the table, and there was usually such an attempt at dessert as would have put any self-respecting kitchen-garden to shame. The waiters were as conspicuous for their rapacity in the matter of tips as for their frowsy, dirty shabbiness, their general incompetence, and their tendency to remove half-emptied bottles from the table for their own private consumption, while the ease and rapidity with which they got drunk were at least as remarkable as any of their other engaging qualities. The dinner itself was always a long, tedious affair, and it was almost a relief when the toastmaster took the chairman in hand, and the "business of the evening" began with its dreary speeches trailing their slow length among the heeltaps of the thorny port and the loaded claret, and driving the company to tamper still further with their digestions by the consumption of dried-up nuts, withered apples, and wizened grapes, which, for some inscrutable reason seemed to be universally and unsuccessfully tried as a remedy against the all-pervading boredom.

The toastmaster, in those days, was a personage of great importance, and it was almost as desirable to secure a good toastmaster as a good chairman. In fact the general conduct of the business of the meeting, unless the chairman knew all the ropes —which was not always the case—practically devolved upon the toastmaster. The most distinguished of these functionaries at the time of which I am now writing was one Harker, a portly and handsome man with formidable black whiskers and a superb bass voice which was the despair and envy of all his professianal brethren. Harker was, if I remember rightly, a crier or usher at the Old Bailey, and it is possible that something of the dignity of the presiding judges clung to him and gave him a certain impressiveness as he waved his baton, or whatever substitute represented

it at the moment, and demanded "silence faw the chair." Harker was popular with chairmen ; firstly, because he could post them up thoroughly in their work, and, secondly, because he was a person of infinite tact, discretion, and sobriety. In these respects he did not resemble another toastmaster whom I knew very well. This functionary, I remember, at a dinner over which my father presided, had been making himself even unusually officious and meddlesome until the chairman, who knew his business thoroughly, could bear it no longer. So, by the hands of the toastmaster himself, he sent me a pencilled note, which the gentleman delivered with a whiskeyfied little speech to the effect that he was sure it meant something kindly for somebody from the "dear, good dad," but which simply contained the words: "For Heaven's sake get rid of this man for me; he is worrying me to death."

Those were the days of long, long speeches, and plenty of them, mostly from perfectly incompetent speakers ; of the reading of dreary lists of figures by secretaries who had never been taught the simple art of making themselves heard in a large room ; of a general depression of spirits which set in early and which no amount of liquid refreshment could assuage; and the odd part of all was that all this sort of thing had been going on in almost exactly the same way for years and years. My experience of public dinners began in about the year 1856. Twenty years before, one of the *Sketches by Boz* had dealt with public dinners, and really all that time had made little or no difference, and had brought about little or no improvement. It might almost have been said of almost any public dinner in 1856 as it had been of the dinner of the "Indigent Orphans' Friends' Benevolent Institution" in 1836, that

"waiters, with wine baskets in their hands, are placing decanters of sherry down the tables at very respectable distances; melancholy looking salt-cellars, and decayed vinegar-cruets, which might have belonged to the parents of the indigent orphans in their time, are scattered at distant intervals on the cloth; and the knives and forks look as if they had done duty at every public dinner in London since the accession of George the First."

Still might it have been said of the dinner itself :

"Tureens of soup are emptied with awful rapidity—waiters take plates of turbot away to get lobster sauce, and bring back plates of lobster sauce without turbot; people who can carve poultry are great fools if they own it, and people who can't, have no wish to learn."

Still was it true that:

"The chairman rises, and, after stating that he feels it quite unnecessary to preface the toast he is about to propose with any observations whatever wanders into a maze of sentences, and flounders about in the most extraordinary manner, presenting a lamentable spectacle of mystified humanity, until he arrives at the words 'constitutional sovereign of these realms,' at which elderly gentlemen exclaim 'bravo,' and hammer the table tremendously with their knife-handles."

Very little, indeed, has been changed in the course of that twenty years, and it is really astonishing how such a state of things could have continued so long and how it was that the public dinner did not, years ago, die the death which it so well deserved.

But the time for reform was coming, although not immediately, and the strange vitality of the public dinner enabled it to survive until there set in the wonderful alterations in public manners and customs; the astonishing change in the ideas of the average Briton in regard to gregarious eating and drinking; the complete subversion and destruction of old habits, old fashions, and old ways of doing things; the practical rebuilding and rearrangement of London; the reforming off the face of the earth of so much that Mrs. Grundy held dear; which progressed with a thoroughness and rapidity that almost took away the breath of Londoners of the old school. The first sign of the startling changes to come was noticeable, I think, when Messrs. Spiers and Pond invaded us from Australia and taught us that the peculiar bill of fare and the remarkable arrangements for the discomfort of the public which were so faithfully chronicled in the veracious history of the *Boy at Mugby* were really not governed by any fixed and immutable law of nature, but were subject to alteration and improvement like any of the other arrangements of the sons of men. Presently the restaurateurs followed suit, and instead of the half-dozen decent places—I don't even think there were so many—in which one could dine in public thirty or forty years ago, a crop of handsome, commodious, and convenient restaurants has sprung up, with the result that the old absurd idea that there was something "fast" and almost improper about dining in a public room, especially for ladies, vanished into the limbo which has of late years swallowed so many absurdities, and all the habits of an immense number of Londoners became practically changed altogether. Then came

the era of great hotels, and when some of these began to lay themselves out for the entertainment of great numbers of people in handsomely furnished and conveniently arranged rooms, specially built for the purpose, the public dinner took a new lease of life and started on what promises to be a career of greater success and prosperity than ever.

I am not going to assert that the new order is perfect. It is, in fact, a long way from being anything of the sort. But its superiority over the old state of things is not to be questioned. You do not always get a first-rate dinner even now at the Criterion, the Freemasons, the Café Royal, the Albion, or the Metropole, but you do assuredly get a meal which, whether for its component parts, its cooking, or its service, is immeasurably better than such things used to be. It is, no doubt, still well to be at the chairman's table, and the casual member of the general public who is allotted a remote seat at a distant table still, as a rule, fares worse than those in higher places, but even he is better off than the chairman's own immediate friends were years ago, and will have in all probability a better dinner than he could have hoped for in the 'thirties, the 'forties, the 'fifties, or the 'sixties. It is still more than suspected that the vintages which are provided for the guests at the upper table are more desirable than those which are served out to meaner mortals, but, at all events, the days of that stinging sherry and that thorny port are over, and for the temperate consumer there is little or no likelihood—which in earlier times was almost a certainty—of waking in the morning with a sensation of having been poisoned overnight. Cloakroom arrangements are so much improved that one may fairly hope to get one's own hat and coat when one goes away, which is a considerable gain when one remembers the old story—"Hat, sir? Oh, all the best hats have been gone this hour." The waiters are a different race altogether from their predecessors. I don't mean to say that there is not sometimes very considerable room for improvement, but the modern men have little indeed in common with the shabby genteel, tipsy, baksheesh-grabbing, incompetents of old days. Baksheesh is certainly still expected, and occasionally asked for with more urgency than politeness, but you may console yourself by thinking that if you do give a waiter a tip nowadays you generally have had pretty fair value for

your money, and that was rarely the case in times gone by. Most of the managers of places where public dinners are given profess that their waiters are strictly forbidden to receive tips, and I remember being quite seriously taken to task by one of them when I ventured to remonstrate in print on a particularly flagrant case of extortion which came under my immediate notice a few years ago at a dinner of the Royal General Theatrical Fund. I was told then—and have been told since—that inspectors, or superintendents, or managers, or some such functionaries are always on the watch, and that any waiter who takes a tip is summarily discharged, but I know this to be a light-hearted little fiction similar to that which is kept up in like manner by the railway companies. Besides, really good waiters are scarce, even now and can practically dictate their own terms. And, again, if tips were really and seriously forbidden, the cloakroom attendant would not be provided with that plate containing a few shillings and sixpences, which he now and then accidentally rattles in so very suggestive a manner.

And there is yet another vast improvement which conspicuously marks the public dinners of to-day. Not only are the dinners themselves, the rooms, the wine, the service immeasurably better than they were; the speeches have shared in the general "betterment," and are very seldom so prolix or so ill-delivered as were those of yore. It may be that Englishmen generally have come more out of their shells, and are less embarrassed when they foregather with their fellow-creatures in public places than they were, but it is an indisputable fact that the average of public speaking in England—or, at all events, let me say in London, as it is to London that I am more particularly referring—has been very much raised of late years. Something of the improvement, no doubt, is due to the Prince of Wales, who set the excellent example of making short speeches—besides doing still further service to his fellow-diners by introducing smoking after dinner. But, whatever the reason or reasons may be, you will hear infinitely more good, or reasonably good, after-dinner speaking now than was to be got in the old days. There is no one living, I think, who can equal or come near my father, who was the very best after-dinner speaker I ever heard, besides being one of the best and most resourceful of chairmen; but I am sure I can count many more speakers of the first class now than I could at any

previous time. As might perhaps be expected, it is at the theatrical dinners that most of the best speakers are to be heard. Mr. Henry Irving has trained himself into an excellent after-dinner speaker; Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Beerbohm Tree, and Mr. Charles Wyndham all talk well; Mr. Comyns Carr's speeches are always charming, both from the literary and elocutionary points of view; and Mr. Arthur Pinero has no superior—I might almost say no real rival—among the best of them all. Literature is not very strong just now in this department, and the speeches at the dinners of the Royal Literary Fund and similar institutions are apt to be deadly dull, but Mr. W. E. Lecky speaks very well, if not so well as he writes, and Mr. George Augustus Sala has long been distinguished for the capital speeches which he can make about anything or nothing, as the case may be, with an energy a readiness, and a wealth of illustration and anecdote which call up reminiscences of the immortal Fred Bayham himself. A most delightful after-dinner speaker was James Russell Lowell—but then he was an American, and most cultivated Americans have the gift of eloquent speech; and Edmund Yates, whom we lost only the other day, could speak very well on occasion, although he was sometimes too didactic, and although I remember his once breaking down altogether, and subsiding in the middle of a speech absolutely dumb and covered with confusion.

The after-dinner speeches of politicians are apt to be troubled with reminiscences of the manner and the style which find favor on the platform or in the House of Commons, but Lord Rosebery, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain are quite as good, though in a different way, after dinner as they are in business hours. Scientific after-dinner speaking is apt to deal too exclusively with shop, relieved by that mild jocularity which is so dear to the scientific mind; and art, with one exception, makes but little mark after dinner. That exception is to be found, of course, in the magnificent sesquipedalian periods of Sir Frederic Leighton, the President of the Royal Academy, whose ornate and florid style easily beats even Mr. Chauncey Depew in the American's most magnificent moments, and who serves his complimentary butter—in prodigious quantities—from a lordly dish, indeed. The Prince of Wales is not a great speaker, but always says what he has to say in a thoroughly business-like style and with an air of conviction, which leads to a feeling of some surprise when you

read the speech next day in the papers, and discover how very little there was in it after all. Above all things His Royal Highness has cultivated the virtues of conciseness and brevity, and never could, by any chance, bore anybody. I should not like to suggest that one could say the same of all after-dinner speakers, but a thoroughly bad speech is quite the exception in these times, and modern audiences have an uncomfortable habit of taking things into their own hands when a speaker shows indications of not knowing when to stop.

Among the other great changes which have come over the public dinner the question of the selection of a chairman is one of the notable. Once upon a time a noble lord—practically any noble lord would do—was almost indispensable, and the old Duke of Cambridge easily held the record, I should think, for the number of occasions on which he had appealed to an after-dinner audience in the cause of charity. Nowadays, when the general public is to be got at, there is little faith in ordinary lords, and it is even whispered that Royalty, unless under very special circumstances, is no longer a sure draw. To the officials of the older and wealthier charities this is not a matter of great importance. Their dinners are supported mainly by friends of the institution itself, and any gentleman of position and influence who is well known to them makes as useful a chairman as anybody else, and has as good a chance of drawing a satisfactory subscription list. But the capture of the latest celebrity, the representative of the very newest "boom," is of the greatest importance to the anxious secretaries and committees of the smaller charities, who have to offer the public a fair equivalent for its money, and necessitates an amount of ingenuity and diplomacy which would surprise most people who do not know how much working such things want. And when the great chairman question is satisfactorily settled a considerable amount of tact and skill has to be brought to bear to advertise the show properly to the public, which has become by this time a little shy and wary in such matters. All sorts of tricks are tried, but the managers of some of the older and more conservative charities, when they have secured the services of a first-class peer, still pin their faith on an extremely old dodge which was described as far back as the time when Mr. Boffin came into his fortune.

"And then the charities, my Christian brother!" says the

author of *Our Mutual Friend,* who had as much experience of public dinners as most people.

"And mostly in difficulties, yet most lavish, too, in the expensive articles of print and paper. Large, fat, private double letter, sealed with ducal coronet. 'Nicodemus Boffin, Esquire. My Dear Sir—Having consented to preside at the forthcoming Annual Dinner of the Family Party Fund, and feeling deeply impressed with the immense usefulness of that noble Institution and the great importance of its being supported by a List of Stewards that shall prove to the public the interest taken in it by popular and distinguished men, I have undertaken to ask you to become a Steward on that occasion. Soliciting your favorable reply before the 14th instant, I am, My Dear Sir, your faithful Servant, LINSEED. P. S.—The Steward's fee is limited to three Guineas.' Friendly this, on the part of the Duke of Linseed (and thoughtful in the postscript), only lithographed by the hundred and presenting but a pale individuality of address to Nicodemus Boffin, Esquire, in quite another hand."

That this device is still popular argues a singular want of invention on the part of secretaries and committees, or, what is more likely, a constant and surprising gullibility on the part of some sections of the world of London. But that public dinners should still meet with so much favor as they still enjoy is in itself so remarkable a fact as to dwarf any minor details.

Finally, it may be noted that the attempt to popularize the presence of ladies at table at public dinners has met with but indifferent success.

CHARLES DICKENS.

THE BUSINESS REVIVAL.

BY EDWARD KEMBLE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; JAMES M. GLENN, PRESIDENT OF THE CINCINNATI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; A. K. MILLER, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ORLEANS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; AND WILLIAM G. BOYD, PRESIDENT OF THE MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE OF ST. LOUIS.

EDWARD KEMBLE, ESQ.:

It must be conceded that the business of the country continues in a depressed condition. There may be one or two lines which are satisfactory, and there may be, and probably is, an increased volume; but returns are generally unsatisfactory, and considering the business of the country as a whole, it is in a depressed condition still. The producer, the "wage-earner," the manufacturer, the middle man, the man depending upon permanent investments,—all are dissatisfied, if not embarrassed, by the small returns which they are obliged to accept. As the country grows older, indeed, the percentage of gain from many sources will grow less, although the volume of exchanges will increase. But this is a matter which it is not proposed to discuss here.

Prosperity is in abeyance. While cotton and wheat and labor and freight transportation are selling at unremunerative prices and at the lowest prices ever known, prosperity can scarcely be expected.

In this connection it may be remarked that *very* large crops in a succession of years are not to be ardently desired, unless foreign markets are in a condition to take the surplus. This country is wont to congratulate itself upon the gathering of great

harvests, as if prosperity were thereby assured. This is not always the case. Peace and plenty do not always insure prosperity, or what is called prosperity by this country. We have lately heard a good deal about the "failure" of the corn crop. It has not failed, but will be a moderate crop. In consequence the price of corn has largely advanced, and it is probable this moderate corn crop will represent a greater money value than the very large crop, which was promised and predicted in June last, would have commanded had it been secured. Furthermore, the advance in the price of corn has brought about a considerable rise in the price of hog and hog products; and hog, one of the staple commodities, can be produced from wheat, which is selling not only lower than ever before, but lower than corn—a fact which is unprecedented. This state of things will result later on in a benefit to the producer, very likely, by enhancing the price of wheat, and it is not impossible after all that this "failure of the corn crop" may prove a veritable boon!

But the business of the country, considered as a whole, continues depressed and unprofitable. The settlement of the tariff question has not changed this condition. It is not intended to deny that some interests directly affected by the tariff have been relieved by its settlement; but they are insignificant when the business of the whole country is considered. There was a sentimental feeling, which prevailed to some extent, that, the tariff settled, business must, of course, revive; and a small spasm in the direction of improvement was, for a moment, evident; but the settlement of the tariff has not changed, or in any way affected, the value of cotton, corn, wheat, or hog, or placed the producer and the "wage-earner" in a better position to become good customers and make demand: it has, however, together with the adjournment of Congress, removed two disturbing elements. Some other matters, too, which aggravated the situation are no longer present. The extreme anxiety concerning the gold supply or reserve, and the general fear and doubt, have disappeared. The labor question, though not solved, is less threatening. Liabilities in all directions have been reduced, and confidence, a very important element, is restored. So the *situation* is better. Business is not much better; but the *situation*, as compared with that of last winter, is very much better, and the chances for improvement in business are good.

Yet there is no one thing, or two or three things, which can be discerned as conspicuous signs of promise; and the marked depression still existing in foreign countries is, no doubt, one bar to improvement here.

The new tariff, in one respect at least, has worked an injury; namely, in causing the abrogation of reciprocity treaties. The principle of reciprocity is popular in this country, and deservedly so. Without question it is indorsed by a majority of the people, irrespective of party. The very word itself is a synonyme for soundness, wisdom, mutual benefit, comity. The abrogation of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada, which occurred years ago, was a serious business mistake, and a political mistake as well. Since that time, and after a long period, Congress recognized the principle again, and reciprocity treaties have, in late years, been made with several foreign countries, though not yet again, it is to be regretted, with Canada. In every case this treaty has been found advantageous, not only to the manufacturer, but to the producer and consumer also. Under it exports, especially of natural products, have largely increased, while the free imports have been an advantage to the consumer. Because of the duties levied against them by the new tariff, both Spain and Brazil have abrogated this treaty. So we are again set back in this matter of reciprocity, and another business and political mistake has been made. It may not be easy to renew these treaties with those countries, even should Congress desire to do so.

It is appalling to see how important matters touching the welfare of the whole country are lost sight of by the Congress in the scrambling contests of special and political and personal interests. Nothing comes so near causing despair of the republic as these contests, and the very peculiar and undignified manner in which they are carried on. There was never a period in the history of the country, probably, when the interests of business were so keenly sensitive to the conduct and methods and tone of Congressional deliberation and action as in the period now passing. There is a growing distrust, an increasing fear, of legislation. Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade are obliged to be constantly alert, and feel it necessary to take action in regard to matters which ought not for a moment to have any standing in legislative councils, and to urge attention to others which

seem likely to be overlooked; and so, instead of devoting their entire attention to their own more legitimate affairs, it is more or less diverted in watching and protesting to the Congress. It is a duty of these bodies, of course, to keep themselves informed in reference to affairs, and to utter their opinions when necessary or proper; but this ought not to be necessary very often. The growing tendency to legislate for party; the apparently growing belief on the part of a minority that its legitimate duty is to hamper and harass and possibly to defeat the will of the majority, even though the proposed legislation may be wise,—is an unfortunate peculiarity of modern politics, and is disturbing to business affairs. This criticism may be applied also to State legislatures to a considerable extent. It looks very much, sometimes, as if it were party first and the country afterwards.

The prosperity of a country depends upon the prosperity of the many, not upon the prosperity of a few. A perplexing and serious question has arisen, in connection with the startling growth in this country of great aggregations of capital, as to their good or bad effect: the formation of "trusts," as some are called; the consolidation of great corporations—railroad corporations, for instance. Within a few days an elaborate article has appeared in one of the magazines advocating the consolidation of all the principal railroad properties into one system, or, at most, three systems. It is very questionable if great business combinations, whether corporate or otherwise, are beneficial on the whole to the country. They are more likely to be injurious, even if they can be well managed, which is doubtful. Consolidation begets consolidation and concentration of power. The larger the dealer the greater the concessions he demands and receives, and the smaller dealer must go to the wall. It is undoubtedly better for the country when business of fifty millions of dollars per annum is divided among fifty firms than when this amount is done by one firm; and decidedly better for the purity of politics. Notwithstanding these difficulties, business will revive and flourish. The savings, the economies, the convulsions, of the past three years have made this possible; and it may not prove a wild prophecy now to predict that the next five years will witness an era of great prosperity.

EDWARD KEMBLE.

JAMES M. GLENN, ESQ.:

So far as the city of Cincinnati and the territory commercially tributary in a close sense are concerned, the conditions attending industrial interests have not been essentially distinctive from experiences in other portions of the country. This city, as a conspicuously commercial and manufacturing centre, naturally suffered alike with other localities in the depression of 1893, although there has been much to support the view that the experiences here in this direction were less severe than those generally prevalent elsewhere.

Pending the uncertainties attending political procedures with reference to the policy governing foreign commerce, our city and this region shared with other portions of the country the sense of hesitation and of halting which allowed a process of reduction and elimination of the surplus products of labor to go on, until a time prior to reaching final conclusions in Congress, when there was such a revival in demand for many lines of staple products that important changes were inaugurated and business assumed enlarging proportions.

This was notably so in the dry-goods interest, the shoe trade, in clothing, in machinery and metal products generally, and various other channels. This advance movement in the direction of enlarging operations, prior to the final settlement of the tariff question, naturally modified any immediate influence which such legislation had upon business matters, so that the revival in industrial affairs of a significant nature, which many believed would follow at once on the conclusion of the tariff controversy, has not been fully realized, and in some sense there has been disappointment. But it is fair to say that the evidences of a better and more promising order of affairs are positive—that the turning-point from conditions of depression to a shaping in the direction of enlargement in the employment of labor has been reached and passed, and that conditions of comparative comfort are steadily displacing those of distress among the industrial classes.

It is true that while there is a revival of the operations of business there remains the inevitable condition of low values of products in general, and a consequent restriction upon the wage power of the employing interests. It is useless in a general way to draw comparisons with earlier years, as to values of products or

prices rendered for productive labor, for the revolutionizing influences of the economies which have been introduced and which are still developing render such comparisons misleading, and in more or less degree give encouragement to a sense of dissatisfaction which is abundantly present at all times among wage-earners.

The trade in this city looks forward to an early restoration of former proportions of activity in all important branches of in-industry. The agricultural interests in all this region have, as a whole, fared well the past season, though there have been some drawbacks in particular localities and instances. The country south of us, as has been well shown in many ways, is developing its productive resources more steadily and decidedly than in the past: and this fact, with the transportation facilities which this market commands in that direction, naturally promotes in high degree business intercourse to mutual advantage.

Here at Cincinnati we feel that any measures or conditions which may be brought forward calculated to widen the commercial prosperity of the South, or of the Mississippi Valley region west and southwest of us, must necessarily have a helpful influence upon the affairs of our own particular region.

The South this season has been favored with an enormous crop of cotton, and an exceptionally large production of corn, with also an excellent yield of tobacco, and although market prices may be low, especially as to cotton, the fact remains that the cost of production, taking into consideration not only the question of labor, but recognizing the complete utilization of the by-product which was formerly wasted, is now greatly reduced, and the net result is a favorable one. The sugar interest, stimulated by the bounty provision, and strengthened in its position, has unfortunately been confronted with a modification of direct benefits, but it is to be hoped that existing hardships may be but temporary, and that this important industry may steadily continue in advancement, accompanied ultimately with remunerative results. The production of rice in the South is extending, and will undoubtedly assume very greatly enlarged proportions in the near future. The lumber resources of the South are being more and more brought into prominence, attracting capital for its preparation for market, widening the employment of labor, and adding to the available wealth of the community.

The enlarging commerce in the direction of Central America and South America, and the important accomplishment in transcontinental transportation afforded by the completion of the Tehuantepec Railway, are features which give assurance of increasing industrial activities in our region, and afford an encouraging outlook.

These are some of the conditions now in sight in our commercial affairs which give promise of a steady revival of business and prosperity, through the enlarging employment of labor, the increasing call for its products, and the more complete transportation facilities which serve the ends of commerce.

JAMES M. GLENN.

A. K. MILLER, ESQ.:

THE general business of New Orleans is better now than at this time last year. It can scarcely be called a revival of business, however, for there was never any very serious interruption here, except for a short time last summer, and the improvement has been gradual but steady ever since. There has been no sudden change, no awakening of trade as it were, and certainly no revival due to the passage of the tariff bill or to any other legislation by Congress. The Wilson Bill, as it passed, and particularly the subsequent legislation of the House known as the "pop-gun" sugar bill, have offset whatever advantages a change or improvement of the tariff might otherwise have brought us by reviving our foreign trade, and they have, on the contrary, materially and unfavorably affected general business. The improvement that has occurred has been in spite of the action of Congress. Had there been no tariff legislation, the revival would have come all the same, and would, indeed, have been far more pronounced than it is. As far as Louisiana and New Orleans are concerned, it is as though Congress had passed an act to stimulate trade and then put an addendum to it repealing all the provisions of the bill and annulling its own work.

Of the four products of Louisiana, three—sugar, rice, and lumber—are unfavorably affected by the legislation of Congress, and the business dependent on them has been reduced in consequence. Outside of New Orleans, lumber is the chief manufactured product of the State. The lumber industry has developed rapidly in the last few years—a threefold increase since 1885—largely through

the influence of Western capital. A number of gentlemen who had been actively engaged in the lumber industry in Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin bought heavily of Louisiana pine and cypress lands before these advanced so much in value, erected the necessary mills, and went to work so energetically that they soon trebled the business, finding new markets for their products, mainly in the West. The financial crisis of last spring, which, in the earlier stages, was so much more pronounced in the West than in other sections, struck the lumber industry first, and a number of mills shut down, or reduced their production, before the stringency was felt here by any other establishments. It was, of course, a temporary shock due to the tying up of capital. Business was reviving from it when the free-lumber section of the Wilson Bill gave it a second shock, from which it is still suffering. The lumbermen complain that they will be shut out of the markets of the Northwest by the competition of Canada. How far they will be affected remains to be seen, but the schedule has certainly checked a revival, which had set in four or five months ago.

The rice farmers have filed protests to the rice schedule of the Wilson Bill. The original schedule, although the duty was materially reduced, was eminently satisfactory to them, but, through some trick, it was so changed in the Senate as to make the differential between cleaned and uncleaned rice so great as to benefit Chinese, at the expense of American, rice. Whatever harm may be ultimately caused by this has been offset for the time being by the war between China and Japan, which has strengthened the market so that the rice farmers have no present cause of complaint, whatever the future may bring them.

It is the sugar schedule, however, and the attitude of the House towards sugar, which have undone any good that the Wilson Bill might otherwise have brought with it, and which have checked reviving business and have prevented as great an improvement as we would have a right to expect. The loss of the bounty on the crop of 1894, which the planters had been led to expect and which they had, indeed, been promised, has seriously upset and checked business in southern Louisiana; and the improvement we have mentioned as having taken place in spite of this setback, shows how healthy and encouraging the outlook has been. The bounty, however it may be regarded as a political measure, certainly stimulated the sugar industry and doubled its

production in three years' time. It necessitated the use of the most improved machinery in order to produce sugar of a high grade, that being necessary in order to get the full bounty. The result was a general overhauling of the machinery and the purchase each season of from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 of new rollers, boilers, and other machinery, and probably as much more in supplies. These purchases were made almost exclusively in New Orleans, and at this season of the year before the crops have begun coming in; and they tended to give an activity to summer and fall trade it had never enjoyed before. The sugar-planters had cultivated their crops under full expectation of the bounty and under promise of it. As soon as they found that they were not going to get it, or certainly not for the present, they stopped their orders and even withdrew such as they could, and cut down their expenses to the lowest limit. This has naturally affected the trade of New Orleans somewhat unfavorably. But what has caused the greatest uncertainty, disturbance, and uneasiness has been the passage by the House of the "popgun" bill in favor of free sugar. This has brought about a political upheaval in southern Louisiana. I will not discuss the political side of the matter, but the material and industrial effects of the threat have been marked, and the coincidence of a fall in the price of the sugar, just previous to the harvesting of the crop, has been most unfortunate. It has checked all purchases by the planters that could be avoided and has reduced the volume of business in the sugar district from 10 to 25 per cent. The planters have not yet decided how they will meet the difficulty except by reducing expenses. A convention has been called to consider the question of wages, and there is now little doubt of a reduction of 20 per cent. throughout the sugar district, affecting perhaps 80,000 persons. This will, of course, be felt in New Orleans, as all the purchases are made in this city. It might be well to mention here that the sugar crop last year, and the bounty on it, did much to relieve the financial stringency. The crop was a large one, prices were good, and the money received for it came at the very time when the stringency was the most pressing.

These are the chief results of the Wilson Bill as far as Louisiana and New Orleans are concerned. It will be seen that its influence has been bad; that it has had a tendency to check commercial revival; and that if there has been any improvement, it

has been in spite of the tariff legislation, and due to other causes.

The bank clearances indicate an improvement of about ten per cent., and this may be taken as representing the average business advance over last year. Cotton receipts here have almost doubled, and, in spite of the low price of cotton,—the lowest ever known,—the increase in receipts makes itself felt and more than offsets the loss in the grain trade; but where the improvement is most marked is in manufactures and numerous petty industries. The steady drift in New Orleans for years past has been from commerce to manufactures. Twenty years ago New Orleans was given up almost exclusively to commerce, to the handling of the agricultural products of the South and West, and not one-sixth of its working population was employed in manufactures; whereas to-day more than one-half are so employed. The industries are varied, and becoming more so each year, and are giving new activity, or rather activity in new lines, to our business. These factories scarcely felt the financial crisis. The lumbermen suffered slightly, but less in the city than in the country districts; and our largest cotton-mill reduced its output; but these were almost the only establishments that were affected unfavorably; and the manufactured output of New Orleans for the twelve months will exceed that of any year in its history. Moreover, there has been an activity in public improvements which has given employment to nearly all the idle labor here and given a remarkable stimulus to business of all kinds. The amount of paving done has never been equalled before; the work of sewering New Orleans has finally begun; and the conversion of our very extensive street-car system from the old-fashioned mule traction, which has so long prevailed, to electricity has alone called for the investment of several million dollars. The building trades have for the past three years shown an exceptional activity, due to the drift of population into new districts because of the extension of the street-car system, and the demand for modern houses instead of the old damp and dismal ones of which there was such an excess in New Orleans. In these building trades alone, there is an improvement of over fifty per cent. as compared with three years ago.

Most of these matters which I have mentioned as having had an exhilarating effect on trade are, it will be noticed, local. I do

not, of course, mean to say that New Orleans is living entirely on itself; but that it now supplies its country patrons with many manufactured products which formerly had to be imported from the North and West.

In regard to the marketing of agricultural products, one important—and the most important—fact should be constantly kept in mind: that while prices are phenomenally low—cotton, our great staple, having reached the lowest figure ever known—the crops have been raised at far less cost than heretofore, so that the net profit to the farmer is actually greater than when he got better prices. The financial crisis of last spring, the inability of the farmers to get advances, the necessity of getting down to "bed-rock" in the matter of expenses, all compelled them to cut off all superfluities, and also induced them to go more extensively into the cultivation of such food products as they needed. Appreciating the fact that they would have no money advances with which to make purchases of Western produce, corn, oats, etc., they planted grain, potatoes, and whatever they needed, and fortunately harvested magnificent crops. All the crops have been good and the bulk yield of the South this year will be the largest ever turned out. This is especially so of corn. The failure of the Western crop has so sent up the price of that article that the Southern farmers would have been bankrupted this season if they had been compelled to buy as much of it as in former years.

It may be said briefly that, both in quality and quantity, the Southern crops have never been exceeded, and that, because of the very financial crisis, they have been raised at a minimum of cost. I could say a great deal here of the great economies practised, of the industry shown by the farmers and all classes, and the improved methods used, but it is unnecessary—it is well understood. When the agricultural statistics for the year are published, and it is shown how much the Southern farmer has made from one acre of land, so much more than ever before, and how he has given his attention to crops which he formerly considered too trifling to turn his hand to, it will then be plain why there has been an improvement in business here, or as it might be called a revival. But that revival is due wholly to the people, to their energy, industry, and economy, and not to any legislation of Congress. So far as the Wilson Bill is concerned, with the free sugar annex in the House, it has proved only an injury and a

threat to this section, and there can be no feeling of complete confidence until it is determined whether Congress intends to leave the sugar schedule and the sugar question where they now are, or begin new agitation and attempt new legislation on the subject, before the country has had an opportunity to test the present law.

A. K. MILLER.

WM. G. BOYD, ESQ.:

MR. CHAUNCEY DEPEW, on returning to New York last April, after a trip of three thousand seven hundred miles through the West, described the general result of his investigations as unsatisfactory, and enlarged upon the general depression in the leading cities at which the party stopped over. In an interview with a New York daily paper he enlarged upon this subject, qualifying his statement with the words

"but while the business depression and unprecedented number of unemployed are the common condition of our Western States, we found one conspicuous exception, and that was St. Louis. St. Louis seemed to be doing as much business, and in a more prosperous condition, than ever before. Its local industries are active and healthy, and its merchants, with all that means in the way of employment, are doing an increasing and profitable business."*

It is now nearly six months since Mr. Depew thus placed himself on record, and the events that have occurred since his visit here have more than justified his reading of the situation. The revival of trade and commerce in St. Louis during the present year has been general; in some instances it has even been phenomenal.

During the spring, when there was a consensus of local opinion that the tariff question would be settled without delay, there was a great renewal of enterprise and activity; and although the subsequent delays in Congress were discouraging, the termination of the period of uncertainty promptly removed the last and only hindrance to progress, and reports received by the Merchants' Exchange from almost every section indicate that the revival is of a most substantial and healthful character.

To grasp the situation thoroughly at this point, it must be borne in mind that the year 1892 was the most prosperous in the history of St. Louis. The actual street frontage covered by new

* Extract from interview published April 20, 1894.

buildings during that year was thirty-nine miles, and the new structures included three buildings costing more than a million dollars each, several buildings each costing more than a million, and a total of 5,500 buildings costing more than $20,000,000. The Clearing-House returns showed an increase on any previous year of more than nine per cent., and the clearings for December, 1892, and January, 1893, beat the previous best on record for the two holiday trade months by eleven per cent. This rate of improvement was maintained during the spring of 1893, and the business of the local banks gained steadily up to and inclusive of May, which month ran seventeen per cent. above May of 1892.

The financial depression which paralyzed business throughout the entire country during the succeeding six months, reduced the volume of the bank clearings and the trade returns very significantly, but St. Louis was fortunate in going through the crisis without a single bank failure. No clearing-house certificates were issued, nor did a single financial institution, nor any of our large manufacturing, jobbing, or retail houses suspend payment for a single day. The only large failure in the neighborhood was of a car factory on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River. This factory has resumed business during the last sixty days and has given employment to six hundred men, the majority of whom reside in this city.

The general confidence in the stability of St. Louis, established by this exceptional record during the national crisis of 1893, enabled the city to recover with ease from the depression of trade which the curtailment or orders from outside points rendered unavoidable.

Even in January, 1894, the bank clearings were larger than for any corresponding month, except that of 1893, but the gain in the bank clearings became more marked after the close of the second quarter. The total for the month of July showed an increase of thirty per cent. The September totals are equally satisfactory, and, judging from the reports of wholesale and retail concerns of orders received and contracts signed, the volume of business for October, 1894, will be the largest ever recorded in St. Louis for that month.

In many respects the post-office receipts are a good index of the condition of local trade and commerce. Thus the total receipts at the St. Louis post-office during the months of July,

August, and September, 1892, were $346,885. In 1893 the total for these three months fell to $325,654, but in 1894 the total exceeds $359,641, exclusive of two or three concluding days of September, not ready for publication at this time of writing. It will thus be seen that while the total of 1893 showed a decrease for these three critical months of six per cent. as compared with 1892, the revival this year has been so marked that the total is eleven per cent. better than 1893, and even four and a half per cent. better than for the phenomenally prosperous ninety days ending September 30, 1892.

Another very reliable index of the condition of business is to be found in the railroad freight returns. St. Louis is the distributing centre of an immense area of country, and while the railroads' earnings generally have shown a marked tendency towards improvement, the returns of the roads centering in St. Louis have been exceptionally good. I have caused careful inquiry as to trade revival to be made among the different manufacturing and jobbing trades, and especially those in which this city is conspicuous for the volume of trade transacted. During the last ten years St. Louis has risen from the bottom to the top among shoe manufacturing centres. To-day I cannot learn of a single shoe factory which is not running full time, or which is not doing a larger business than in 1893. Several even report better business than in 1892. Men's-clothing manufacturers report orders from all sections much better since the adjournment of Congress, and the numerous wholesale dry-goods houses all agree that the fall trade is excellent. This is a very important centre for both hardware and woodenware, and great activity prevails in both lines.

In the building and accessory trades, such as brickmaking, planing-mills, iron foundries, etc., the revival has naturally been somewhat less marked. But the low prices of materials during the spring and early summer caused a renewal of building activity, and at the present time the factories are all active. Our phenomenally large breweries and tobacco factories were hampered in their operations this summer by the strike in adjoining coalfields, and in some instances ran behind in their orders. Full time is now being made and the output is very satisfactory, showing gains in almost every department.

In the limited space allotted me I cannot deal with each industry

separately, but the result of inquiries by reliable men justifies me in stating that there is no exception to the rule, and that the period of depression—I do not say "panic," because there was no panic here—is now nothing more than a memory.

There are a few other causes, indications, and results of trade revival in St. Louis and vicinity that must at least be referred to. The attitude of the city during the recent railroad strike has been favorably commented upon throughout the entire country. The Merchants' Exchange, supported by the leading manufacturers and merchants, took a firm stand in the interests of law and order from the outset, and resolutely declined to budge one inch from the policy adopted, all pressure and prayers to the contrary notwithstanding. Our leading daily papers were emphatic from the outset in their denunciation of the methods adopted by the strikers, and public opinion sustained the Merchants' Exchange and the press so unanimously that there was no disorder, scarcely any interruption in traffic, and little or no attention paid to orders to strike. The way St. Louis passed through what might otherwise have been a trying ordeal shows the firmness of its business leaders and the solidity of its business and financial institutions.

The opening of the new Union Station, conceded to be the largest in the world, has proved another stimulus to trade and enterprise. The excitement caused by this event has not yet abated, although the depot has been opened more than a month. St. Louis, although credited by the last national census with being one of the largest railroad centres in the world, had for years been hampered by a depot utterly out of line with its surroundings, and the improvement in the provisions for the accommodation of passengers is in keeping with the general improvement of the city.

In May of this year the new Burlington inlet to St. Louis was opened for traffic. By aid of new bridges over the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroads acquired by this line direct access to St. Louis, and an immense sum has been spent in yards and terminals. The new road opens up to St. Louis trade an enormous section covering north Missouri, Iowa, and adjoining States, and already business with the towns on the routes is quite extensive.

More recently we have witnessed the opening of a two million

dollar hotel, towards the erection of which our people subscribed $100,000 as a bonus; and another large hotel is nearly finished.

Lastly, the eleventh annual St. Louis Exposition reports a larger attendance to date than in any one of its ten preceding seasons. Last year trade depression caused the attendance to fall to about half a million, but this year the improvement in business is being reflected conspicuously both in the crowds of city residents and country visitors which are seen daily within the Exposition Building. St. Louis is the only city in the world which has a self-supporting annual exposition, and the way in which the institution is being supported this year bears out the general sentiment as to the completeness of the trade revival as well as the accuracy of the forecasts of still greater improvement.

WM. G. BOYD.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

EDUCATING A DAUGHTER.

THE Census of 1880 showed that out of a population of some sixty millions there were in the United States not more than 2,647,157 women working for wages. The Census of 1890 will—when available—no doubt show a considerable increase in these figures, but even thus enlarged they will, no doubt, fall far below the average person's imaginary estimate of the number of women whom modern economic conditions have forced out of the home into a battle with the world.

Even of this unexpectedly small proportion of female wage-earners about 900,000 are employed in domestic service, and Helen Campbell, in *Women's Work and Wages*, asserts that the average working life of those in other employments does not as a rule exceed five years. That is to say that the majority of women wage-earners enter their trades between the ages of eighteen and twenty, and, before the age of twenty-six, far the larger proportion of the whole have married and abandoned all gainful occupation. The inference from these facts and figures is plain. The bulk of the sex devote their lives to the profession of housewifery and to the duties of wife and motherhood.

The aim of the educators of men is to prepare their pupils—after the general basis is laid—for the special work they will be called upon to perform in their maturity. When a boy's means and ambitions permit him to consider a learned profession he passes from college into a school of law, of medicine, or of theology. If his preference is for scientific or industrial pursuits there are schools of mining, engineering, electricity, special courses of biology, geology, and the like, where he can be best fitted for his chosen career. For the laboring classes there are provided equal facilities for learning trades. Manual training in all its branches and special trade schools increase in number and efficiency every year, so that it is now a boy's own fault if he has not acquired sufficient knowledge to enable him to earn his own living. It is well understood that not only must the boy have a general education, but a special preparation for his calling as well.

For those women who choose learned, scientific, or technical professions there are opportunities offered for good preliminary training; hardly so wide as are afforded their brothers, but sufficient for the earnest and ambitious. But for the great mass of women—the immense majority who find their lifework in the home—what is done to educate them for their profession of housewifery? In this respect they are not so well off as the previous generation. They, while learning less from books, were from their earliest years undergoing a careful apprenticeship in the home, and acquir-

ing more knowledge than the women of "the higher education" give them credit for. Fifty years—a hundred years—ago, American women were the masters of a dozen different trades. The carding, weaving, spinning, dyeing, sewing, butter and cheese and lard making, canning, preserving, pickling, curing of meats, candle moulding, and manufacture of stockings—to-day trades representing enormous consolidations of labor and capital—were in the hands of the women in the households, and every girl, from the moment she could toddle about clinging to her mother's skirts, was learning the trade secrets of domestic manufactures. She had small time for the study of books, for, whether she served in the household or commanded, her labors were many, and required varied and exact knowledge.

The girl of to-day receives no home education. She enters the kindergarten with her little brothers, and later passes her days at a girls' school, young ladies' seminary or college, the household economy as unknown to her as if she were the dweller in a hotel. Her school training is very similar to that of her brothers, and in college her instructors can imagine nothing better than to offer her her brother's curriculum.

The broader and higher mental training of women is greatly increasing her general knowledge and ability, but men do not consider general information adequate preparation for the battle of life. General education is simply a development of the powers of the mind, fitting it to deal more ably with special matters, and though a great advance in the position and happiness of woman has followed her mental development, at the very moment when she has fitted herself to deal more effectively with special matters her education ceases.

With marriage she enters her life's calling absolutely unprepared by any special training. She may possess scholarly attainments, and all her powers be in the highest state of efficiency for good work, but she must begin in the humblest primary school of homemaking, and trust to her own wits and her own blunders to teach her what she must occupy herself with for the rest of her life. What would be thought of a sailor's undertaking the command of a vessel while grossly ignorant of the whole art of navigation? Yet thousands of women ship every day for the voyage of life, hardly knowing the names of the tools with which they are to work!

The female bird knows the art of nest-building perfectly, but the nest-building of even the university-bred woman she must leave perforce entirely in the hands of men. Despite the definite probability that nine girls out of ten will be called upon to govern a house, not one in ten thousand receives any instruction in the art of house-building. Schools for women never include in their curriculum a course in the history and practice of architecture, and the girl fresh from "the higher education of women" must trust herself helplessly in the hands of the properly trained man; unable to exact good service because she has not sufficient information upon the subject to know whether the plans for her house are beautiful and convenient or not. Yet in this nest she is to rear her brood and pass her life. Should her home be in the country, a man must be called in to lay out her grounds and gardens, make her lawn, and plant her trees. The higher education of woman takes no cognizance of landscape or practical gardening.

The plumber, for seven dollars a day and extras, condescends to lay on water and arrange the drainage of her house. The health and well-being, the very existence of those committed to her charge, depend upon this work being properly done, yet this wife and mother trusts all to

a workman, in helpless, ignorant confidence; since her Greek has never been supplemented by any technical instruction in plumbing. Strangely enough, when whole families are destroyed by bad sewerage appliances, no one remembers to blame the incompetence of the housewife, whose life-work it is to guard the household from just such dangers.

When the house is to be furnished the college-bred woman is little likely to have been provided by her instructors with a knowledge of the history of furniture and the art of decoration such as would have trained her taste in lines germane to her needs, and made it a simple task to do her work in this direction easily and well. Yet this investment of her money is generally supposed to be for a generation at least, and in the home furnished by her her children are to receive their first impressions of beauty and art.

Those who serve are as ignorant as those who are served. Up to a certain age the mental training is similar, but the boys pass into trade schools or apprenticeships and receive accurate instructions as to their duties, while the mental development of the girls is not put to its natural use, and they are tumbled out into life only half equipped; stumbling, guessing, experimenting—a trial to their employers and continually at war with their own interests.

Children arrive and the "beautifully educated" mother is ignorant of most of the physiological laws bearing upon their well-being. She does not know or does not realize that the foundations of a constitution are laid in the first fifteen years of life—years for which she is responsible. She lacks that severe training in the chemistry of foods and cooking and general hygienic laws which would enable her to build up—as can be done by those who know how—a noble body capable of the best joys and uses of life. Upon her wise care, more than upon any other thing, the child must rely for the correction of unwholesome tendencies, which neglected may become chronic and spoil its whole life, yet nine women out of ten are pitiably ignorant of physiological laws and trust themselves in blind confidence to a physician—a man who, unlike them, has mastered the knowledge appertaining to his calling.

When all is said and done, the making of beautiful, healthful, and convenient homes and the rearing of honest, vigorous, happy citizens is woman's main duty, and, as statistics show, the bulk of the sex choose that duty and privilege before all others. Our sex, then, having had by nature a definite profession marked out for them, at which the majority must perforce labor, it is strange that with all the thought expended upon the subject of education there has been no practical effort made to equip women for their work, more especially as the welfare of the nations and the whole race depends far more upon her proper exercise of her calling than upon the labors of any lawyers, physicians, or miners whatsoever.

The highest human happiness is the sense of the power to do good work and be useful and valued in life. Education is not an end in itself. Its object, like that of all human effort, is happiness. The being whose powers are most highly developed, whose faculties are most perfectly trained, is the being most useful to himself and his fellows, and his labors are neither heavy nor fruitless. The race is to the mentally swift, the battle to the intellectually strong.

Why, then, should not public schools be provided with branches for training girls in the art of housewifery, since public good is to depend in so

great measure upon the way in which these girls perform their duties? It is surely as important as the kindergarten, or the manual training for boys. The old practical rule-of-thumb apprenticeship of the household having passed away, something should replace it. Why should not schools for girls give courses of instruction in housewifery—not the mere cooking of chops or dusting of chairs—but instruction as to how houses should be made and furnished and their sanitation assured; in the chemistry of cooking, of foods, and of assimilation; in the laws of physiology and hygiene, and something about fundamental economics, of which the average woman is totally ignorant, though she is the spender and distributer of the money the men accumulate?

Why should not girls after finishing their collegiate course take those trained and developed intelligences back to the higher housewifery schools —as men go to schools of law—and put those powers to their legitimate use of acquiring with ease and completeness an equipment for their life's work? Why?

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

FREE COINAGE IN MEXICO.

A FEW days ago, while in the mint at the City of Mexico, I stopped to look at the final balances in which the Mexican silver dollar is weighed before it is turned loose upon the public. In one side of these balances is placed the weight the equal of which the silver dollar must contain; in the other, the dollar is placed. If they balance, the dollar is pronounced ready for circulation. If the dollar is lighter than the weight, it is cast aside.

I stopped the weigher for a moment, begging him to test the weight of a United States silver dollar by his balances. The United States dollar went up. It was lighter than the weight in the other side of the balances. It contained less silver than the Mexican dollar. A few minutes later, I went into a restaurant. The price of my dinner was just a dollar. I handed the cashier the United States silver dollar. He gave me back in change a Mexican silver dollar. Because of the difference, therefore, between the stamp of the United States and of the Republic of Mexico, I received a larger dollar than I gave and got my dinner besides.

This simple illustration is conclusive proof that the United States silver dollar, but for the stamp which gives it a fictitious value, is worth only half a dollar. The friends of free and unlimited coinage at the ratio of sixteen to one claim that the United States Government is so very rich and powerful that it can sustain, in unlimited number, this kind of dollar. The United States Government *is* very rich and powerful. It is so rich and powerful that it is now sustaining over four hundred and nineteen millions of standard silver dollars, more than one hundred and twenty-seven millions of uncoined bullion represented by treasury notes, and nearly seventy-seven millions of subsidiary silver—making a total stock of silver of six hundred and twenty-four millions—which, without its stamp guaranteeing redemption, would be worth but fifty cents on the dollar. Suppose, though, that it tried to sustain at par an unlimited number of such dollars. It would be only a question of time when the great United States Government would be ready for the hands of a receiver. Its dollars would then be worth by comparison with gold, like the Mexican dollars, only half a dollar each.

Revert for a moment to the mint at the City of Mexico. If the United States should declare for free coinage, does any one think that this mint would coin any more dollars than the necessities of trade absolutely required? Certainly not. A large number of the fifty thousand dollars that it is now daily coining would be sent for coinage to the United States mints and would double their value at the United States' expense. The other mints in Mexico would also suspend, and the silver bullion that they are coining would be sent to the United States for coinage. Very few of the fifty million dollars now in circulation in Mexico would be spent in their present form. Practically every dollar bearing the Mexican stamp would be sent up to secure the stamp of the United States. The thirty odd million dollars' worth of silver bullion that is annually exported from Mexico would be sent to the mints of the United States to await coinage at double its present value. The United States would also have the pleasure of trying to coin seventeen million dollars' worth of silver bullion annually produced by Australasia, seven million dollars' worth produced by Germany, fifteen million dollars' worth produced by Bolivia, nearly three million dollars' worth produced by our friends the Chilians, and hoarded silver from every quarter. To coin all this bullion would be impossible. But enough would be coined to bring us to a silver basis, and this evil would be intensely aggravated by the scramble of the world's nations for precedence at the United States mints.

The condition of silver in Mexico is rendered worse by the fluctuations in its value. At Laredo, Tex., just across the Rio Grande from Mexico, I went into the "Bank of Laredo" to exchange United States for Mexican money. The cashier gave me eighty-eight cents premium. Another bank near by gave me ninety cents premium. The depot agent gave me ninety-two cents premium. The keeper of a lemonade stand received Mexican money at fifty per cent. discount; that is, when I gave him a Mexican dollar for a fifteen-cents glass of lemonade, he gave me back thirty-five cents in change—valuing my Mexican dollar at fifty cents, and pricing his lemonade in United States money. Many stores in Laredo and the eating-houses across the river in Mexico very cheerfully exchanged Mexican money for United States money at the rate of two for one. Mexican money is quoted in the market like wheat, or cotton, or sugar. It may go up any day or it may go down--most likely down. It is very noticeable, too, that when the price of money decreases, the price of products increases. The simplest illustration of this is in the eating-houses. In Texas, meals at the dining stations are fifty cents in United States money. Cross the Rio Grande into Mexico and the price of a dinner becomes a dollar. Cheap money also produces extravagance. When a dollar is worth but half a dollar, one spends it three times as quickly as when it is worth a dollar. A United States wit who was visiting Mexico said he never made money so fast as he made it there, because every time he spent a dollar he made a half. Acting on this idea, he struck the Mexican Monte Carlo and came away broke.

It is perfectly clear that the masses of Mexico—the laboring people—suffer most from their depreciated currency. They are never paid off in anything else. They never buy with anything else. The premium on good money over bad never comes to them. They pay premiums. They never get them. The exporters of Mexico who send abroad coffee, tea, hemp, hides, henequin, and tobacco get paid in foreign money, and make profits accordingly. The laborers who cultivate these products are paid in Mexican silver. And these laborers get a miserable pittance by comparison with the

wages paid the laborers of the United States. The question of wages in Mexico was very ably discussed by Mr. Matias Romero, Mexico's excellent Minister to the United States, in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of January, 1892. According to Mr. Romero the minimum wages per day paid to laborers in the State of Hidalgo was twelve and a half cents; the maximum, thirty-seven and a half cents; the average, twenty-five cents. The State of Mexico, which adjoins the district in which the City of Mexico is located, duplicated the wages of Hidalgo. The minimum for the State of San Luis Potosi, one of the best known in the republic, was eighteen and three-fourths cents; the maximum twenty-five cents; the average twenty-two and one-fourth cents. The State of Sonora, where wages are considerably higher than in any other, paid a minimum of thirty cents a day; a maximum of a dollar a day; an average of sixty-five cents. The general average of all the States, according to Mr. Romero's table, shows a minimum of twenty-three and a half cents; a maximum of fifty cents; an average of thirty-six cents. These wages, remember, are paid in Mexican money, which is worth only half as much as United States money. This condition does not suggest any reason why the laboring people should demand free coinage of silver.

All friends of silver regret its depreciation in value. But in considering the policy which the United States should pursue in regard to it, we must face "a condition and not a theory." The leading countries of the world have quit coining silver. We cannot undertake to coin their silver for them.

The greatest reason for the reduction in the price of the metal is the increase in its production. In 1873 the world's production of silver was estimated at $81,800,000. In 1892 it was estimated at $196,605,000. This shows an increase in annual supply in twenty years of over 140 per cent. An increase in production of 140 per cent. is a very fair reason for a decrease in market value of 100 per cent. The growth in population, to be sure, has tended to increase the demand for silver, but this has been offset by modern facilities for doing business by means of checks, railroads, and telegraph wires.

All earnest bimetallists are anxious for the day when silver can be circulated around the world, at a reasonable ratio, on a parity with gold. It is fortunate that the United States now recognizes bimetallism by circulating over $600,000,000 in silver and notes representing it. Not a dollar of this $600,000,000 is demonetized. Every dollar of it, by the friendliness of the Government, circulates at par just as well as if it contained a dollar's worth of silver instead of fifty cents' worth. But the United States cannot carry this kind of dollar in unlimited number.

When the balance of the world will join with us in recognizing silver currency as equal to gold, when a ratio can be so adjusted that we can keep silver in unlimited quantity on a parity with gold, or when any safeguards of legislation shall insure this parity—that moment our mints should be opened to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. It now appears that the shortest road to this much desired consummation is by the coöperation of the leading nations of the world—a coöperation that will result from reduced restrictions upon trade and consequent increase of international commerce. The longest and most difficult road would be by following the plan of Hon. Thomas B. Reed in seeking to couple the evil of free coinage under present conditions with the greater evil of protection.

CLAUDE N. BENNETT.

FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF CITY NOISES.

Is it possible and expedient to organize a society in New York and every large American city for the suppression of unnecessary noise? We have organizations for the suppression of vice, of poverty, of cruelty, the discouragement of tipping, "treating," and other evils and pernicious habits, and why have we no society for the suppression of noise?

Noise constitutes one of the evils under which civilized man suffers much harm without recognizing the real root of the trouble, and the man of the future will protect himself against noise as he now does against malaria, fever germs, and other insidious evils that have only lately been recognized as the source of untold harm. The happy, peaceful expression of deaf persons has long been observed and commented upon; but as yet no one, so far as I know, has traced their contentment to the fact that they are free from one of the curses of ordinary life—noise. Country life is commonly considered to be more healthful than that of the city because of its purer air and better water. There is, of course, much in this, although I doubt whether the air that blows across great cities is unwholesome, and certainly city water is better than that of countless wells more or less polluted. The real secret of the greater endurance and longer life of the man who lives in the country is that he is not subjected to the ceaseless noises of the city that keep the nerves constantly on the alert. The mediæval torture which consisted in keeping a man awake till he died is said to have been the most horrible devised by monsters peculiarly expert at that sort of thing. I never realized its true atrocity until these last few years, during which I have been robbed of sleep, peace, and happiness, comparatively speaking, by the din in which fate has cast me. We are said to be entitled to the pursuit of happiness. How can we be happy when the nerves are kept jangling day after day and night after night? Perhaps I may be considered extravagant in my hatred of noise. It is not extravagance, but simply an acute realization of this growing evil that with years acquires new terrors.

In all probability the original use of the sense of hearing was to enable man and animals to perceive the approach of danger and thus avoid it. Nature gave the savage from whom we descend a sense of smell that he might avoid the unhealthy neighborhood of putrescent matter, and the sense of hearing that he might know when his enemies or the storm were coming. To primitive man noise meant danger. Therefore when the savage heard a noise, whether it was the loud roar of the tempest, the sweep of the avalanche, or the soft approach of the foe at night, he put himself on guard. Noise awakened all his energies; it had a quality of terror in it, and it still has this quality—for me. In the Chinese army the troops used to shout at the top of their lungs when they attacked, in order to terrify their enemies; and when both sides yelled together the effect of the din has been described by Europeans as appalling. It is true that civilized man is no longer so acutely affected by noise; but it still acts as an irritant, and the time will come when its deleterious effect will be recognized. Even in children—and children are supposed to enjoy noise of the most maddening kinds—I can see the growing appreciation of silence. A few months ago, when we escaped for a while from the din of the town to the quiet hamlet where I yearly recruit my noise-shattered nerves, my little girl of seven said on our first evening in the country, "Isn't it nice to listen to the silence?"

The advance of the savage towards civilization is marked by the abatement of noise. The more savage the tribe the more noise it requires. One of the great clock manufacturers of this country is said to make a certain cheap clock with a particularly loud and aggressive tick, for export to the South Sea Islands; the natives will have no other kind—the louder the tick the better the clock. We are beyond that—some of us—but we do sanction an amount of noise that Paris or London would sternly suppress. From time to time there is a protest. I reverence Webster for his rebuke to a gabbling barber who asked him how he would like to be shaved: "In silence," said the great man. But as a nation we tolerate an amount of senseless, aggravating din that we should have outgrown a century ago. Our idea of a popular rejoicing and celebration is still the Chinese one—lots of noise. Our Fourth of July is made hideous by Chinese fire-crackers and other exploding devices. Sensitive and sensible people shudder, and, as becomes the most long-suffering nation on earth, we allow it to go on year after year, those who can getting away from civilization, so called, on that glorious day. Again, our fashion of ushering in the new year is to ring all the bells of the town for half an hour, let all the steam whistles screech till steam runs low in the boilers, and fire off any guns or pistols that may be handy.

The noise made by the rattle of vehicles over bad pavements I suppose we must put up with for the present. Paris and London have lessened that nuisance by the introduction of wood and asphalt pavements; but Paris has also put a tax on pianos and realizes the value of silence. I suppose that some day we shall have asphalt or wood everywhere—but not in our day. In the mean time, some form of wheel tire of wood, rubber, or cement might perhaps be devised that would lessen the noise. I do not suppose that the use of such tires, provided they could be made, could be made obligatory in the present low state of public opinion concerning noise, but an organization such as I have in mind might at least discuss the ways and means. With regard to other street noises, there is absolutely nothing to be said in their defence. Street music of all kinds—hand organs, piano organs, brass bands, singing, the cries of pedlars and hucksters—these are the things that no civilized community ought to tolerate. At five o'clock, A. M., the din begins, the milk wagons making their rounds and rattling their cans. This, however, I can forgive, and I bear no hard feeling for being waked up six or eight times every morning by the milk wagons. But about seven o'clock the hucksters appear—the rag men, the old clothes men, bottle men, and other members of this vile fraternity. I have been waked up eleven times in one morning by these miscreants. Along with them come the pedlars of various fruits in their season. My street is not a frequented thoroughfare; there are no cars running through it, and I do not suppose that it is more noisy than most downtown streets near Broadway. But when I have been waked up for the twentieth time I begin to believe that all the lusty, leather-lunged shouters of the city are in league to keep me from getting any sleep. The torture of the man who was kept awake till he died begins to assume new meanings. About noon the music begins. Is there anything more doleful, mournful, heart-rendering than this street music? If ever I am driven to suicide, by noise, it will be after an hour of "Silver Threads Among the Gold" upon an organ at one end of the block, together with "Hear me! Norma!" upon an organ at the other end. If I have had occasion in the last twenty years

to make what the champions of Italian music consider vicious and uncalled for attacks upon Verdi and Bellini, "*Il Trovatore*" and "Hear me! Norma!" as interpreted by the several million organs that have played for me are responsible. "Here me! Norma!" is innocent enough as music. It is watery stuff; but its endless repetition has upon me the same effect as the drops of water upon the head of the criminal who finally died of the torture. Verdi's biographer, Pougin, says that when Verdi settles in his country place every summer, he hires all the hand-organs within twenty miles, and locks them up for six months. It is not all of us who can afford such protection against our misdeeds. Personally, my only remedy against the hand-organ is to send a servant or one of my children out to the musician and beg him to stop, in mercy to a sick person. I am that sick person, and I am sick. In London the householder has the right to order the street musician to move away from before his premises; but this affords little relief unless there is concerted action upon the part of the residents of a neighborhood. In Brazil, a street musician must receive the consent of the man before whose door he wants to grind.

There may be noises more irritating than hand organs, but if so I have had the good fortune to escape them. Goethe objected particularly to the barking of dogs, but their yelping is a trifle as compared to hand organs. Schopenhauer, in his essay, "*Ueber Lerm und Gerausch*" (On Noise and Din says that the sharp cracking of whips was the most painful noise he knew.) He never heard "Silver Threads Among the Gold." He never heard the young hoodlums of our American cities shout their "extras" in the dead of night. A story is told that in the olden times every one in the world agreed to shout at the same moment, so that it might be found how great a noise could be produced. The eventful moment arrived and was marked by a silence such as the world had never known before. Every one had listened to hear the rest of the world shout. Nowadays it is all the other way—every one shouts; no one listens. Science tells that nothing is lost. Even endless grindings of "Silver Threads" and "Comrades" and "After the Ball" are to go echoing down the ages, disturbing the artistic equilibrium of things.

To come back to my beginning, can some organization not be formed to protect us against some of this unceasing din? Such a society might influence local legislation against street music and cries. It might offer prizes for better pavements and better tires for wheels, and in every way keep up a campaign against noise. Every American city ought to have its Society for the Suppression of Noise. I am ready with work and a liberal subscription in aid of such a movement in my own neighborhood.

PHILIP G. HUBERT, JR.

PROLONGING LIFE.

THE desire to live long and carefully postpone the inevitable packing up for the other world, as it is termed, is a perfectly natural feeling. Ambitious hopes and centenarian proclivities are commendable in the aged and laudable even in the young. In all records of longevity, in all histories of centenarianism that have been written, and in all investigations of a scientific character that have been made, there is no mention of a man of one hundred years or upwards having committed suicide. The longer peo-

ple live the longer they wish to live. Some writers on the subject endeavor to prove that centenarians are like poets, born—not made. On the other side, there is just as much argument and evidence to prove the contrary. William Shakespeare seems to have been born a poet, but there is no testimony tending to show that the gift was hereditary. And when the enemies of longevity write upon this topic, they always attempt to make it appear that some really exceptional qualities were inherited by the lucky individual from his parents or ancestors and give him very little credit for his own good traits. Of course, a good constitution and regular habits in early life are much to start with in the race, but many people so endowed do not reach ninety years of age, even.

Women appear to have an advantage over men in long living. Statistics recently collected by Prof. Humphry, of England, in his work on "Old Age," show that, as usual, in records of longevity the women preponderate over the men in spite of many disadvantages they have to contend with, such as the dangers incidental to child-bearing and diseases associated therewith. He attributes this to the comparative immunity of woman from many exposures and risks to which man is subject Temperance in eating and drinking, also freedom from anxieties in reference to labor and business, are on the side of the female sex. No woman writer has yet taken up the subject, I believe, which seems odd as female physicians are now a necessity of modern times. It has been often stated, and is probably true, that the principal authors on the subject of longevity have been physicians, who as a rule do not reach the standard in age of the average man. Galen is said to have lived to his 140th year, but the statement is not credited nowadays. Hippocrates died at 104, which was not doing any better than many day laborers of our times. Rochefoucauld, that wise and observant Frenchman, said that "Few people know how to be old," he, perhaps, thinking himself one of them, though he died at the age of 67.

In some of its aspects nothing seems to be more capricious and eccentric than the law in regard to longevity. First-born children and also those born out of wedlock were formerly believed to be more likely to live longer than any other. The offspring of centenarians, if they would only intermarry with their class, might in time surpass all other people in length of years. But if human beings will not take the trouble that the careful breeders of horses and other mere animals do, they cannot expect to go much over a century.

Poor people too were classed as favored in this respect, and we find Sir William Temple stating that health and long life were usually the blessings of the poor. Now the tables prepared by Dr. Humphry afford many curious facts bearing on this subject in Great Britain. Most men of one hundred years and over were of medium height, though the well-known and generous Jew, Sir Moses Montefiore, was six feet three inches, and lived to the age of 102 years. Nearly one-fourth of the 824 cases reported by Dr. Humphry, in which the persons had arrived at eighty or a hundred years, were first-born children, one-half of these of easy, placid dispositions, not given to worrying and fretting about things, not anxious to reform the world, and about one-third poor people. They do not have a monopoly of long life, however, for a little over half of the 824 were persons in comfortable circumstances. In this same collection, one-third were small eaters, about two-thirds moderate eaters, and only one-tenth large eaters. As for marriage having any effect on women, it seems that the unmarried ones

have as good a chance as the married. Some writers think that marriage, on the contrary, has a tendency to make men live longer, though it may not affect women. Hahnemann, the founder of the homœopathic school of medicine, married at 80, and was an active worker and enjoyer of life up to 90. The late Sir Henry Holland excelled in horsemanship at 84.

Exercise of a physical character, and also intellectual occupations, contribute to give variety to life and promote longevity, though one should be careful not to indulge in excesses in either line of recreation. Commonly received opinions are to the effect that centenarians have few pleasures. Sarah White, a widow, who died at 101, at Pershore, is reported by Dr. Smith, in his letter to Prof. Humphry, to have danced and sung on her 101st birthday anniversary. Her digestion and appetite were good, and it saddens the social philosopher to think that if Sarah had not indulged in this terpsichorean revelry she might have lived many years longer. She was an early riser, like almost all centenarians, drank beer occasionally (that probably was the cause of the dancing), but did not smoke nor take snuff.

Exemption from many of the ills of younger people is one of the compensating advantages of advancing years. Dr. Humphry states that the aged body does not seem to be so prone to disease as he had expected before his investigations. Few returns indicated any special malady. Cancers, even, when they attack the aged, usually make very slow progress, and often fail to make way at all. Susceptibility to contagious disease appears to decrease from infancy to old age. In the *British Medical Journal* of 12th July, 1884, it is stated that the healing of ulcers and the repair of wounds and fractures in old people take place as rapidly as in middle life, often more so. Qualities that lead to extreme length of years are (as might have been expected) a well made frame of average stature, spare rather than stout, good health, robust constitution, freedom from ailments, few or no doctors' bills, good digestion, good appetite with little need of animal food, no consumption of alcoholic beverages, and the habit of sleeping well and early rising. Most people know all these things just as well as the centenarian, but they ignore or neglect them and then die. It was Sir Walter Scott who wrote of "the sublime and delectable pleasure of being well." Repinings and moanings, sometimes mixed with cheap moralizings about the barrenness of life, usually come from sad-visaged, whining dyspeptics, who do not really know what wholesome, healthy human life is at its best. They are anxious for a change of some kind and so they write essays and poems, and can be "as sad as night only for wantonness," like the young gentleman Prince Arthur met in France. They sigh for a rest in some quiet grave, some lonely churchyard, and hope to reach it soon, and the reading public hope they will. One of the finest of Edgar Poe's poems is marred in the last stanza by the loathsome longing of a lusty lover (Poe was fond of alliteration) to lie down by the side of a dead bride in a sepulchre by the sounding sea, etc. Poe, like Byron, Burns, and Raphael, died between thirty-six and forty. If one has genius, he cannot expect longevity, it seems. Nature does not aggregate her benefits, but scatters her best gifts.

Perhaps people are not so much to blame after all if they do not like life when they are generally ill. It is those who tingle to the finger tips with the ecstasy of mere physical existence to whom the world beyond the Black Curtain presents no attractions. The old legend of the Wandering Jew has been looked upon as a remarkably sad story. But why so? He was said

to have been punished by being ordered to remain on earth. To live for centuries in this world, where you are pretty well acquainted, enjoy good health, and have plenty of money, is surely better than dying and running the risk of going to some place that you don't know anything about, and concerning which you cannot get any trustworthy information. Dying, when you look at it from a strictly scientific point of view, is a very dangerous experiment. Oh, life is so sad, so monotonous, it is urged—perhaps to some people; but death is a good deal more monotonous.

We will now return to our muttons, of which persons desiring to reach the very finest quality of old age will take very little or none.

An English novelist, who writes for *The Illustrated London News*, in commenting on my essay on the art of living as long as you can, seems inexpressibly saddened. Two hundred years! "This is alarming to those who have had enough of it after threescore and ten," he exclaims. And then he wants to know what men are to do in the second century, and blames the writer for not suggesting some occupation for them. Does he suppose I am going to open an employment office for centenarians? If a man is told (no fee demanded) that if he follows certain suggestions he may reach the age of two hundred years, or one hundred and fifty, or even one hundred, he need not take the whole course if he has not a stomach for it. At a hundred he may sigh for a quiet spot and ring for a doctor and a hearse. Neither need he make such ado about being deprived of roast beef. He will have the exquisite urbanity to remember that according to M. Du Chaillu the gorillas, the most manlike of all the African or Asian apes, even to their teeth, are strict vegetarians, living on fruits and nuts entirely, and a stronger, braver, and bolder fellow does not tread the soil of Africa than a well-born gorilla of the best breeds. Eating dead hogs and cattle and poor innocent sheep may be the test of high and florid civilization, but it is not at all necessary to the cult of centenarianism. All Professor Humphry's choicest specimens, as he tells us (and I think Sir Geo. Murray Humphry, M. D., F. R. S., is rather proud of it too), were small meat eaters. However, I do not insist on a strict vegetarian and fruit diet. Adam and Eve tried it, and sin and death are said to have entered the world by reason of that particular "fruit" of which they were told to try a sample. We may leave the rest to the theologians, Professor Humphry, and Mr. Grant Allen, the latter of whom, in a late magazine article, objects to earth burial and seems to prefer being burned after death. Perhaps he may be gratified. To return again to our muttons. The English novelist referred to previously must be getting old, too old to read small print and profit by my suggestions, for he quotes from THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that I recommend two or three "*thimblefuls*" of distilled water, when it was plainly printed "tumblerfuls."

Diluted phosphoric acid was suggested, the word diluted being carefully omitted—English fair play! If he will refer to the Bible he will find that it is nowhere stated that Adam and Eve ate apples, but the "fruit" of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Neither did Job live 150 years after his troubles, as he says, but only 140. Before Job's diabolical experiences he had married and had seven sons and three daughters, so that he must have been about 200 when he died. As to his marrying again and having a second supply of seven sons and three daughters, I find no record of it. Some "young men" were killed in the first chapter, but the sons and daughters mentioned in the last chapter are evidently the original stock. Mrs. Job was not amiable, but she

was no doubt a respectable centenarian. Job's history was translated by the English, and not by the Americans, and the same gentlemen state that Adam lived 930 years! The English may have made some mistakes just as the novelist did, in reference to "fruit" and the domestic trials of the patriarch. Nothing helps so much in undertaking a course of training for longevity as a strict diurnal use of the truth. What would science be without it? Galileo is the only scientist who ever saved his life by economy in the use of it. Considering the very peculiar circumstances at Rome in 1633, Galileo has been long since excused and forgiven, for he was seventy years old, broken by disease, and in dread of Inquisition horrors. As many have wondered what was to be eaten if foods heavy with nitrogenous elements are to be prohibited, it may instruct us to know what that eminent French chemist, who lived to be over 100, Monsieur Chevreul, was in the habit of taking in his latter years.

In the London *Times* of September 1, 1888, it was stated that Monsieur Chevreul had entered his 103d year. His health was then excellent; he eats and drinks heartily, sleeps well, drives daily in a one-horse chaise. (Let no frivolous joker here assert that Monsieur Chevreul was only a "one-horse" centenarian.) He rises early, takes a plate of soup, goes to bed again and sleeps till noon, then breakfasts off two eggs and minced meat, at four takes a bowl of milk and two biscuits, lies down again for two hours, then has another plate of soup and goes to bed for the night. On September 4, 1888, he visited the Sanitary Exhibition in Paris and arm-in-arm with a friend he mounted the stairs and walked all through the Exhibition.

From which it seems that because a man is 103 years old he need not sit up in a chimney corner and fret, as so many people we know do when they are not more than 60 or 70. It may be said this report of *The Times* shows the old gentleman used to eat minced meat, and there is no mention of his having used distilled water or diluted phosphoric acid. All of this is true, but if Monsieur Chevreul had only used distilled water, say three tumblerfuls a day, with ten or fifteen drops of diluted phosphoric acid in each (it is not at all unpleasant to take) he might have been alive yet. He is now dead. Only a centenarian can presume to say that the daily use of water loaded with carbonate of lime and other earthy salts is not injurious to the human system. In early life protein food—that is, food of a nitrogeneous character—is necessary to build up the muscles and bones.

But in old age one is apt to get too much of the nitrogenous substance in food, which has a tendency to overload the blood with earthy salts, and thus clog and impede the action of the heart and arteries. Distilled water prevents bad secretions, and, by its affinity for oxygen, fibrinous and gelatinous deposits are eliminated. It is also useful in checking the formation of stone in the bladder and kidneys. Most people at first think distilled water very insipid. It may be admitted that it has not the peculiar, pungent original flavor of Limberger cheese. But think of the atrocious mixtures of the doctors. A table of all the various kinds of foods and fruits that are deficient in excessive nitrogenous compounds, and thus suitable for people of sixty and upwards, will be prepared shortly and submitted to the public who prefer to take precaution in lieu of pills. Nearly every American will confess that we eat too much meat. If a diet of various savory fruits were more indulged in, there would be just as much work done, and the doctors would not live in such fine houses. In the next century physicians will perhaps be paid salaries for keeping people in good

health, not for drugging them out of disease. Some writers on longevity have discussed the subject of marrying widows in contra-distinction to maidens. Not having been able to examine any statistical groupings of figures on this delicate topic, it is not possible to express an opinion. If any modern government has instructed its census-takers to collect such facts, I have not seen them. So that whether marrying widows has any influence in prolonging a man's life or shortening it is still an open question.

In concluding, however, it may be stated that two of the greatest men of modern times, Washington and the First Napoleon, both married widows. One of them got a divorce and survived his spouse several years; the other died before his wife.

As according to Professor Huxley—but let him speak for himself: "Whatever part of the animal structure, whether series of muscles or viscera, we select as a basis of comparison, the result is the same. The lower monkeys and the gorilla differ far more widely than do the gorilla and man." Hence the grand contention that if man would return to his primitive food condition, and eat such things as the gorilla does, nuts and fruits and no flesh (see what enormous strength he has!) it would be better for man. He would be healthier, stronger, and consequently live longer. Professor Garner, who has just been living (1893) among these curious creatures and collecting by phonograph specimens of their language, may, perhaps, be able to tell us something more of their dietary habits than Monsieur Du Chaillu. At all events it is an indisputable fact that the gorilla is larger and stronger than any man. However, the opponents of the nut and fruit theory will say (of course they will) that he gets excess of physique by a sacrifice of brain and personal beauty. A gorilla is not handsome, it must be admitted, and he can't write books. Whether any of them ever live to be a hundred years old we may never know unless Professor Garner's phonograph shall inform us.

Sir James Crichton Browne, M. D., LL. D., F. R. S., in his address on "Old Age," published in the *British Medical Journal*, October 3, 1891, seems to think that "Flourens' conclusion that man is entitled to a century of existence was, it must be maintained, substantially correct. Buffon thought that the duration of life was six or seven times that of growth. Hufeland thought eight times. It is probably about five times. In the good days coming, when sanitary wisdom shall prevail, numbers of our species may be able to count on a round hundred years of wholesome, happy life, and an old age, tranquil and interesting, unmarred by the morbid accessories which are now generally attached to it." Let us all hope Sir James may live to see the good days coming!

WILLIAM KINNEAR.

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THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ROME.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST REV. APOSTOLIC DELEGATE FRANCESCO SATOLLI, ARCHBISHOP OF LEPANTO.

THE political, moral, and religious conditions of Rome have at all times been a subject of great interest to the whole civilized world. This interest seems to have grown in our own times, since Rome, in addition to being the seat of the Supreme Pontiff and head of the whole Catholic Church, has also become *de facto* the seat of the central Government of the Kingdom of Italy. The relations between the Roman Pontiff and the King in Rome, between the Church on the one hand and the Government on the other, are more or less generally known. It is not my purpose, therefore, to touch upon that question. It has seemed to me desirable, however, that the public here in America should know how much the Pope has done, even in his present restricted condition, for education and for the maintenance of the spirit of morality and religion. I have therefore acceded to the courteous request of the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for an expression of my views on that subject, and for that purpose I have procured the following authentic statistics.

After the occupation of Rome it was the first aim of the Italian Government to make the city the centre of a culture, which being founded on free thought should inaugurate the modern paganism. The importance of the school did not, therefore, escape the attention of the authorities of Public Instruction ; in-

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deed it was to this matter that they turned their first and most assiduous attention. As early as the scholastic year 1870-71 new professors were called to the University of Rome from every part of Italy. Shortly afterwards an oath was imposed upon all those of Pontifical nomination, it being felt certain that the majority of them would refuse to subscribe to it, which turned out to be the case. As for elementary and higher instruction the matter was easier. The first was intrusted to the Municipality, it being well known that that body which had succeeded the Catholics would scrupulously enforce the new order of things. The direction of the second, after the College *Romano* had been suppressed and new regulations had been enforced on the remaining Pontifical institutes, fell into the hands of the Government. The day-school of the Roman Seminary, the Lyceum-Gymnasium *de la Pace,* and a few district schools remained intact, but owing to the uncertainty of the Catholics as to what course they should pursue, which was increased by the overwhelming belief that the occupation of Rome would only be of short duration, and also because of the immediate and severe application of the law forbidding any one to teach who was not legally qualified, these institutes had but a miserable and struggling existence, and some of them, as for instance the district schools, were closed, while the others were reorganized so as to conform with the new school regulations.

The persecutions by the Government in that first period of its administration were such that the *Scuole Paterne,* founded by a few zealous Catholics, and even the University, which through the munificence of Pius IX. had been opened by those professors who on account of their refusal to take the oath were expelled from the *Sapienza,* were forcibly closed by the police.

Meanwhile the Government and the Municipality with feverish activity filled Rome with scholastic institutions of all kinds. New schools for boys were added to those already in existence, and others were established for the poorer classes, notably the evening schools of arts, trades, and professions. The Teachers High School, the Normal and Commercial Schools,—all for girls,—were also established; indeed such was the craze that the Government finally arrived at a point where they allowed the girls free access to the high-schools and universities in common with the boys. In short, nothing that a partisan government

(such as that of Italy) could do, to separate education from the beneficent influence of the Church, was left undone.

There are periods of alarm in the lives of nations, and such a period was that through which Rome passed in 1870, but, through God's mercy, it was of brief duration. When the Catholics came to realize the state of things, they clearly perceived that it was not sufficient to deplore the situation, but that it was necessary for them to act immediately and energetically; and comforted by the words and example of Pius IX. and of Leo XIII., happily reigning, they set courageously to work to combat the nefarious scheme of Liberalism, which for a moment seemed to think itself absolute master of the education of youth.

What the fruits produced by this awakening of the better elements have been will be seen from the following summary:

I.

GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE SCHOOLS.

The education furnished in the Catholic schools of Rome is open to all classes, and although their supreme aim is to educate the new generation in a Christian manner they vary in method according to the grade, from the infant asylums up to the University courses, which are still exclusively reserved to the State by law. The number of Catholic schools is extraordinarily large, exceeding both that of the Government and Municipal schools.

The supreme direction of all these schools is vested in the Cardinal Vicar, for the Congregation of Studies has only the surveillance of the higher courses of the clerical institutes. He is assisted in the direction of the elementary schools—

(1) By the Pontifical Commission, appointed by His Holiness in accordance with the letter addressed to the Cardinal Vicar, dated June 26, 1878. Of this Commission the Mgr. Vicegerent is the head.

(2) By a special committee for the schools which are founded and maintained by the Society of Catholic Interests.

(3) By a special committee for the catechetical evening or night schools.

(4) By a special committee for the schools which are dependent on the Apostolic Almonry.

(5) By a special committee for the night and evening schools.

These committees, although each is independent of the other in its sphere of action, are all subject in general matters to the Pontifical Commission, in which each of them is represented by one or more members. This tie, far from being an impediment to the development and progress of the various institutions, rather helps to keep them united by harmonizing their actions in such a way that their work does not conflict.

The Pontifical Commission, however, reserves the right to regulate questions of discipline, to compile the programmes, select the textbooks, fix the days for examination and other similar matters. It has also charge of the correspondence with the Holy See, and the administration of the subsidies given by the Holy Father or by private bodies or individuals.

Two inspectors are assigned to the supervision of the schools which are under the immediate direction of the Commission. The committees provide for the other schools. In addition to these inspectors every member of the Commission having the title of "Patron" has the supervision of a certain number of schools. Two hundred and eleven different directors, divided up as follows, represent the Commission and the committees at the various schools:

Free schools for males	28
Paying schools for males	14
Evening schools for males	13
Catechetical schools for males	8
Industrial schools for males	4
Asylums and boarding-schools	5
Free schools for females	50
Paying schools for females	32
Sunday schools for females	18
Catechetical schools for females	7
Evening schools for females	1
Industrial and professional schools	10
Academies and orphan asylums	21
Total	211

As a rule the directors are not obliged to teach. The selection and inspection of localities are intrusted to an architect who is attached to the Pontifical Commission. In the direction of the higher and technical schools the Cardinal Vicar is assisted by a Council of Direction which possesses the same powers as regards the high schools as the Pontifical Commission has over the primary schools. The members of both these bodies—clergy as well as laity—are noted for their nobility of birth, as well as for piety and learning. In addition to these there are also high-schools which,

although they follow the regulations of the others, may be called independent, inasmuch as they belong to the religious corporations. The number and classification of these schools will be found in tables *A* and *B* (page 646).

It may here be remarked that the Pontifical Commission and the Directive Council, being interpreters of the will of the Holy Father have, in promoting instruction in all the grades and forms of which the people can most easily take advantage, left nothing undone to provide as fully as possible for the requirements of a Christian education.

II.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

It has been the wise and constant aim of the Pontifical Commission, aided by the religious corporations, to distribute the elementary schools as widely as possible, and to conduct them in such a manner that by their discipline, by the choice of teachers, by the excellence of their method of teaching and their educative course, they should merit the sympathy of the public and the confidence of the family.

Distribution of Schools.—The municipal authorities of Rome, in their anxiety to impress the people and prejudice them in favor of the State schools as against the Catholic schools, went to great expense in erecting magnificent buildings, containing large and well ventilated rooms, gymnasiums, playgrounds, and every other adjunct of usefulness and comfort that hygiene and pedagogy could devise. How far they have succeeded in this attempt may be learned from the testimony of Signor Biagio Placidi, formerly assessor to the Board of Public Instruction, who does not hesitate to declare in one of his reports that the principal reason why the pupils in the Catholic schools are in the majority is that they do not have so far to go to these schools as they would if they attended the Municipal schools. I shall not discuss the merit of this assertion, although to a good many it may seem strange, because I think that every father of a family who has good sense would inquire into the educational advantages of a school before considering its convenience. It cannot be denied, however, that not a few parents think more of the second qualification than of the first. The

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1892-1893.

TABLE A.

SCHOOLS FOR BOYS.

Classification.	Number.	Pupils.
Free schools	28	3,953
Paying schools	14	991
Evening schools	13	1,468
Catechetical schools	8	885
Industrial schools	5	501
Free asylums	14	1,727
Paying asylums	3	207
Hospices and boarding-schools	5	395
Other elementary preparatory schools	4	823
Total	94	10,950

TABLE B.

SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS.

Classification.	Number.	Pupils.
Free schools	50	5,692
Paying schools	32	2,072
Sunday schools	18	1,274
Evening schools	1	53
Catechetical schools	7	560
Industrial schools	10	448
Free asylums	18	2,278
Paying asylums	5	186
Academies and orphan asylums	21	1,072
Total	162	13,635

RECAPITULATION.

OF THE SCHOOLS.

	Number.
For boys	94
For girls	162
Total	256

OF THE PUPILS.

	Number.
Boys	10,950
Girls	13,635
Total	24,585

Pontifical Commission therefore did well in avoiding the plan of erecting large schools at a considerable distance apart, and in deciding to establish a number of smaller schools which, though more modest, would be convenient to all. As a result there is not only not a parish, but there is hardly a street of any importance in Rome, that does not possess a Catholic school. It must not be inferred from this that the Catholics lack great scholastic edifices. On the contrary, in the past few years some beautifnl buildings have been erected, through the instrumentality of religious corporations, which surpass in every detail those of the State and Municipality.

Teachers.—It goes without saying that the first requisite of a good school is to have good teachers. Those who remember that one of the first acts of the Government School Board was to declare invalid the diplomas that had been issued to teachers by the late Pontifical Government, can form an idea of the difficulty which the Commission had to encounter from its inception. And at this point it is only proper to pay a tribute of praise to the religious corporations which have stopped at no expense or sacrifice to provide the Commission with a select body of teachers, both men and women, furnished with proper diplomas, and who by their ability, zeal, and spotless conduct have merited, and enjoy to the full, the confidence not only of the Commission, but of the public.

Teachers had also to be provided for such schools as were not dependent on religious corporations, of which there are a considerable number, and experience has shown it to be very difficult to obtain teachers who, in addition to their professional diplomas of residence, offer those secure guarantees of sound principles and morality which are indispensable for those who teach in Catholic schools. The Pontifical Commission, therefore, deemed it advisable to establish normal or teachers' schools designed to prepare their scholars for the career of teachers. The first of these to be established was one for women, and is called St. Catherine's Institute. Another similar College, for men, was founded two years ago. St. Catherine's Institute, which has now been in existence fourteen years, has been productive of excellent results, inasmuch as it not only furnishes the best teachers for Catholic schools, but its graduates are even sought after by the Municipality, which justly esteems them highly for their

culture and conduct. The same gratifying results are confidently expected from the male college when its courses shall have been completed.

Text-Books and Programmes.—In the selection of text-books, as well as in the compilation of the programmes of study, the Pontifical Council and Commission have always had in view the words, contained in the letter of the Holy Father addressed to the Cardinal Vicar, to which reference has already been made, and which are as follows :

"The judgment of Solomon should in no way be repeated, so that by a cruel and unreasonable stroke the intellect of a child should be severed from its will. While we undertake to cultivate the first it is necessary to lead the second into acquiring virtuous habits, thus preparing it for its final end."

It being found impossible to procure text-books, especially in reading and history ,which were adapted to the requirements of Catholic schools, the Commission had some written in an eminently Catholic spirit especially for this purpose.

In the compilation of the programmes the Commission endeavored to bring them as far as possible into harmony with those in use in the public schools, both as regards the division of classes and the courses of studies. In the schools for girls a finishing course of two years was added, so that the pupils, especially in the academies, might be able to acquire a superior education to that imparted at the elementary schools, and one better adapted to their positions in society. In endeavoring to conform the Catholic programme with that of the Government the fact was not lost sight of that, although the State may theoretically and in the abstract be described as the representative of the people, it is practically and in concrete dominated by a party, and favors the system of education which is advocated by the party in power rather than that which is best adapted to the needs of the people.

Although the Catholics were formally forced to follow the programme of the State in substance and partly in spirit, their programmes were compiled in such a way as to meet the requirements of the Catholic schools in every respect. Not content with this, the Commission has continually reminded the teachers that instruction is good only when it is united with an earnest moral and religious education. It therefore decreed that a fixed time

should be set apart daily for catechism, so that the pupils from their earliest years should be familiarized with those pious practices which form the character of the true Christian.

Method of Teaching.—As regards the method of teaching, the Commission strongly urged the teachers to adhere to the old system which those who do not know better seek to pass off as new, just as if men only to-day had learned to make use of logic. By the old system I mean that method by following which Dante—keenest of observers—noted the most relevant facts of life and of the physical world; by which Columbus discovered America and Galileo left, in the sphere of physical study, an immortal record. It is the method of observation which the modern Italian pedagogues very unpatriotically declare to have come from over the Alps, while, as a matter of fact, if it can be called the glory of any country, it is the glory of Italy.

The Commission decreed that this method should be applied in an Italian spirit, that is, without Northern vagueness and exaggeration, and not as a means of combating the supernatural, but of ascending towards it. It holds that the teaching of the school is intended for life and for the whole life, for "*man does not live by bread alone.*"

The Commission was so little opposed to the introduction of the natural method in the Catholic schools, when properly applied, that when the Director General of Schools refused Catholic teachers the necessary permission to establish institutions unless they presented certificates showing that they were familiar with the Froebelian method, it immediately called conferences for the purpose of instructing them in this method which were attended by 164 teachers, nearly all of whom belonged to religious orders, and all of whom obtained the required diplomas.

Special conferences were likewise held at which teachers were instructed in the necessary qualifications for teaching gymnastics, which are also taught in the Catholic schools, though without those exaggerations which were condemned last year even by the Minister of Public Instruction, who had the system reformed.

From this it will be seen that the Catholic schools, while adopting every improvement which science and progress can suggest, abhor everything that is false, alien, and exaggerated,

TABLE C.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE HIGH SCHOOLS FOR THE YEAR 1892-93.*

Name.		Number of Students.	Special classes.
Institute Angelo Mai	Lyceum	70	
	Gymnasium	140	
	Technic'l School	100	
St. Apollinaris	Lyceum,	109	Theology 146
	Gymnasium	368	Law 143
	Technic'l School	96	Philosophy 62
			Letters 23
Institute Massimo	Lyceum	48	
	Gymnasium	216	
	Technic'l School	59	
Vatican Seminary	Lyceum	18	Phil. 15
	Gymnasium	88	Theol. 20
College Santa Maria	Lyceum	170	
	Gymnasium		
Institute de Merode, Technical Institute		85	
Little Brothers of Mary, Tech. Inst., Preparatory		117	
Institute of St. Joseph, Tech. Inst.		213	
Institute of Fathers of Pious Schools, Normal for Boys		17	
Institute of St. Catherine, Normal for Girls		200	
Salesians of Dom Bosco Gymnasium†		100	

†*The oratory is attended by 700 pupils.*

	No. of Scholars.
Lyceums	245
Gymnasiums	1,082
Technical schools	585
Technical institutes	85
Normal schools	312
Elementary Prep	823
Total	3,132

* *The special schools of law, theology, etc., are not included in this number.*

because in their eyes the education of youth is so exalted a mission that it must be exercised with the utmost conscientiousness.

III.

HIGH SCHOOLS.

While the Pontifical Commission was engaged in the direction of the elementary schools, the Directive Council worked with equal zeal in the management of the high schools. The latter are of the two the more important, because while the first provide for the education of the lower classes, the second initiate into the sciences and to an upright life that class which, fresh from the universities, is destined to form the cultured and influential section of society.

Number of the High Schools.—There are in Rome eighteen high schools dependent on the Holy See, viz., five lyceums,* five gymnasiums, five technical schools, two normal schools, and one technical institute of higher grade (see Table C, page 650). The technical and normal schools, as well as the technical institute, have all been founded since 1870—partly during the pontificate of Pius IX. and partly during that of Leo XIII. Of the gymnasiums and lyceums three have been established since that date; the others were already in existence, but owing to the new laws it became necessary to reform them in many respects.

Of these eighteen institutes seven belong to religious corporations, the remainder being directly dependent on the Directive Council and Pontifical Commission. The *Collegio Nazzareno*, which is a most flourishing institution, is not included among this number, because, although founded and directed by the Fathers of the Pious Schools, it is under the jurisdiction of the local authorities.

As against these eighteen Catholic institutions there are in Rome nineteen State and one Municipal high school; that is, three lyceums, four gymnasiums, eight technical schools, three normal schools, and one higher technical institute. If we take into account the lyceum-gymnasium of the *Collegio Nazzareno*, the Catholic high schools equal in number those of the Government.

It will thus be seen that the Catholics, though of limited means, have sought to establish school for school.

* The schools designated as *lyceum* and *gymnasium* are equivalent to our high schools.

Methods Followed in the Management of the High Schools.—Since the school is instrumental in the formation of good citizens it is necessary that the pupils be educated in accordance with the spirit of that society in which they are obliged to live. When the Government took the function of education out of the hands of the clergy, it not only neglected this principle, but also violated all Italian classic traditions, glorious as they were, moulding everything, regulations, programmes, methods, etc., according to the German system, with a slight tincture of English and French methods, but omitting everything really Italian. In confirmation of this statement I may cite the following words of Hon. Signor Del Vecchio :

"When we of the South were about to establish high schools we received from the north of Italy our regulations, programmes, books, schedules, and teachers; but was it from Piedmont and from the generous heart of that people that our entire high school system was derived? The Piedmont programmes were in reality German and even Prussian ones."

A little further on he says :

"Those who compiled the lyceum programmes, in their desire to educate Italian youth according to German principles, have sought to make them forget their nationality, and by cramming them with encyclopædic knowledge have forced them to despise the dignity of man before they were even aware that man and the dignity of man existed. The same evils and absurdities exist in the programme of the system of technical education."

Signor Del Vecchio justly denounces such an enormity, and the Catholics and those of the Liberals who retain any good sense and some of the true Italian spirit have likewise condemned such a shameful system, but for so doing they have been accused of being behind the times and enemies of their country. Although the authorities were fully aware of the results of this pernicious system, they did not, and do not, take any steps to provide a better one. The programmes have often been altered with the recurring changes of ministry, but the system always remains the same. If they would only allow the Catholic private schools the right (which is theirs by law) to regulate themselves as they deem best ! But they will not concede this, because the existence of these schools is a thorn in the side of the Government.

In view of these facts, it can be readily understood what great difficulties the Directive Council has had to encounter in the management of the high schools. To prevent these schools being closed by the Government or deserted by the pupils, who, in

order to obtain diplomas, were compelled to pass additional examinations at the State Schools, it was necessary to conform the Catholic schools to the official programmes and regulations. Although the Directive Council was thus prevented from lessening the number of subjects of study or of imparting to the whole teaching that true Italian national character derived from our old institutions, which knew well how to unite science and faith, education and morals, it has at least endeavored to deviate as little as possible from that standard.

Tendencies of Education.—It is a general complaint throughout Italy that the fruits of education are very meagre, especially in view of all that is done and attempted and the amount that is spent in this direction by the Government and municipalities. The modern system of education and instruction has now been in existence upwards of thirty years. Nevertheless if a few were not still left who were educated according to the old system, and who maintain the prestige of Italy in the fields of literature and science, she would to-day be the last of the nations in this respect. The reason for this is not far to seek. It lies in the imitation of foreign methods, and above all in the separation of education from religion. In the belief that men were made for the comforts and pleasures of this life alone, everything most sacred and most noble has been abolished; it seems to have been forgotten that the wants of the spirit are not less real and urgent than those of the body. As Desantis says:

"This society does not possess the two highest joys of human life. It has neither the blue of the sky nor the green of the fields. There is no God in it and no nature. There is not even patriotism in it."

The Directive Council, faithful and wise interpreter of the instructions of the Holy Father, has made it a special care that the pupils should be preserved from a doctrine and system which might instil into their youthful hearts discouragement and doubt. It therefore selects the text-books with the greatest circumspection, and when it has been compelled by law to adopt any one which is erroneous or lacking in principle it has strictly enjoined the professors to make the necessary corrections and observations when explaining the same. For example, in the official text-books of national history no reference is made to the gigantic and magnanimous struggle sustained by

Christian society in honor and defence of religion and of the Roman Pontiff, as well as in defence of the Fatherland and of Italian culture. No explanation is made—except erroneously—of the advent of the Franks and the Angevins, of the exile in Avignon, of the heroic resistance made by the Pontiffs against Imperial pretensions, and other historic facts of equal importance. Catholic teaching modifies and corrects errors and opinion in such a way that the historic truth may stand out with the utmost clearness. For the Church fears only error.

The Directive Council has been no less careful in its selection of subjects for discussion by the students, and has decreed that they should abstain from everything that even savors of those strange, inflated, and exaggerated methods which deviate from the realities of life and add nothing to the intellectual culture or morals of the pupils. The Commission, moreover, being fully convinced that no branch of study, especially philosophy or history, can be correctly and completely taught without the aid of religion, which like a luminous beacon guides the understanding, directed that religious instruction should be given at least once a week in all the schools and classes, with a view not only to improving the minds of the pupils, but as the most effectual means of imparting that complete religious and moral education which is the supreme aim of Catholic schools.

In order that the pupils may from their earliest years become familiar with the practices of Christian piety, sodalities have been formed, each of which has a spiritual director, whose duty it is to see that the members comply with the rules and fulfil all their religious duties. Special spiritual exercises are held by these sodalities at Easter, when children, whose parents desire it, are prepared for their first Communion.

Although it cannot be claimed that by following this course the Catholics have restored the old Italian system of education to its former place of honor, it can at least be said that they have endeavored as far as possible to repair the great damage done by the Government system, which they are reluctantly compelled to follow.

IV.

SPECIAL SCHOLASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

The work of the Pontifical Commission and Directive Council does not end with the direction of the elementary and high

schools, for there is no class of citizens for which these bodies, aided by the religious corporations, have not provided the means of obtaining a Christian education and the highest grade of culture in the easiest manner.

The School of Higher Literature and the Academy of Historic Jurisprudence.—Since the State, as has already been shown, would not permit the Catholics to open universities which could confer degrees and diplomas unless the same were placed under its jurisdiction, the Holy Father, desirous of helping the students as far as possible, and acting on the advice of the Directive Council, founded in Rome two institutes of superior courses or finishing courses, namely the Academy of Historic Jurisprudence and the School of Higher Literature, and selected as their professors men noted for their scientific and literary attainments. The first of these institutions is devoted to jurisprudence, history, and archæology; the second to ancient and modern literature. In both of them the scholars find an antidote against the pernicious doctrines which are proclaimed as the *non plus* of science in the State universities, and which they are sometimes compelled to listen to.

Boarding-Houses.—Two boarding-houses have been provided for the scholars who come to Rome from the provinces. One of these has been in existence for many years and is set apart for those who attend the university courses; the other, which is for the girls who attend the Teachers' Institute, was erected by a committee of ladies as a memorial of the episcopal jubilee of the Holy Father, and by them turned over to the deserving Salesian Missionary Sisters.

It is not only required that those who are admitted to these houses fulfil their duties as good Christians, but in addition religious, scientific, and literary conferences are frequently held, with a view to confirming the scholars in good principles and combating, when necessary, the errors they may have imbibed in the State schools, which they are forced to attend by reason of their profession.

Boarding Schools.—There are in Rome 26 boarding schools, of which number five are for boys and 21 for girls. They are attended by 395 boys and 1,072 girls. All these schools belong to religious corporations. It is needless to add that the seminaries for the clergy, of which there is a very large number, are

not included under this head. The rate charged at these boarding schools ranges from 30 to 80 *lire* monthly, so that they are accessible to families of moderate means as well as to those of affluence. In some of these schools free scholarships have been established.

It is worthy of note that not a few of these boarders of both sexes belong to the most prominent Liberal families. This fact, however, is not surprising, because our adversaries, when not blinded by political prejudice, are the first to recognize the superiority of the Catholic system of education. Speaking of the Catholic boarding schools for girls, Commendatore Gioda, formerly Director General of Primary Instruction, in an official report to the Minister of Public Instruction, says:

"The institutions conducted by religious orders have incontestable advantages over those directed by lay persons. An order which conducts an educational institute knows that it possesses the unlimited confidence of its heads, and provides for everything as is deemed best. Every month a report is made to the Mother General, and money is spent only as occasion may require. The provisions are laid in at the most economical season; the repairs to the buildings are made promptly, and at the most opportune time. There is no superintendent and no contractor; the Sisters attend to every detail, not only of administration, but of instruction, for which they have seldom to resort to outsiders. Compare these Sisters who have no wants with the lay teachers who work for their own support and that of their families. The Sisters on entering the order often bring a *dot* with them. When they become aged and infirm they know that the order will not abandon them. Even if their relatives are in straightened circumstances they cannot aid them, because the income of the institutions is not their property. On the contrary, when any of these institutes is prosperous, it devotes its surplus to helping other houses of the same order which are less fortunate. Another advantage, of a wholly moral aspect, pertaining to these institutes which cannot be overlooked, lies in the fact that the order is very often comprised of teachers having only simple vows, whilst the affiliated ones of the same order are called free, which may be true: nevertheless it is a fact that the perfect submission to the Superioress and the tie of absolute obedience possess an undeniable value. Defections involving grave scandals never occur. The directresses assigned by the Superioress to these institutes are well versed in the art of management, and know how to win affection. Cautious and dexterous as they are, they remain ever faithful to the order, even when far away. If by chance one of them should happen to transgress any of the rules, she is immediately reclaimed, and either sent elsewhere or placed in some humbler position. She is ready at once to leave; she obeys without protest; she invokes no protection; she does not wait for an investigation; she proceeds with resignation to her new destination, of which the rest of the community is in ignorance. The efficacy of this management of the religious orders is also felt in the direction of economy. They have made it possible for girls to be educated at a wonderfully low rate. Most of the schools belonging to these orders are convenient buildings, usually

sumptuous villas in ample gardens. Everything denotes order and cleanliness, and there is a tranquillity about them which accounts for the favor in which they are held by the outer world."

After having pronounced this eulogy, Signor Gioda remembers that he is Director General and that he speaks to the Minister. He thereupon changes his tone, and says:

"The father of a family, however, should not be content to look upon things merely in a superficial manner: he should look beneath the surface, so as to be able to judge whether the course of studies given at these schools, and the sentiments which are there instilled, properly prepare his daughter for that sphere of life in which she will find herself after leaving school."

Yet Signor Gioda, who in view of his official position was better qualified than any other father in Rome to judge in such matters, immediately on relinquishing the position of Director General, withdrew his daughter from the Municipal school and placed her under the care of the Sisters of St. Ann of Providence, in whose school she is now completing her finishing course.

The instruction given to the girls in these boarding-schools is divided into two grades—elementary and superior. In some of them the entire normal course is given, thus enabling such pupils as desire it to obtain diplomas. The Sisters who conduct these courses are furnished with diplomas of professorship, obtained after examination at the State universities. In the examination which took place for this purpose four years ago by concession of the Minister, the Sisters of St. Ann of Providence, the Oblates of the Infant Jesus, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Marcelline Sisters, and the Sisters of St. Joseph specially distinguished themselves.

The Government maintains in Rome two colleges, viz., a boarding school for girls, which is attached to the Normal school, and the provincial school for boys.

Semi-Boarding Schools.—To a number of these boarding-schools are attached what are known as *mezza pensione*; that is, schools attended by day-scholars who take their mid-day meal there. They are a comparatively new institution, and have met with much favor among the families who have taken advantage of them.

Orphan and Other Asylums.—No city of Italy, or indeed in the world, possesses in comparison so many charitable institutions for every class of poor and suffering persons as Rome. Owing to the hostility of the Italian Government, however, it looks as if sev-

eral of them were doomed. Christian charity, however, is not affected by this opposition. On the contrary, it seems to have acquired new vigor in these sad times, showing itself in a thousand different forms, especially in behalf of those youths who are in need of support and aid. Not to mention those institutions which do not come within the scope of this article or those which existed prior to 1870, I shall only allude briefly to the ones established since that date. Preëminent among these is the Hospice of the Sacred Heart, conducted by the Salesians, which was opened last year by the Cardinal Vicar, as a memorial of the episcopal jubilee of the Holy Father. It is an immense building of beautiful design, and includes not only elementary schools, but also art and industrial schools, a gymnasium, and library. The scholars who attend the day or night schools here are educated gratuitously, and only a very small fee is charged for the boarders. This institution contains in all about 300 pupils. As it has no income to speak of it is little short of miraculous how it was ever erected and how it is maintained. But Providence has seemed, from the beginning, to favor the charitable enterprises of the sons of Dom Bosco.

Another institution which is maintained by voluntary contributions is the Pious Institute of the Immaculate Conception, which was founded by the Brothers of Charity, familiarly known as the Grey Brothers. It receives orphans gratuitously, and also maintains day and boarding schools containing about 400 pupils.

The orphan asylum of the Sisters of Cluny; of St. Jerome Emiliani; the Protectory of St. Joseph; the Asylum of the Sisters of Nancy for Idiot Children, and the Institute for Abandoned Orphans, conducted by the Daughters of the Passion of Calvary, should also be included under this head.

In each of these charitable institutions the inmates, in addition to receiving an elementary education, are specially instructed in some art or trade, thus enabling them to earn an honest livelihood in after life.

Infant Asylums.—The Pontifical Commission has under its jurisdiction 40 infant asylums, of which 32 are free. As against these the Municipality has only twelve. In these asylums, as in every other Catholic institution, every part of the modern method which is good and useful has been adopted, but without the customary exaggeration, and special allowance has been made for the

lively intellect and vivacious temperament of the Italian children, which the other schools have failed to take into account.

Art and Trade Schools.—Among the art and trade schools in Rome which deserve special mention are : The Institute of Pius IX. and the Hospice *Bonanni,* for young artisans ; the Institute of *Vigna Pia,* for instructing poor boys in agriculture ; and that of *Tata Giovanni,* where the poor are instructed in various arts and trades.

In all the above, in addition to reading and writing, special care is given to the study of design, which is accounted a great aid in learning the arts and trades. The evening schools, founded by the Artisan and Working Society, hold examinations yearly of the work of the pupils, which is executed so accurately and artistically as to win applause even from the adversaries of the Catholic schools.

Industrial Schools.—In addition to the higher courses and finishing courses adapted to the daughters of wealthy parents, industrial schools were opened for girls belonging to the poorer classes. Only those girls are admitted to these schools who have completed the higher courses in the elementary schools, although pupils who have only passed the third class are sometimes admitted. Embroidery of various kinds, sewing, cutting garments, ironing, repairing, and every other branch of housework necessary to qualify the pupils to earn their livelihood are taught here. The most skilful pupils are rewarded by a small daily honorarium. Some of these pupils have earned such a reputation for good work among the people that they receive more work than they can execute.

The professional schools under the direction of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, and of the Sisters of Divine Providence, in the *Piazza Fiammetta,* are specially noted for the excellent quality of their work as well as for the number of their pupils.

Catechetical Schools.—The Catechetical Schools were especially established for the boys and girls who attend the State or Municipal schools where no religious instruction is given. There are fifteen of these schools, eight for boys and seven for girls ; the average yearly attendance being 1,445. These schools are a most efficacious help to the clergy, for, like the other Catholic schools, they help to prepare the boys and girls for their first communion and to instruct them in the duties of a good Christian.

Sunday Schools.—The Sunday Schools, which have the same object as the Catechetical Schools, are 18 in number and contain 1,274 pupils.

Owing to lack of space it is impossible to describe all the other Catholic institutions in Rome which have for their aim more or less the education of youth. No mention can therefore be made of the Catholic clubs, the literary and scientific academies, reading and debating circles, etc. Enough has been said, however, to demonstrate the zeal and energy displayed by Catholics in the field of education and culture.

V.

DISCIPLINE AND RESULTS.

In matters of discipline the Catholic institutions of every kind exercise the greatest diligence, inasmuch as on this discipline depends in great measure the proper management of the schools. The Pontifical Commission and Directive Council have compiled special regulations which, properly applied by the directors and teachers, preserve these institutions from those disorders which are only of too frequent occurrence in the State schools. Yet it must be taken into consideration that we are living in troublous times; and that through the weakness and careessness of parents, children, far from finding any help in their own families, often find rather impediments there, to the acquisition of those good habits which these schools endeavor to develop in them. The schools are regarded by many parents simply as places where their children are taken care of for a few hours daily; others look upon them as workshops, where the children learn to read, write, cipher, and nothing else. Indeed, there are only a few who appreciate the exalted and delicate function of the schools. It has been wisely ordained that every Catholic school, especially the higher ones, should have a special prefect of discipline. This prefect watches the coming and going of the pupils from their classes; keeps a record of the absent and late ones; corresponds with the parents of the children, and sees that all the regulations are rigidly enforced. The existence of this office helps not only to maintain discipline, but is also an important factor in the proper progress of the studies, for the president and directors, being relieved of all care

in matters of discipline, are freer to superintend the teaching and teachers.

In order to excite in the pupils the spirit of emulation prizes are offered at the beginning of each scholastic year. In the higher and paying schools silver medals and diplomas are awarded, while in the free schools gifts of clothing are bestowed.

The punishments inflicted in the Catholic schools are similar to those in use in the State schools, but happily it is only very rarely that the severest one—expulsion—has to be resorted to.

Results.—The results obtained by the Catholic schools have been more than satisfactory, when we take into consideration how much their work is handicapped by the Government, and the public which honors these schools with its confidence is as well satisfied as are the Catholic authorities.

The number of pupils in the elementary Catholic schools, which have been reorganized by the Pontifical Commission, increases yearly, and is now in excess of that in the Municipal schools. The Catholic high schools are also largely attended, as may be seen by reference to table *C*. The number of pupils in these schools is a trifle smaller than those in the State schools. This, however, is not because the parents have less confidence in the Catholic schools, but because it is much easier for the young men who attend the State schools to obtain diplomas, whether they have studied or not. It is also due to the more favorable conditions regulating admission to those schools.

The greater facility for obtaining diplomas at the State schools is due to the fact that while Catholics are compelled to pass their final examination at the State schools before a committee composed exclusively of Government professors, the pupils of the State schools are examined by their own professors, and only upon the studies of the preceding year.

It was provided by the Casati law that in the examinations for obtaining lyceum degrees two professors from the private schools should form part of the examining committee. As soon as it was found that this measure favored the Catholics it was repealed and another law—still in force—was passed, which provides that while the head of each private institute may assist at the examination of his own pupils, he can have no deliberative vote. Under the administration of Signor Martini the Government went still further by entirely abolishing the examination for the pupils of

the State schools, and decreeing that these pupils could obtain promotion or diplomas if they received the favorable vote of the council of professors. With odious partiality the examination has only been maintained for the pupils of Catholic schools, and for such pupils of the State schools as fail to receive the favorable vote of the council of professors. In spite of the humiliation and opposition to which Catholics are thus subjected the parents have not lost confidence in the Catholic schools, and the results are more than satisfactory. Thus the annual average proportion of the pupils of the Catholic high schools who obtain diplomas as teachers every year is 80 per cent.; of the technical schools and technical institutes, 75 per cent., and of the pupils of the Normal Institute of St. Catherine, 95 per cent.

It may be added that the majority of the pupils in the Catholic high schools belong to the class of society conspicuous for birth, wealth and culture, including even prominent Liberal families.

VI.

EXPENSES FOR INSTRUCTION.

It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the amount expended on so many and such varied scholastic institutions as have been mentioned. The paying schools directed by the religious corporations, which provide for current expenses out of their own funds, in common with those which derive an annual allowance from the Pontifical Commission, depend upon public munificence and upon other sources for the balance necessary for their support. Nearly all the primary schools and also the secondary institutes which are directed by lay folk are entirely dependent upon the Pontifical Commission and upon the school fund set apart by the Holy Father.

Taking into account simply the amount furnished by the Pontifical Commission and by the Administration of the estates of the Holy See for the high schools, the annual expenditure exceeds 1,000,000 *lire*.

The average yearly income of the Pontifical Commission is about 400,000 *lire*, and the outlay nearly equals that amount. This income is derived :

1. From direct donations of the Holy Father.
2. From the Administration of the estates of the Holy See.
3. From the donations of certain corporations; of the Chap-

ters of the Patriarchal churches, and from the contributions of Sacred Congregations, and of some private individuals.

4. From the fees of the pupils of St. Catherine's Institute and of the Gregorian College.

With the amount thus obtained the Pontificial Commission provides:

1. For the ordinary and extraordinary allowances of the *personnel.*
2. For the furnishing, etc., of the schools.
3. For the distribution of books, etc., among the poor pupils.
4. For the rental of the schools and asylums.
5. For the erection and repairs of buildings.

It is significant to note that while the Municipality, which controls a much smaller number of schools than the Catholics, spends the immense sum of 47,000 *lire* yearly on the *personnel* of the School Board, the Catholics spend only 3,000 *lire* in the same manner. This difference is due to the economical arrangement of the working staff employed by the Pontifical Commission, which is composed only of a cashier. bookkeeper, stockkeeper, and custodian. On the other hand the Municipality maintains an extraordinary number of employees in accordance with the usual bureaucratic mania of the Italian Government.

All the members of the Pontifical Commission, including the President, who has the general direction of the schools, as well as of the administrative office, give their services gratuitously.

There are several schools, orphanages, and asylums which do not derive their support from the Pontifical Commission, but which are maintained exclusively by the Roman aristocracy or by Catholic societies or committees. Preëminent among the generous benefactors of the Catholic schools are included the noble families of Torlonia, Doria, Borghese, Aldobrandini, and Patrizi.

If the amount which is spent by the religious corporations and that which is saved by their giving their services gratuitously, as well as the sum which is derived annually from public and private benefactors, were added to the amount spent yearly by the Pontifical Commission, the expenses for primary Catholic education in Rome would reach a total of at least 1,500,000 *lire* yearly.

Among the schools wholly maintained by the Administration of the estates of the Holy See are the Historical Juridical Academy; the School of Higher Literature, also called the Leonine

Institute; the Lyceum-Gymnasium and the Technical School *Angelo Mai.* and the Technical Institute *De Merode.*

With the exception of the Leonine Institute the administration of all these institutions is invested in the Directive Council.

CONCLUSIONS.

The foregoing description of the Catholic school system in Rome leads to the following conclusions:

1. Pre-eminent among the many benefits which the Holy Father has, with sovereign munificence, conferred upon the city of Rome is the education and instruction of youth, to which end, notwithstanding the financial stringency of the Holy See, he spends annually upwards of 1,000,000 *lire.*

2. In this good work he is wisely assisted by the Cardinal Vicar; by the Pontifical Commission; by the religious corporations and associations; by the Directive Council, as well as by the clergy and the Catholic laity.

3. As a result of the unflagging zeal and unremitting solicitude of each and all of these, it has become possible to promote and diffuse not only primary, classical, technical, and normal instruction, but to fully provide for the educational requirement of every class of people.

4. The result of such generous efforts will be more fully appreciated when it it is remembered that, after the occupation of Rome, the edifice of Catholic instruction and education had to be entirely rebuilt—even from the foundation—under the eyes of a strong and suspicious adversary, who was disposed and anxious to obstruct the work in every possible way, and even to prevent it.

The supreme end of these institutions, which is religious and moral education, has not been neglected in the regulations, programmes, books, or methods of teaching; and it has been their special aim to deviate as little as possible from the national traditions which so harmoniously combine faith and science, and to furnish the boys and girls of the new generation with that grade of culture which is best adapted to their social position.

That the Roman people appreciate the beneficent efforts of the Holy Father and the work of all those who, with sentiments of profound admiration and reverence, assist him, is demonstrated by the ever-increasing number of pupils who flock to the Catholic schools.

F. SATOLLI.

BRIGANDAGE ON OUR RAILROADS.

BY THE HON. WADE HAMPTON, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS.

THE epidemic of train robbery seems to be spreading over the whole country, and no section appears to be safe from the attacks of the lawless desperadoes who commit this crime, and who, in many instances, add to their atrocities the crime of murder. Recently, in the near vicinity of the National Capital, one of the most daring and most successful of these robberies was committed and, but for the intelligent investigation of the detectives, the perpetrators would have escaped. In this alarming condition of affairs, any suggestion which, while calling attention to it, proposes any remedy may deserve the attention of the authorities and of the public. Every citizen is interested in the effort to break up this fearful crime, and especially those whose business or pleasure calls them to travel on the railroads. Nor is it alone the duty of the citizens to devote all aid in their power to prevent this crime and to punish the criminals, but it behooves the general government to take active and decisive steps in the same direction. That the government has authority to do this, I think is perfectly clear. No one will deny that it is the duty of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens, to see that the transportation of the mails is unobstructed, and to guard against all violence that jeopardizes any of these objects. This being the case, it certainly is the duty of the government to take prompt and active measures to put a stop to these cowardly and murderous crimes, perpetrated by thieves and assassins.

Now what measures can be adopted which will best meet the ends desired? Recently there was a meeting held in New York, composed of many of the presidents of express companies, and

this body appealed to the government to take steps to protect the railroad trains. The opinion amongst these gentlemen was unanimous that the government should adopt measures by which the railroad robbers should be pursued and punished, and it was proposed to urge Congress to pass the bill presented by Representative Caldwell, of Illinois. As will be seen by the following sections of the bill, the chief object contemplated by it was to fix the punishment to be inflicted upon all persons guilty of robbing or interfering maliciously with any inter-state train. In order that your readers may see the main provisions of the proposed bill, the last two sections of it are here given :

> That any person or persons who unlawfully and maliciously throws or causes anything to be thrown, or to fall into or upon or to strike against a railroad train, or an engine, tender, car, or truck, with intent to rob or injure a person or property on such train, engine, car, or truck engaged in inter-state commerce, shall, upon conviction, be imprisoned at hard labor not less than one year nor more than twenty years.
>
> That the circuit and district courts of the United States are hereby invested with full and concurrent jurisdiction of all causes or crimes arising under any of the provisions of this act.

It will be observed that the bill looks to the punishment of the criminal chiefly, and not to the prevention of the crime, and while it is desirable that prompt and adequate punishment should be inflicted on the outlaws who commit these flagrant outrages, it is still more desirable that some means should be found to prevent a recurrence of them. Various plans have been suggested for the accomplishment of this end, but it seems that none of them has been successful. The railroad officials, as also the presidents of the express companies, appear to have come to the conclusion that armed guards on the trains are inefficient, if not useless; but it strikes me that the presence of even two determined men, properly armed, would add materially to the safety of passengers and train. Of course the expense attending the employment of a large force of armed men would be too great for any railroad to incur, and it would be impracticable for the government to furnish troops for the purpose of acting as guards. Our vast system of railroads covers too extensive a territory to be fully protected from robbery by any armed force which could be provided by the government or by the railroad companies, but something in that direction might be accomplished by the latter, in my opinion, and

as any suggestion which may evoke discussion on this question may prove of value, I venture to throw out one or two.

In all the cases of train robbery of which I have seen accounts, access to the express car has been attained by the robbers through the doors of the car. Accordingly, if these points of danger were adequately protected, the robbers might be foiled. An express car can be made invulnerable to firearms, and able to repel any attack save by the use of dynamite. If, therefore, every car had, in addition to its ordinary door, an independent one made of strong iron grating, which could remain closed should the outer door be broken in, any robber making an attack would be confronted with a serious obstacle in the shape of the iron door, should they succeed in forcing the outer one. Let every express company place one brave, determined man, in addition to the ordinary messenger, who should be of the same character, in the car, and let each be armed with a repeating shotgun, each carrying seven rounds of buckshot cartridges. Two brave men armed in this way would be a match for four times their number of men who, like these train robbers, are generally cowards. Should an attack be made on any express car, and the outer door be broken in, the first man showing himself in front of the iron grating could be shot down, while the men inside could be behind cover. A few such receptions to train robbers would bring the business into disrepute, and any of the perpetrators who would be killed would, in the judgment of all law-abiding citizens, have met a fate they richly deserved. There would be no difficulty in securing the services of proper messengers, and no more formidable firearms can be placed in the hands of such men than the weapon I have mentioned, for its seven loads can be discharged in a few seconds. This is the mere outline of a plan to protect trains, and perhaps modifications of it can be made judiciously; but I feel assured that by a comparatively moderate outlay the express companies could make their cars almost, if not quite, unassailable.

In addition to the means of protection already suggested, let me mention another, and that is the use of dogs trained to follow men; and while on this subject let me correct a misapprehension prevalent throughout the North, that these dogs are bloodhounds. I doubt if there are half a dozen bloodhounds in the United States, or that any has ever been used in the pursuit of fugitives, except in the fable of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The

dogs used are the ordinary foxhounds; these will follow a trail, but they will not attack the fugitive. They only indicate his route of flight, so that parties following on horseback can come up with him. Most of the penitentiaries in the South keep these dogs, as do the managers of convict farms and camps. The Cuban bloodhound is a fierce, intractable dog, and I have never known of its use in pursuing a fugitive, nor are they useful as hunting-dogs. The English bloodhound, on the contrary, is a noble dog, gentle, sagacious, and affectionate. In the famous picture by Landseer, called "Dignity and Impudence," he is well portrayed, and though it is said that in the olden time he was used in England to track human beings, he is now not called on for that purpose. Your readers are doubtless familiar with Walter Scott's story of the pursuit of Sir William Wallace by one of these dogs, and the manner in which he escaped. I have used both the Cuban and the English bloodhound in hunting, and, while the former was generally worthless for this purpose, the latter was valuable. The hounds now used for tracking men, when properly trained, will take and follow a trail twenty-four hours old, and in some cases even a colder one. If, in those parts of the country where robberies of trains occur most frequently, a couple of good dogs could be kept at each of certain selected stations, even if the distance between such points were hundreds of miles, whenever a train is held up the dogs could be summoned by wire and in a few hours they would be on the trail of the robbers. The expense entailed on the railroad companies in carrying out this plan would be comparatively light, and the experiment might prove a success. The whole country is interested in breaking up this fearful crime of train robbery, and any suggestions which would tend to that end are worthy of consideration.

WADE HAMPTON.

TWO GREAT AUTHORS.

I. DR. HOLMES.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE.

THE year which witnessed on the same day the birth of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin seems to have a better right to be called *annus mirabilis* in the history of the English-speaking public than that year in the reign of Charles II., of blessed memory, which usually bears the title. But the great statesman and popular leader on one side of the Atlantic and the great man of science on the other were not the only gifts of 1809 to humanity. In that year were also born Gladstone and Tennyson and Oliver Wendell Holmes. A few weeks ago, perhaps, some persons might not have added the name of Dr. Holmes to this short and memorable list. Death, however, changes and corrects the perspective wonderfully. Without any suggestion of comparisons it is now easy to see that Dr. Holmes rightfully belongs among the remarkable men born in 1809, for when he died words were spoken about him in lands and languages not his own, which in a flash showed to all men, and especially to us of his own country, how large a place he had filled in this hurried and crowded world.

This is neither the time nor the place to trace the career of Dr. Holmes, for that needs a larger canvass and more abundant materials. But it is not too soon to look for a moment at the work he did and the place he filled and to express our gratitude for both. He had in all ways a singularly happy and successful life. Literary fame came early and remained with him, ever growing and broadening. In his old age he did not have the sore trial of outliving his reputation, but saw it at the end as fresh and flourishing as in the beginning and with all the promise of

long endurance. In Boston and Massachusetts he was universally beloved and, when it was known that he was dead, men felt, despite his age, as if there, where he was best known, his going made a gap in nature and took from them something which was as much a part of their being as the air they breathed. Such a life, so full of happiness to others and to himself, so crowded with all that most men desire, may well be called fortunate. Yet the word is not wholly apt or adequate. Such a life is not all a matter of fortune. It is in large measure due to the man himself. Dr. Holmes owed his success to his own gifts and to their wise use, but he also, in large measure, owed the happiness which he both enjoyed and imparted to his cheerful philosophy and to his wide, eager and quick sympathies with all that touched mankind.

He was in one respect a very rare combination. He had the scientific mind and at the same time he was a poet and novelist. As a physician and as a lecturer for many years upon anatomy, he won distinction and success, and every form of scientific thought and inquiry had for him always strong attractions. He could think and could impart his knowledge with the precision and accuracy which science demands. Yet, with this strongly marked habit of mind were joined a lively imagination, the power to body forth the shapes of things unknown, and a most delicate fancy. These mental qualities in a high degree of excellence are rarely found together. Instances have not been wanting, like Sir Thomas Browne for example, of men of scientific profession and training who had likewise great literary gifts and who, as observers, thinkers, and writers take high rank. But this is something very different from the genius of the poet and romancer. The creative imagination and the scientific cast of thought, joined as they were in Dr. Holmes, imply an extraordinary flexibility and versatility of mind. In his case, too, the mingling of the different elements never affected either injuriously. Imagination did not make his medicine or anatomy untrustworthy, nor did his scientific tendencies make either his verse or his prose cold or dry. His wit and humor, it is true, gleamed through his lectures and left behind them to a generation of students a harvest of stories and traditions. The scientific cast of thought, on the other hand, as it often supplied an image or a metaphor, may possibly have had something to do also with the unfailing correctness of the poet's verse. Certain at least it is that the un-

usual combination of these widely differing qualities of mind was no less remarkable than the fact that they never jarred upon each other and never warped the life's work in either direction.

His fame, of course, was won as a man of letters, not as a man of science, and it is as a man of letters that the world at large looks upon him. Here his good fortune was with him also. He came at a good time. Before his birth Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton were the only American writers whose work had found a permanent place in literature. Two of these were specialists, one in theology, the other in constitution-making, and both wrote with a special purpose. Franklin alone had added to literature in its broad sense and he, curiously enough, although neither a poet nor romancer, united great literary talent with scientific attainments of the highest order, as well as with the finest arts of the statesman and diplomatist. But one writer cannot create a literature, and it was left to the nineteenth century to show that Americans could make a distinct and characteristic contribution to the great literature of the English-speaking people.

Dr. Holmes's life covered the whole period of this literary development in which he was himself to play so large a part. *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, the first enduring work of this period, was finished in 1809, the year of Dr. Holmes's birth. He was a boy of six when *Thanatopsis* appeared, the first poem of the new country which was to hold a place in the higher poetry of our language. A few years later he might have read *Precaution*, the pale imitation of an English novel which Cooper sent forth to deserved failure, and then he could have rejoiced in the series of American novels by the same author which followed hard upon it, which added a new figure to the great heroes of fiction and which travelled about the world with all the delight of fresh adventure and original characters in their pages.

But while Dr. Holmes's birth and boyhood were thus coincident with the appearance of the works of Irving and Bryant and Cooper, he himself and his own contemporaries were the men who were to do the largest work for American literature in the century just then beginning. Poe was born in the same year as Holmes, and has a high place in the list of the *Annus Mirabilis*. His weak character and wretched life obscured his work and warped men's judgment, but his wild genius has mounted

steadily toward its true place. He to whom so little was given in his life has now, years after his death, drawn the admiration of English critics and the devotion of more than one French poet. At this moment a school of decadents and symbolists, who bear the same relation to our real literature that Lyly, with his *Euphues*, bore to the literature of the Elizabethans, find in Poe, as they think, a master, a forerunner, and a justification.

But Poe stood far apart from the men with whom Dr. Holmes is inseparably connected. The greatest of all, Hawthorne, was only four years Holmes' senior. Emerson was born in 1803, Longfellow in 1807, Whittier in 1808. Lowell, his nearest friend perhaps, was only ten years his junior, and the historians, Bancroft and Prescott, Motley and Parkman, were his life-long friends and associates in greater or less degree. They were all New Englanders, all offspring of the old Puritan stock. It was a very remarkable group of men ; and now that the last has gone we can see what a large place they fill in American literature, and how much of all that we like to think of as lasting in that literature is their work. Poe, who did not love them and who felt that they did not appreciate the genius which he knew he had, was wont to rail at them, as the "New England school." Some of his keen criticism of them and others was both true and penetrating, but he was wrong when he called these men "a school." They were in no sense "a school," for they differed as utterly in their work as they did in their purposes and lines of thought. They may have shared certain literary opinions and they were undoubtedly friends, but "a school" cannot exist without teachers and pupils, leaders and followers, and these men were equals working each in his own way.

Of all the group Dr. Holmes, although he will not hold the highest place among them for literary achievement, was the most various in performance and the most versatile in faculty. We all think of him first as a poet. There are some of his poems which are in every one's mind, which live in our memories, and rise to our lips. In a recent notice in some English journal, it was said with a faint flavor of patronage that certain of Dr. Holmes' poems were in all the anthologies. The critic might have added that most good poems in the language are. To say of a poet, that his verses are in all the anthologies, and on the lips of the people, has been a noble praise from the days of Tyrtæus to our own.

Dr. Holmes has won this place. Certain of his poems, like *The Chambered Nautilus, The Last Leaf,* or *Old Ironsides,* are in every collection. They have passed into our speech, they have become part of our inheritance ; and greater assurance of remembrance than this no man can have.

Dr. Holmes is perhaps most often thought of as the poet of occasion, and certainly no one has ever surpassed him in this field. He was always apt, always happy, always had the essential lightness of touch, and the right mingling of wit and sentiment. But he was very much more than a writer of occasional poems, and his extraordinary success in this direction has tended to obscure his much higher successes, and to cause men to overlook the fact that he was a true poet in the best sense. The brilliant occasional poems were only the glitter on the surface, and behind them lay depths of feeling and beauties of imagery and thought to which full justice has not yet been, but surely will be, done. He felt this a little himself ; and he never wrote a truer line than when he said :

> "While my gay stanza pleased the banquet's lords,
> My soul within was tuned to deeper chords."

In his poetry and in his mastery of all the forms of verse, he showed the variety of talent which was perhaps his most characteristic quality. He had a strong bent toward the kind of poetry of which Pope is the best example, and possessed much in common with the author of the *Essay on Man.* He had the same easy flow in his verse, the same finish, wit of a kindlier sort, the same wisdom without any attempt at rhymed metaphysics, and the same power of saying, in smooth and perfect lines,

> "What oft was thought,
> But ne'er so well expressed."

The metrical form which is so identified with Pope always seemed to appeal to Dr. Holmes, and, when he employed it, it lost nothing in his hands. But this was only one of many instruments which he used. He was admirable in narrative and ballad poetry, the poetry of energy and movement and incident, of which *Bunker Hill Battle* is as good an example as any. He ventured often into the dangerous domain of comic poetry, where so few have succeeded and so many failed, and he always came out successful, saved by the sanity and balance which one always feels in everything he wrote. Of a much higher order

were the poems of dry humor, where a kindly satire and homely wisdom pointed the moral, as in the *One Hoss Shay*. But he did work far finer and better than all this, excellent as this was in its kind. He was not one of

> "The bards sublime,
> Whose distant footsteps echo through the corridors of time."

Nor was he one of those who seem to have sounded all the depths and shoals of passion. I do not think he thought so himself or ever was under the least misapprehension as to the nature of his own work, and in this freedom from illusions lay one secret of his success and of the tact which never failed. I remember his saying to me in speaking of orators and writers, that once or twice in the lives of such men there came a time when they did, in the boy's phrase, "a little better than they knew how." I naturally asked if such a moment had ever come to him. He smiled, and I well recall his reply—"Yes, I think in the *Chambered Nautilus* I may have done a little 'better than I knew how.'" There can be no doubt that in that beautiful poem, which we all know by heart, there is a note of noble aspiration which is found only in the best work. But that is not the only one by any means. That aspiring note is often heard in his verse, and there are many poems by Dr. Holmes filled with the purest and tenderest sentiment. Such are the lines on the death of his classmate and friend, Professor Peirce; such is the *Iron Gate*, the tender and beautiful poem which he read at the breakfast given him on his seventieth birthday. Such, too, are his lyrics, which include much of his best work, and which have in a high degree the fervor and the concentration which the best lyric ought always to possess.

People generally link his name with a memory of wit and humor, for he had both in large measure, and the world is very grateful to any one who can make it laugh. But the sentiment and aspiration, which are of higher quality than wit and humor can ever be and which are felt oftenest in the poems that love of man or love of country inspired, as well as the perfection of the poet's workmanship, and the originality of his thought, are too often overlooked. This perfection of form and felicity of imagery never left him. In the poem on the death of Francis Parkman, written only a year before his own death, when he was well past eighty, there is neither weakness nor falling off. The sentiment

is as true and simple as ever, the flow of the verse as easy, and when he puts England's conquest of France in Canada into the single line

"The Lilies withered where the Lion trod,"

we need no critic to tell us that the old happiness of phrase and power of imagery remained undimmed to the last.

Yet when all is said of his poetry, of which he left so much fixed in our language to be prized and loved and remembered, I think it cannot be doubted that the work of Dr. Holmes, which will be most lasting is the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* and its successors.

The novel of *Elsie Venner* is a strong and interesting book. The story holds us fast, and the study of a strange and morbid state of mind has the fascination given to the snakes themselves. Such a book would have made the fame and fortune of a lesser man. But as lasting literature in the highest sense, it falls behind the *Autocrat.* There the whole man spoke. There he found full scope for his wit, and humor and mirth, his keen observation, his varied learning, his worldly wisdom, his indignation with wrong, and his tenderest sentiment. To attempt to analyze the *Autocrat* and its successors would be impossible. It is not the kind of work that lends itself to analysis or criticism. It is the study of many-sided humanity in the form of the essay rather than the novel, although the creation and development of character play in it a large part. Such books with life in them are few and rare, although many have attempted them, but when they have the great vital qualities they are not of the fashion of the day which passeth away but for all time, because they open to us the pages of the great book of human nature. Montaigne and Addison, Goldsmith and Sterne, and Charles Lamb are the best, perhaps the only ones really in this field, for the exact combination of wit and humor, of pathos and wisdom, of sense and sentiment, where the lesson of life runs close beneath the jest and the realities tread hard upon the fancies, is as essential as it is hard to find. To this small and chosen company Dr. Holmes belongs, and in it holds high place. All the qualities, all the diversities are there, and, most important of all, the perfect balance among them is there too. The style runs with the theme, always easy but never slovenly, always pure and good but never labored, like talk by the fireside, without either affec-

tation or carelessness, while over it all (and this is stronger in Dr. Holmes than in anyone else) hangs an atmosphere of friendliness which draws us nearer to the writer than any other quality. Writings such as these have all had, perhaps all require, the air of learning as evidence that to keen observation of man has been added the knowledge of many books. It is to be feared that Sterne, sham as he was for all his genius, got his learning by wholesale theft from Burton. But the learning of the others was genuine, and in no one more so than in Dr. Holmes. He had an eager love of knowledge of all kinds, whether new or old, which carried him far afield. Like Dr. Johnson he rarely read a book through from cover to cover, I think, but also like Dr. Johnson, he absorbed all there was in a book with great quickness and remarkable power of retention. He has said in print, I believe—I remember certainly his saying to me—that two of the books which he always kept by him for odd moments or the wakeful hours were Montaigne and Burton. It was a most typical choice : The Frenchman of olden time looking out on life with his keen vision and cheerful cynicism, and the melancholy Englishman with his curious and rambling learning strongly tinctured with quaint medical lore. Dr. Holmes, who loved them both, ranged over the fields that both had occupied, as well as others they had never touched.

It is in his novels, to which I have been only able barely to allude, that the critics have agreed that Dr. Holmes had least success. So far as *Elsie Venner* is concerned, I am not of this mind. But it is, I think, generally overlooked that in the *Autocrat* and its successors he has drawn and created characters which all his readers love and remember, and that he has also described in these same volumes little scenes and situations which show the best art of the novelist. Let me quote a single example, the familiar scene of the "Long Path" on Boston Common, in the *Autocrat* :

"At last I got out the question—'Will you take the long path?' 'Certainly,' said the schoolmistress, 'with much pleasure.' 'Think,' I said, 'before you answer; if you take the long path with me now, I shall interpret it that we shall part no more.' The schoolmistress stepped back with a sudden movement as if an arrow had struck her.

"One of the long granite blocks used as seats was hard by—the one you may still see close by the Gingko tree. 'Pray sit down,' I said. 'No, no,' she answered softly, 'I will walk the long path with you.'"

Surely there is a very beautiful, a very charming art in this little scene. It is as good as the death of Lefevre in *Tristram Shandy*, and has much the same qualities of tenderness and reserve of simplicity and suggestion.

I have spoken very inadequately of the writer, not at all of the man. This is not, as I have said already, the place for biography. Moreover, it is not easy for us who have known Dr. Holmes all our lives and who have lived so near to him, to write of him with the proper critical discrimination. The spell is still upon us, the charm too near. We have the personal feeling too strongly with us to be entirely dispassionate as judges or critics of the man himself.

But Dr. Holmes had one personal quality which ought not to be passed over without mention anywhere or at any time. He was a thorough American and always a patriot, always national and independent, and never colonial or subservient to foreign opinion. In the war of the rebellion no one was a stronger upholder of the national cause than he. In his earliest verse we catch constantly the flutter of the flag, and in his war poems we feel the rush and life of the great uprising which saved the nation. He was in the best sense a citizen of the world, of broad and catholic sympathies. But he was first and before that an American and a citizen of the United States, and this fact is at once proof and reason that he was able to do work which has carried delight to many people of many tongues, and which has won him a high and lasting place in the great literature of the English-speaking people.

H. C. LODGE.

II. FROUDE.

BY PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH, LL. D., D. C. L.

WHATEVER people may think of Froude as an historian, no one can resist the charm of his style. It is a feminine rather than a masculine style, and challenges no comparison with that of Tacitus, Gibbon, or even Macaulay. But in its way it is perfection. It is singular that nobody seems to have noted its source. It was formed in the school of John Henry Newman, and recalls that of the master in its ease, grace, limpid clearness, and per-

suasiveness. Even Newman's mannerisms and artifices recur. Not a little of Newman's influence was due to his style, the freshness and familiarity of which were not less attractive after the diction of the high and dry school, than was his romantic ideal of the mediæval Church after the dull orthodoxy of the Establishment.

Like most Oxford youths of talent and sensibility, especially those destined for the Church, James Anthony Froude yielded to Newman's spell and was swept into the Neo-Catholic movement. His elder brother, Hurrell Froude, a very interesting person, was one of the leading spirits of the party and wrote a High Church Life of Thomas à Becket, to which James Anthony Froude's Life of the same saint is a counterblast. James Anthony Froude was reputed to have helped Newman in the "Lives of the English Saints," but it seems that he only wrote a single life.

Declining to join his leader in the final plunge, Froude, like Mark Pattison, Clough, and other inquiring spirits whom Newman had loosened from their old moorings without anchoring them to Rome, recoiled to the opposite extreme. In "Nemesis of Faith" he controverted, under the form of a novelette, the inspiration of the Bible and revealed religion. In these Darwinian days such a work would produce little sensation. In those days of lingering orthodoxy, and coming from a clerical pen, it produced a marked sensation, not, we may suppose, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the writer, since spiritual agony of a very serious kind is not apt to vent itself in novelettes. The "Nemesis of Faith" and the pair of novelettes entitled "Shadows of the Clouds" are beautifully written, though rather lachrymose, and, taken together with Froude's later tale, "The Two Chiefs of Dunboy," and with the powers of delineating character, emotion, and action displayed in his histories, seem to show he would have been very great as a writer of fiction.

Pauca tamen suberant vestigia. We see the disciple of Newman still, not only in the charming style, but in the skilful use of dialectic artifice—Newman's enemies called it sophistry—the dexterous lubrication of stubborn principles or facts, and the process by which contradictories are made to slide smoothly into each other. Any one who is familiar with Newman's controversial writings, will recognize his school in such a passage as this:

"How far the Parliament were justified by the extremity of the case is a further question, which it is equally difficult to answer. The alternative,

as I have repeatedly said, was an all but inevitable civil war on the death of the king: and practically, when statesmen are intrusted with the fortunes of an empire, the responsibility is too heavy to allow them to consider other interests. *Salus populi suprema lex* ever has been and ever will be the substantial canon of policy with public men. I do not say that it ought to be. There are some acts of injustice which no national interest can excuse, however great in itself that interest may be, or however certain to be attained by the means proposed. Yet government, in its simplest form, is to an extent unjust; it trenches in its easiest tax on natural right and natural freedom; it trenches further and further in proportion to the emergency with which it has to deal."

Mark here by how easy a transition injustice becomes justice. In the main, however, the traces of Froude's first estate in his last estate are not direct, but oblique, and in the way of recoil. They are seen in his contemptuous hatred of ecclesiastics, in the scorn which he pours on the enthusiasm of young Oxford, in his constant repudiation of sentimentalism, and anxiety to identify himself on all occasions with the practical statesman, the cool-headed, sagacious, and not over-scrupulous man of the world.

From the influence of Newman, Froude presently passed under that of Carlyle. His new prophet was a man of splendid genius, and has probably left a lasting impress on English character. Against worship of the ballot there is much to be said for Carlyle's philosophy. But worship of force is no more a saving creed than worship of the ballot; and Carlyle, like all examples of one-sided greatness, is terribly susceptible of vicious imitation. He lapses, and leads those who follow him blindly, too often into positive inhumanity. In his magnificent Life of Frederick there are passages shocking to our moral sense. His pessimism also, though not without its use as a rebuke to the self-complacency of vulgar progress, went beyond all rational bounds.

Carlyle's pessimism took the form of a glorification of the past at the expense of the present. Froude followed suit, and has placed the golden age of social duty, economical justice, and happy relations between the government and the governed, in the Plantagenet and Tudor period, with its Statutes of Laborers, its bloody Vagrancy Laws, its swarms of vagabonds and paupers, its wholesale hangings, and boilings of criminals alive. The comment of fact on this hypothesis is the insurrection of the serfs under Wat Tyler. That the object of the Statutes of Laborers was not to arbitrate in the interest of justice between employer and employed,

but to keep down wages in the interest of the employer, is so plainly marked on the face of them, and, indeed, so frankly avowed, that nobody has ever misread them but Froude. Illusion could scarcely have survived the perusal of so well known a work as Eden on "The Poor." "Bliss," not happiness, to adopt Carlyle's distinction, was the proper name for the felicity of those times. In the Vagrancy Laws of Henry VIII., couched in language not less savage than the penalties are inhuman, there is a special pungency when we remember that their author was squandering the earnings of the people at the gambling-table, in court pageantry, or in prodigal fooleries such as the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The list of heroes of force had been pretty well exhausted by Carlyle when Froude took up Henry VIII., whose career he treats as Carlyle treated that of Frederick of Prussia or Doctor Francia of Paraguay. It is pretty apparent, when he touches on general history, that he had not much prepared himself by the study of it for dealing with a particular period. If he had, he could scarcely have failed to know what a debasement of the currency was, or taken it for a loan from the mint. Hence he misses his historical bearings. The age was that of the interregnum between the fall of the Catholic and the rise of the Protestant morality. It is the age of the Borgias and Machiavelli. The corrupt and unscrupulous politicians of the day hardly professed righteousness except for the purpose of deception, and they would scarcely have felt complimented by seeing their perfidies twisted into honesty, and their lying made to masquerade as truth. Cromwell, Henry's vicegerent as head of the church, coolly sets down in his notebook memoranda for judicial murders. "Item: the Abbot of Reading to be sent down, to be *tried* and *executed* at Reading with his complices." "Item: the Abbot of Glaston to be *tried* at Glaston, and also to be *executed* there, with his complices." The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the nobility, whom Froude cites as a moral authority equal to the Duke of Wellington, avowed with perfect frankness his readiness to use perfidy and subornation of an assassin. One diplomatist complacently instructs another as to the best way of lying. Even the bonds of natural affection were loosened in this nest of intrigue and iniquity. Norfolk helped to send his niece and his son, the sister of Lord Surrey betrayed her brother, to the scaffold. Thus

the rehabilitation of Henry VIII. and his satellites is not only a paradox, but a platitude.

Daring and startling paradox will always amuse and excite, though perhaps there is no easier method of counterfeiting genius. But, taken seriously, Froude's apologies for the crimes, brutalities, perfidies, and hypocrisies of Henry VIII. can awaken but one feeling in any man of sound understanding and unperverted heart. Henry sends his young wife, the mother of his child, the one woman whom, if love could find a place in his breast, he had loved, to the scaffold without fair trial and on evidence which no impartial judge at the time deemed or now deems conclusive, for a fault, which, if proved, only amounted to infidelity; since the hideous charge of incest with her brother seems to have been inserted to swell the indictment, like the allegation that the King, who was in perfect health, had been so grieved at the discovery of the Queen's frailty that certain harms and dangers had happened to his royal person. The day after the execution he takes another wife on whom it is certain that he had previously fixed his eyes. Upon this Froude's observation is :

"The precipitancy with which he [Henry] acted is to me a proof that he looked on matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment, and if this is thought a novel interpretation of his motives I am merely to say that I find it in the Statute-Book."

A grosser outrage against affection never was committed than the King's act, and surely a grosser insult to affection has seldom been offered than the comment.

In the Statute-Book, especially in the preambles of Acts, Froude would find wonderful things. But he should have inquired how the Parliament which made the Statute-Book was composed. He would have found that it was packed and generally controlled by the Court, though it might show a spark of independence on the question of taxation, where it had strong popular feeling behind it. It passed the most profligate of repudiation Acts; it infamously extended the law of treason; gave the King's proclamations the force of law; empowered him to dispose of the crown by will; humored him servilely in his marriages and divorces; and attainted his victims without trial or confession. It enabled a king on coming of age to rescind by letters patent all acts passed during his minority. The House of Lords was degraded

enough to rise and bow at the mention of the King's name, as people bow in church at the name of the Lord. It had been pretty well weeded of the old nobility, whom the Tudor lost no opportunity of sending to the block, in order, as Froude innocently suggests, to enforce the responsibility of rank. Not that the remnant of the old nobility showed much more independence than the upstarts. The verdicts of juries again are taken by Froude as proof of guilt, though, as Hallam says, in cases of treason the courts were little better than caverns of murderers.

In dealing with the case of Catherine of Aragon, Froude constantly assumes that the Pope had power to grant a divorce, and ought to have exercised it in order to secure the succession to the crown of England. But the Pope had no such power. Marriage, in the Roman Catholic Church, when solemnized between baptized persons and consummated, is indissoluble. The only thing within the Pope's power was to declare the marriage of Henry with his brother's widow void on the ground of affinity; and to do this he would have had to rescind the act of his predecessor, as well as cruelly to wrong Catherine and her daughter. Nor could he take a step less likely to settle the succession to the crown than he would have taken in bastardizing Mary.

The moral question is settled for any ordinary mind when it is known that bribery and coercion were shamelessly employed to obtain opinions from the universities in favor of the divorce. If any one wants more, let him read the letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn, which Froude has not thought fit to notice.

The apologist has fallen into a trap set by himself. It was believed at the time and asserted by Cardinal Pole that Mary Boleyn, the sister of Anne, had been the King's mistress. This, if true, though more disgusting, could hardly be more immoral than other parts of the case. The charge, however, stings Henry's worshipper almost to fury. He says:

"If Pole's fact is true, his conclusion from it is unanswerably just. If Henry had really debauched Anne Boleyn's sister, his demand to the Pope for his divorce, and his arguments in urging it, were of an amazing effrontery. His own and his ministers' language in parliament and in convocation—the peremptory haughtiness with which he insisted to all foreign courts on 'the justice of his cause' exhibit a hardy insolence without parallel in history. So monstrous appears his conduct that it would be in vain to attempt to understand the character of the person who could be guilty of it, or of the parliament and clergy who consented to be his instruments. Persons so

little scrupulous as, on this hypothesis, were both prince and people, could have discovered some less tortuous means of escaping from the difficulty of a wife."

Pole's fact, which, if true, by Froude's admission upsets the whole structure of rehabilitation, rests not on Pole's assertion, nor on contemporary rumor alone, but on evidence so strong that, as Mr. Pocock says, it cannot with any show of reason be disputed. It was mentioned by Henry's envoy, Knight, as one of the impediments to the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn which were to be removed by the Papal dispensation.*

Froude would have us believe that the words "*ex quocunque licito seu illicito coitu proveniente,*" are merely a piece of "verbose and voluminous phraseology"—in other words that they are common form; but he produces no parallel instance, and we may be pretty sure that if the words *ex illicito coitu* had been superfluous, they would, in view of the report known to be prevalent, have been omitted.

But besides the project of dispensation, there is, though it has escaped notice, the amended marriage law, inserted evidently with reference to the divorce, in the Act of Parliament resettling the succession after the divorce and execution of Anne Boleyn (28 Henry VIII., c. 7). In this, to the ordinary table of prohibited degrees of affinity is specially added affinity created by "carnal knowledge of a woman." There can be little doubt that Lingard is right in thinking that this was the impediment to Anne's marriage with Henry, secretly confessed by her to Cranmer, and upon which his sentence of divorce was founded. If it was not this, but merely a precontract with Lord Percy, why was the confession kept secret? Pole, in his letter to the king, forced the charge on Henry's notice, and it does not seem that Henry denied it. Once more, Froude does not know the epoch or the men with whom he is dealing.

History protests against the identification of "the people" with "the prince." Nothing can be more certain than that popular feeling was in favor of the wronged wife and adverse to the divorce. Nor had Protestantism anything to do with the business. Genuine Protestantism in Germany refused, through the mouths of its theologians, to make itself a partaker of the king's design. We

*See Paul Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," I., 65.

should never have heard of the Protestantism of Henry VIII. if the Pope had consented to his marriage with Anne Boleyn.

While Anne was lying under sentence of death, her husband, in spite of the "grievous bodily harms" which he had suffered "in his most royal person" from his anguish at her misdeeds, shocked the people by his heartless revelries. When Catherine of Aragon died, he put on gay attire and gave a court ball. These facts his panegyrist vainly seeks to hide. There have been more sanguinary tyrants than Henry VIII.; there has never been one more brutal.

When we come to the dissolution of the monasteries, we ask what became of the fund. We get no explicit answer, only vague intimations that it was melted down into cannon or otherwise spent in the public service. Yet the historian had before his eyes, in the vast estates of the Whig nobility, memorials of the fact that the spoils of the monasteries had fed the rapacity of Henry's courtiers. Even the tithes of parishes which had been appropriated by the monasteries were not restored to the parish, but treated as plunder like the monastic estates.

Yet more repulsive than the whitewashing of the tyrant is the systematic blackening, sometimes by adroit innuendo, of the characters of his victims. It is especially repulsive in the case of Sir Thomas More. To disarm our natural indignation at the foulest of judicial murders, More is painted as the most cruel of persecutors. More, like all men of his time, and most notably King Henry VIII., the author of the Six Bloody Articles, believed heresy to be a crime, wrote against it, tried to repress it, and, while he was chancellor, allowed the law to take its course. To some minor acts of personal severity he pleaded guilty. But to say that, when he came into office, "the Smithfield fires recommenced" is most unfair. Erasmus, who watched these events, asserted in proof of More's humanity that during his chancellorship not a single heretic had suffered death. The apparent exception, the execution of Baynham, occurred probably when More had fallen from power.

Froude tries to create the impression that Fisher and More had done or said something disloyal, which rendered their execution inevitable, though very sad. They had neither done nor said anything whatever, but had simply declined to declare their assent to the Acts of Succession and Supremacy, the latter of

which acknowledged an earthly sovereign as head of the church, in the teeth of principles which Henry himself had championed some years before. The suggestion that their convictions would have led them to join a papal invasion of England is preposterous. This spectre of an armed Europe preparing to invade England and crush the Reformation is constantly conjured up by Froude to justify these murders. It is the creature of his fancy. Between the two great powers France and Spain, bitter rivals as they were, there was little chance of a combination for any object, least of all perhaps for that of a religious crusade. Francis I. was at that time on good terms with Henry. Charles V., though very angry at the treatment of his kinswoman, never set on foot, nor does he seem ever to have seriously contemplated, armed intervention, which she, to her credit, deprecated. He was afterwards in alliance with Henry, and, as Emperor of Germany, was tolerating Protestantism in his own dominions. The French king was sending subsidies to the Lutherans. Had there been any real danger it could only have been increased by murders of good and saintly men, which fired with indignation the heart of the whole Catholic world, just as the atrocities of the French Terrorists helped to arm Europe against France.

There is a disagreeable artfulness in the whole of the attack on the character of More. After recounting the murder of the Protestant Archbishop Allen and his chaplains in Ireland, Froude throws in the remark that "such was the pious offering to God and Holy Church on which the sun looked down as it rose that fair summer's morning over Dublin Bay, and such were the men whose cause the Mores and the Fishers, the saintly monks of the Charter House and the holy monks of the faith believed to be the cause of the Almighty Father of the world." Fisher and More had no more to do with the murder of Archbishop Allen and his chaplains than with the murder of Abel, and were no more likely to approve one than the other. Their names are introduced merely for the purpose of creating a prejudice against them as victims of Henry VIII. This is not the duty of an historian.

All this judicial murdering of good men, and all the butchery and cruelty of which the reign was full, were necessary, according to Froude, for what? To purify and restore in its primitive and

genuine form the religion of Jesus. What would Jesus have said to the execution of Fisher and More ?

In spite of their literary merits, which are unquestionably great, the volumes comprising the reign of Henry VIII. must, as a history, be laid aside. This subject, so full of tragic and criminal interest, still waits for an historian. When he comes we wish him Froude's narrative and pictorial power combined with strict adherence to fact and a sound sense of justice.

When we have buried Henry VIII. and read the will of this great champion of the Reformation, imploring the intercession of the Virgin Mary, and providing an altar at which daily masses shall be said for his soul while the world shall endure, we leave that source of partiality and prejudice behind us, and can enjoy with comparatively little of misgiving Froude's most interesting narrative and excellent composition. In the reign of Edward VI., instead of the rule of an idolized hero, we have a domination of scoundrels, for as such Mr. Froude paints the Government of the politicians who formed the Council, though they were the chosen ministers and legatees of his model King. The social and industrial fruits of the policy of Henry VIII. do not seem, from the account of his panegyrist, to have been happy.

In the reign of Mary we have again to be somewhat on our guard against Froude's hatred of Cardinal Pole, whom he pursues with an implacable animosity which would hardly have been justified if the Cardinal had cheated him at cards. Upon Pole is cast all that is evil, and the name of the "hysterical dreamer" is dragged in on every unpleasant occasion, whether he was actually concerned or not. Pole, as those who have read Ranke are aware, was by no means the narrow fanatic that Froude paints him ; at all events, till he had been exasperated and made the bitter enemy of the Reformation by the cruel violence of Henry VIII. Ranke presents him to us as a member of the liberal circle of Contarini which sought to restore the unity of the church by reconciliation with the Protestants on very favorable terms, including the recognition of the vital doctrine of justification by faith. Pole, in a letter to Contarini, speaks of that doctrine as the foundation on which all must rest. Believing, like all the men of his time, in the necessity of church unity, he might well be transported with wrath and anguish at seeing it rent by the lover of Anne

Boleyn, and its destruction followed by the murder of his own friends and relations. Treason, with the charge of which Pole is pelted by Froude, must be defined with reference to allegiance; and the allegiance of a Churchman, according to the principles which then governed Christendom, was due to the Pope as well as to the King. Froude wishes to fix upon Pole the chief blame of the persecution under Mary, but his own pages show that popular opinion fixed it upon Bonner; and in such a case popular opinion is not likely to be wrong. The persecution was set going, as Mr. Froude himself says, by Gardiner. The chief blame after all must rest upon the Parliament which, before Pole's return to England, had re-enacted the Statute for the Burning of Heretics, and must have well known that the bishops would put the law into execution. In the one case in which Froude can show Pole personally intervening, it happens to be on the side of mercy. Pole orders the release of twenty-three men and women who had been brought up to London from Colchester to suffer for heresy. The fanatical Pope Paul IV., as Ranke says, persecuted Cardinal Pole, whom he never could endure, deprived him of his dignity of Legate, and appointed to succeed him an aged monk whose chief qualification was that he shared the prejudices of the Pontiff. Pole, then, did not sympathize with Paul IV. That he should have preferred the restoration of what he deemed the true religion to objects of worldly policy, hardly proves that he was an hysterical dreamer; a Churchman could do no less. Froude insinuates that Pole had Cranmer put to death in order to open the archbishopric for himself. But Cranmer, being under sentence for treason, and having been degraded from the priesthood and anathematized by the Pope, was civilly and ecclesiastically dead, so that his physical life could be no obstacle to Pole's entrance on the see. Even Mary seems to get somewhat less than justice from the historian. She was made what she was largely by Henry's treatment of her mother and herself. Her meeting with Cardinal Pole is one of the most brilliant of the many "magic slides" in Froude's volumes. But his exulting mockery of her yearning for offspring, and her cruel disappointment, hardly appeal to the most generous part of our nature.

Froude has also, it must be said, given way to prejudice—perhaps it would be fairer as well as kinder to say, to the influence of his creative imagination—in the case of Mary, Queen of Scots.

He has dressed her up as an incarnation of guile and falsehood. He fails to make due allowance for the situation of the poor young queen, in what was to her practically a strange land, surrounded by turbulent, savage, and intriguing nobles, bullied by fanatical preachers, and without a loyal breast to lean on, or a faithful counsellor to be her guide. That she was privy to the murder of Darnley can hardly be doubted, as she left no explanation of her conduct on the fatal night. But Darnley had behaved to her like a brute. He had forced himself into her chamber with a gang of ruffians when she was with child, torn her favorite attendant from her side, and murdered him almost before her eyes. Nor can she be much blamed if, when she found herself shut up for life, she used all her feminine arts and even tampered with conspiracy to open the prison door. She did nothing worse than was done by Elizabeth when, with her Secretaries of State, she tried to induce Sir Amyas Paulet, Mary's keeper, to relieve them of their difficulty by assassinating his prisoner. Meline, in his "Mary, Queen of Scots," seems to have convicted Froude of taking strange liberties with documents which he cites, and there are other instances of his frailty, or, perhaps, of the force of his imagination, in this respect. It was said of him, even by not unfriendly critics, that he did not understand the meaning of inverted commas. The ruthlessness of his antipathy to the Queen of Scots is shown in the execution scene, where he tells us, and with evident gusto, that as the headsman held up the head the wig fell off and showed that the enchantress was an old woman made up to look young and wore false hair. That scene, however, and, in a different way, the defeat of the Armada, are masterpieces of description.

The gifts of pictorial and narrative power, of skill in painting character, of clear, eloquent, and graceful language, Froude had to a degree which places him in the first rank of literary artists. That which he had not in so abundant a measure was the gift of truth. Happily for him, nine readers out of ten would care more for the gifts of which he had the most than for the gift of which he had the least.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

OUR EXPERIMENTS IN FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

THE tariff question, which for years has so completely overshadowed other governmental difficulties, has been so far entered upon as to make certain, that though it will yet receive great and much needed attention, its consideration will not exclude that of other economic and financial problems, the right solution of which is equally with it essential to the prosperity of our people. The result of the recent elections, instead of retarding an intelligent and comprehensive discussion of these questions, will rather tend to direct the people's attention to them and the necessity of such action being taken upon the part of the people's public servants as will take them out of the domain of political conflict and insure their settlement upon lines which accord with ordinary business principles and business methods.

Of these problems the most important in its immediate, not less than its future, effect upon every interest and industry of the country is the question of the currency, and to it, as must be evident to even the most casual observer of events, public thought is being more rapidly drawn than at any time within the past two decades. The events of the past year in the business world have demonstrated how intimate are the relations between correct and sound currency laws and all business undertakings, and that any error in principle or weakness in operation in any of our financial acts ultimately results in widespread business depression and financial disaster. Without in any wise underestimating the bad effects of unjust and inequitable revenue laws upon a people's prosperity, it must be patent to all that the harm worked by such laws is only secondary to that which results from a currency system which is either inherently weak or so incongruously con-

structed as to make its operation a continued source of anxiety, not only to those charged with such responsibility, but to all who are engaged in carrying on the business operations of the country. For more than a quarter of a century there has been as economically unsound and as absolutely inequitable a system of taxation governing the gathering of revenues in this country as was ever incorporated into the laws of any people, and yet, despite the fact that it has, upon the one hand, taken continuously from the people for governmental needs more than was required for such purpose, and, upon the other, increased the cost of living to every citizen, the native force and energy of the American people, aided by their natural resources, have enabled them in the largest measure to overcome the evil effects of that system and to accumulate an amazing amount of wealth. But while we have been thus enabled to withstand the destructive influence of such a revenue system, we have not had in even an approachable degree immunity from harm when there has been enacted as the law of the land a piece of bad financial legislation.

No better illustration of this could be had than that given to the people by the operation of the Sherman Silver Act. The thoughtful student of the financial and business conditions of the country knows that from the time that law was placed upon the statute-book until its repeal there was a steady and constantly increasing feeling of unrest in our business world. Unquestionably that feeling was intensified by the unprecedented financial depression in other countries with which we were on intimate bnsiness relations. The losses which marked the months of 1893, and affected to a greater or less degree the business conditions of 1894, were first felt in December, 1890, five months after the enactment of that law. That the climax was not then reached was due to the fact that the law had not been in operation a sufficient length of time to fully justify the fears which the business world entertained of its operation, and because the government was then in such a condition financially as enabled it to purchase a large amount of bonds, thus pouring into the money centers a sufficient amount of available money to relieve the stringency which had already taken hold upon the market and was evidencing itself in the closing of banks and the failure of commercial and other undertakings. The causes leading to the enactment of that law is in line with those resulting in the

greater number of our financial acts since the beginning of the war. There is scarcely a single act upon the statute-book affecting our currency system which was not placed there in order to meet some emergency that at the time confronted us, and which it was believed would bridge over a then present difficulty. When the greenback was created by statute no one looked upon it as more than a temporary expedient, and all believed that when the war was brought to a close and the necessity which called it into existence was at an end it would be retired. It is more than probable that if the suggestion had been made at the time of its incorporation into the currency of the country that it should be continued in use until this day, and the Secretary of the Treasury thereafter compelled by statute to reissue instead of cancelling it, even the force of its being a war measure would not have been sufficiently strong to secure an indorsement of it at the hands of Congress. At that time the great majority of the people of the country, irrespective of political affiliations, were believers in sound monetary principles. The idea that there was lodged with the General Government the power to create by its fiat something out of nothing had not yet taken hold of even a small minority. They believed in the greenback, but under protest, because they felt the necessity of giving to the government every requisite essential to the maintenance of the integrity of the nation, and acquiesced in its use because they entertained no doubt but that at a no distant day it would be redeemed and permanently retired from circulation. At that time few, if any, believed in its issue as based upon sound monetary principles, and none imagined that the time would come when it would be in part the chosen instrument of making the condition of the Treasury from day to day a matter of anxiety and a source of weakness to the country and the country's business interests.

But, unfortunately for the country, the then expedient evolved to meet an emergency fostered and quickened into life by legal-tender decisions on the part of the highest court of the land, has caused many of our people to lose sight of both the facts surrounding the birth of that currency and of the principles underlying a sound monetary system. It had at such time not been seriously suggested that the right was vested in the government, under the constitutional provision "to coin

money," of creating through governmental fiat a dollar which was neither intrinsically nor representatively worth a dollar, but now on every hand are to be found large numbers of people so led away by the outgrowth of what then seemed a source of good that they are either fiatists in the extreme, believing that the government's fiat should extend to the whole one hundred cents constituting a paper dollar, or moderate fiatists demanding that the government's fiat shall be bestowed upon the patent deficiency existing in the silver dollar only.

The currency issued under our national bank system is also the outcome of the necessities of the war. The object in mind in the creation of the national bank was not so much the furnishing to the people of a circulating medium responsive to the needs of the people under any and all circumstances, as to afford a market for bonds then issued for the purpose of raising revenue to conduct the affairs of the government. It afforded such a market and has given a perfectly sound currency, but has fallen short of supplying a volume sufficiently elastic to at all times meet the varying wants of trade and commerce. However, the national bank system, like the enactment affecting the greenback, has remained upon the statute-book materially unchanged, because the representatives of the people have been engrossed with other subjects of legislation which they have deemed of greater and more far-reaching importance. Of all the financial laws upon the statute-book which might be termed experimental in their character, the National Bank Act has proven to be the most successful and the most beneficial. This has arisen not more from the fact that the people have been afforded a uniform system of currency, which in and of itself has been promotive of commercial transactions within the Union, but through the banks themselves such banking methods have been formulated and put into use as have facilitated exchange, promoted commercial transactions, and brought into close and harmonious relation every section of the country. The people are apt to exaggerate the importance which now attaches to the note issuing power given the national banks. The right to issue currency is with the most of them only an incident instead of being the principal object of their existence, and it is an undoubted fact that many of them would willingly surrender such power. The reason for this is that under the present system of requiring a deposit of bonds as

security for circulation granted, they and the communities in which they do business are deprived of the use of a large amount of their available capital. Under a law which does not give to the banks the right to have circulation issue, even to the total percentage of the par value of the bond, to say nothing of a percentage equal to the market value, it is readily to be seen why so many banks are indifferent to the circulation feature of banking. When the law is so amended as to either do away with the bond deposit, or to grant to the banks the right to issue to the value of the securities so deposited by them, the matter of circulation will then be as important to them as is now the matter of deposits and discounts.

In the category of experimental, and to a degree unsuccessful, financial legislation, is to be classed the Bland silver legislation of 1878. It was designed to satisfy a great many people who were demanding a further issue of greenbacks in order to increase the volume of our currency, and to some extent it did so; but like every other legislative enactment not absolutely sound in principle, and thus enabled to bear every test which can be applied to it, it not only did not put an end to a demand on the part of many sections of the country for fiat money and a larger volume of circulating media, but it fostered the idea that the government ought to continually and arbitrarily increase the same, whether or no the needs of business required it. The effect of the Bland act was not to completely eradicate any evil threatened by greenbackism, but simply to substitute for the demand for a further issuance of greenbacks by the government a demand for the free coinage of all silver which should be deposited at our mints at the ratio of 16 to 1. This demand was not limited to the coinage of the product of the American mine alone, but contemplated the coinage of the product of all silver mines both home and foreign. It demanded that this be done irrespective of the action of any other nation with which we were carrying on commercial relations and in whose monetary system the free coinage of silver had no place. The force of the desire of the free-coinage advocates was augmented by the aid of the silver-mine owner who had his product to sell and who saw in such enactment the advantage not only of a sure and steady market but the certainty of a return beyond the actual value of the silver deposited by him with the United States for mintage.

The intensity of the demand grew so strong that it found expression in the House in the passage of a bill in 1890, which provided a market for a certain part of the product of the American mine, and in the Senate in the passage of an absolute free-coinage measure. The outcome of it all was the Sherman Silver Act, a compromise measure, enacted to prevent the passage of an absolute free-coinage act, wholly a temporary and experimental measure and the passage of which was influenced by politics, at least in some degree.

Of all the acts placed upon our statute-books in recent years none can compare in its effects with this act, in the injury wrought to so many of our people interested in so many walks in life. It affected the capitalist and the laborer alike, and with equal force fell upon the manufacturer, the merchant, and the agriculturist. Its course was so swift and its destruction so vast that without regard to party politics, legislators, enforced by unmistaken and unmistakable public sentiment, joined in erasing it from the statute-book. It ought to be the last experimental and political piece of financial legislation to be embodied in the laws of the land. The ruin created by it is so fresh in the minds of every one, and so readily admitted by Republican and Democrat alike, there ought to be no hesitation upon the part of the representatives of the people to formulate and enact into law some general system that will no longer make the currency conditions of the country a subject of continual discussion and constant inquiry. In the course of his report to Congress the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, stated what is evidenced by all the facts:

"The unsatisfactory condition of our currency legislation has been for many years the cause for much discussion and disquietude among the people; and although one great disturbing element has been removed there still remains such inconsistencies in the laws, and such differences between the forms and qualities of the various kinds of currency in use, that private business is sometimes obstructed, and the Treasury Department is constantly embarrassed in conducting the fiscal operations of the government."

That there should be such embarrassment is not at all strange when the fact is taken into consideration that there are now in circulation nine different kinds of currency, all except two being dependent directly or indirectly upon the credit of the United States. By one statute the Secretary of the Treasury is compelled to redeem the old legal tender

notes in coin on presentation, and another compels him to reissue them no matter how often they are redeemed. They are never actually paid and extinguished, but are so governed by the law of the land as to operate as a menace rather than as a source of strength to the country's fiscal operations.

It would seem that some plan ought to be devised whereby both the Treasury Department and the business interests of the country will not be constantly in jeopardy through such laws as the Sherman Silver Act and kindred legislation. The perplexities under existing conditions could not be more succinctly or more admirably stated than in the language of the Secretary of the Treasury, who in the report referred to says:

"While the laws have imposed upon the Treasury Department all the duties and responsibilities of a bank of issue and to a certain extent the functions of a bank of deposit, they have not conferred upon the Secretary any part of the discretionary powers usually possessed by the executive head of institutions engaged in conducting this character of financial business. He is bound by mandatory or prohibitory provisions in the statutes to do or not to do certain things, without regard to the circumstances which may exist at the time he is required to act, and thus he is allowed no opportunity to take advantage of changes in the situation favorable to the interest of the government or to protect its interest from injury when threatened by adverse events or influences. He can neither negotiate temporary loans to meet casual deficiencies nor retire and cancel notes of the government without substituting other currency for them, when the revenues are redundant or the circulation excessive, nor can be resort, except to a very limited extent, to any of the expedients which in his judgment may be absolutely necessary to prevent injurious disturbances in the financial situation."

It seems incredible that such an indictment could be presented and justified by the absolute facts against that which we term the currency system of this country. In the light of it the wonder is not that we have suffered so much financial disaster during the years of its construction, but that we have suffered so little. It is not at all surprising that each morning the first inquiry that addresses itself to the business man of the country anxious to satisfy himself as to business conditions, is, Have a thousand dollars of gold come into the Treasury, or have a thousand dollars of gold gone out of the Treasury? No one can overestimate the detrimental influence upon the country's prosperity which such uncertainty breeds. It is an uncertainty which calls a halt upon every new undertaking, and blocks every avenue of trade in which a busy people are engaged. It will continue to work injury to the

people's interest until present conditions are completely changed, and the source of the evil completely done away with. It may be delayed, and its immediate effects for harm lessened by issuing bonds and the enactment of temporary measures of relief; but until the whole currency and banking system of the country is formulated into one harmonious plan in which each part shall be absolutely sound in principle, and the embodiment of monetary science, there can be no hope of undisturbed and substantial prosperity to all classes of the American people.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D. D.

THE Salvation Army is one of the most remarkable religious organizations of modern times. It is a younger brother to the Anglo-Catholic movement of the first half of our century. The latter was born in the colleges of Oxford, the former in the slums of East London. The one is intellectual, æsthetic, and persuasive, appealing to the more refined and cultured sections of society; the other is rugged, noisy, and aggressive, laying hold of the common people and especially of the rude and uncultivated classes. They are both alike, essentially ethical and mystic. They have a common father in that practical English common-sense which easily adapts itself to its environment; and a common mother in that spirit of chivalric devotion to Christ which is ever more or less mediæval in its tendencies. The great central movement of Christianity in our century was born in Germany and continues to pour its life-giving streams of ethical, critical, and scientific influence in ever-increasing richness and fullness upon British and American life. It stretches its hands in sympathy to the Anglo-Catholics on the right and to the Salvationists on the left.

The advance of Christianity in the world is through the action and reaction of conservative and progressive forces. It is necessary that every gain should be conserved. The conservative force not only defends the gains against the old foes, but obstructs the advance of the progressive force which would go forth from its own midst in pursuit of new gains. But the progressive force goes on all the same, in part, to become in turn a new conservatism, and in part to issue in a new progressive energy. This process has continued until the greater part of Christianity is in garrison conserving positions gained in the successive epochs of church history. All along the line the well-defended fortresses are to be

seen representing the many forms of Christianity that have been developed in the Christian centuries and marking every stage of advance. The Christianity of Great Britain and America has been chiefly engaged in conserving the gains of the older movements of Protestantism, Puritanism, and Methodism. The new life of our age burst forth first in the Oxford movement, and last of all in the Salvation Army, which constitute the right and left wings of the progressive force of Christianity at the present time in Great Britain and America.

The founders of the Salvation Army were the Rev. William Booth, an ordained minister of the Methodists of the New Connection in England, and his wife Catherine [*née* Mulford]. William Booth was born in Nottingham, April 10, 1829. He was reared in the Church of England, but was converted in a Wesleyan chapel at the age of fifteen. He became a local preacher at seventeen, and at nineteen experienced the call to the ministry, and soon after became a lay preacher. His physician warned him that he was physically unfit for a ministerial career, and a Wesleyan superintendent told him that "preachers were not wanted by the connection"; and yet he persevered. He resigned his position as a volunteer lay preacher and was cut off from the Wesleyan body by the tyrannous action of his pastor. He soon after joined in the reform movement and, subsequently, with the New Connection Methodists. He was ordained and began work as an assistant minister in London, in 1854. He labored as a minister of the New Connection for seven years, but a considerable portion of his time was expended in evangelistic tours in which he had such great success that he felt called to abandon the settled pastorate and preach as an evangelist. In the mean while his wife had also become an evangelist. In 1860 she yielded to her sense of duty and the persuasions of her husband and friends, and began preaching with such success that she became fully the equal of her husband in eloquence and power.

Mr. Booth desired from the annual conference release from the pastorate in order to engage in evangelization. This was refused him, and in 1861 he felt it to be his duty to resign from the conference and engage in independent work. The husband and wife jointly began evangelistic work in the provinces, opening their campaign in Cornwall, where they had remarkable success for several years. On July 2, 1865, evangelistic services were begun

in Whitechapel, in the east of London. The Christian Revival Association was formed to carry on the work. This is regarded by some as the foundation of the Salvation Army. It seems rather to have been a preparatory movement.

The East London Mission was conducted under the oversight of a council of gentlemen. In 1870 the East London Mission was transformed into the Christian Mission, which was organized after Wesleyan methods. The experience of twelve years of evangelization in the lower *strata* of society, in the east of London, convinced the evangelists that a stronger organization was necessary. There was lack of unity and of sustained effort on the part of the assistant evangelists. The fruits of their labors were in great part lost. The permanent gain after so great an expenditure of effort seemed to be small. The helpers were continually becoming discouraged and abandoning the field. There were differences as to methods of work, as to doctrines, and as to the use of funds. This experience was exactly the same as that of other evangelistic enterprises. The time had come when all this experience in two such heroic spirits as William Booth and his helpmeet should produce that agony of effort which gave birth to the Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army was born in January, 1877, when it was agreed at the annual conference of the Christian Mission that William Booth, the general superintendent, should no longer be restricted by the system of conferences and committees, but should retain in his hands the general direction and control of the mission. At a conference with his chief assistants shortly before Christmas in the same year, the new-born child was named by Mr. Booth himself, by a happy inspiration, the Salvation Army. The military organization was a growth. At first some of the evangelists were called captains by the lower classes of the seaports and mining districts, and their assistants lieutenants. These titles were found to be more acceptable to the masses than reverend, mister, or miss. The evangelists, accustomed to the use of captain and lieutenant among themselves, easily shortened the general superintendent into General. Thus, by a natural development, the terminology of the Army spread. The last of the Christian Mission conferences was held in August, 1878, "and the military programme was adopted unanimously and with acclamation." The year of transition had been productive of great increase of

strength. The change of organization and methods increased the mission stations from 29 to 50, the officers from 31 to 88, and the converts from 4,632 to 10,762. The growth of the Army now became still more remarkable. The names of the stations were changed into corps, the places of assembly into barracks, and the training-schools into garrisons. Uniforms were adopted in November of 1878. The first flag was presented at about the same time. "The colors were designed by the General, and were intended to be emblematic of the great end in view: the blue border typified holiness, while the scarlet ground was a perpetual reminder of the central lesson of Christianity—Salvation through the blood of Jesus. A yellow star in the centre betokened the fiery baptism of the Holy Ghost. Equally striking was the motto, 'Blood and Fire!' inscribed across the star, signifying, in a word, the two great essential doctrines of the mission—the blood of Jesus and the fire of the Holy Ghost." At the close of the year 1878 the Salvation Army was thoroughly organized as an Army of the Lord, with 81 corps and 127 officers, of whom 101 had been converted at its own meetings.

The Salvation Army is a religious order of the nineteenth century. The religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church assume the vows of poverty, virginity, and obedience. The Salvation Army also has its vows. The soldiers are sworn in and are required to wear the uniform, to obey their officers, to abstain from drink, tobacco, and worldly amusements, to live in simplicity and economy, earning their livelihood and saving from their earnings for the advancement of the kingdom of God. The officers assume more serious vows. They wear the uniform of officers, abstain from jewelry and finery, and dress in accordance with the direction of headquarters. They cannot make an engagement of marriage with any one or marry without the consent of the district officer and headquarters, and their companions in marriage must also be officers able to co-operate with them in the work of the Army. They are not allowed to earn anything for themselves, but only for the Army and that with the consent of headquarters. They cannot receive presents of any kind for themselves, not even of food unless it be to meet their wants when the corps is unable to give the necessary support. The maximum sum for the support of officers in the United States is: for single men, lieutenants, $6 weekly, and captains, $7; for single women, lieutenants, $5

weekly, and captains, $6; for married men, $10 per week and $1 per week for each child under 14 years of age. The allotment in other countries depends on the cost of living. Even this sum is not guaranteed. Every officer is expected, so far as practicable, to collect his own salary in his field and

"perfectly understands that no salary or allowance is guaranteed to him, and that he will have no claim against the Salvation Army or against any one connected therewith on account of salary not received by him."

The officers are pledged to promptly carry out all orders of superior officers and to be ready to march at short notice to any place where they are directed to go, in any part of their own land, or of the world. The field officers are usually stationed in the same corps only for six months, so that they are constantly on the march. Provision is made for resignation if the officer is unable or unwilling to comply with the regulations of the Army. No one is received as an officer unless he has experienced full salvation and who cannot say that he or she is living without the commission of any known sin. It is easy to see that the organization is simple and powerful. General Booth finds as prompt obedience and as unflinching allegiance in the soldiers of the Salvation Army as the General of the Jesuits in the Society of Jesus. And for economical administration of funds it seems to the writer that the Salvation Army is pre-eminent above all other organizations.

The Salvation Army is remarkable for its employment of women in its ranks and among its highest officers. Catherine Booth had an equal share with her husband in the organization of the Army. Her daughters vie with her sons, and her daughters-in-law with her sons-in-law. For the first time in history men and women have engaged in Christian work on an equal footing and in entire harmony and freedom. The Roman Catholic Church has employed nuns and sisters of mercy for works of education and charity. The modern Anglican and Lutheran communions have organized sisterhoods and orders of deaconesses. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Methodists of America, and other denominations have recently begun to train and employ deaconesses. But none of these gives women an equal place on the platform and in the pulpit with men. In the Salvation Army a large proportion of the corps is under the command of women. The higher ranks are equally open to women.

Side by side the Commandant Ballington Booth and his attractive, eloquent, and sagacious wife govern the Salvation Army on the American continent from their headquarters in New York, as the General and Mother Booth so long commanded the Army from the headquarters in London. The eldest daughter of the General led a campaign into France and Switzerland, and succeeded in the same kind of rescue work there as in England. She was accompanied by Miss Maud Charlesworth (now Mrs. Ballington Booth), who describes the work in her interesting volume *Beneath Two Flags;* Miss Edith Marshall, now chief of the Auxiliary Battalion, and others. She rightly gained the title of "La Maréchale." No one would be surprised if she should eventually succeed to the Generalship. There is nothing in the constitution of the Army to determine whether a man or a woman should be its chief. The writer has studied the Army closely, and with sympathy in its main purpose, for the greater part of its short history, and he does not hesitate to say that, in his opinion, the Army owes its wonderful success in large part to the gifted and heroic women who have led its battalions with a self-sacrifice and consecration that remind one of the crusaders and of Apostolic times.

The Army has adhered to its original aims to save the lowest *strata* of society, and it has succeeded to a greater extent than any previous movement. Not a few of its officers and soldiers have come from the higher and some from the highest ranks. They have cast aside the prejudices of their culture and refinement of taste, they have seen that those things which offended them at first in the externals of the Army were admirably adapted for reaching the lowest circles of society. They have adopted them as rude, rough, and it may be distasteful means for the attainment of noble ends. They have followed the Apostolic precept and have become all things to all men that they might save some. But the vast majority of the soldiers and officers of the Army are men and women who have been converted at their penitent forms and have been rescued from sin and misery.

It is evident, therefore, that the Army has greatly increased the forces of the Kingdom of God in our century, and has enriched its agencies to a very large extent. For every person who has left the existing religious denominations to become officers in the Army, many have been given to the Christian churches who have

been rescued at their meetings and who have preferred work in the Church to work in the Army. It should be remembered that the tests that the Army puts upon its soldiers, and especially upon its officers, are so exacting that many good people do not feel called to undergo them. The Army exacts of its officers, and in a measure of its soldiers, very much what the Roman Catholics would call counsels of perfection. We could no more anticipate that all the converts to the Army should be enrolled in its ranks than that every Roman Catholic should unite with one of the orders of his church. The Army is essentially therefore a religious order, which aims at the rescue of men from sin and their salvation by Jesus Christ. It is not a church organization, and it will never become a church with the consent of the General or the present chief officers.

Many complain of the Army that it does not employ an ordained ministry, and that it neglects the sacraments and other historic institutions of the Church. The Army could not do any of these things without ceasing to be an Army and becoming a denomination of Christians. General Booth has more than once expressed himself as desiring the unity of Christ's Church and as deploring the divisions of Christendom. He recently said that he would have been an apostle of unity if he had not been called to evangelize the people. If the Army should ever become a denomination and claim to be a church, it would destroy itself and come at once to a halt, like many other religious movements that have preceded it.

The work of the Salvation Army can be carried on much better by lay preachers than by ordained priests or ministers. Preaching and teaching and working for the salvation of men are not now, and never have been, regarded by the Church, except in certain sectarian and provincial circles, as belonging exclusively to the work of the ordained clergy. If the officers of the Army abstain from the administration of the sacraments and from other ministrations which have ever been regarded in the Church as the exclusive functions of ordained men, they show clearly to the world that they do not claim to be a Church, or to intrude upon the functions of the Church. As the Army is at present organized and conducted, there is nothing that should prevent any Christian man or woman from sympathy with its work or from joining its Auxiliary League. Roman Catholics, Pres-

byterians, and Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Friends, Lutherans, and Reformed are all represented in that League. The Army has carefully avoided entangling itself in any controversies between Protestants and Roman Catholics, or between any of the sects and denominations of Protestantism itself.

There is, however, a difficulty in the present attitude of the Army toward the sacraments which is not satisfactory to many of its best friends. The Army does not and cannot administer the sacraments by its own officers. The Army grants its officers and soldiers perfect freedom to partake of the sacraments in the churches of their choice, whenever and wherever they desire so to do. The indifference of large numbers in the Army to the sacraments, which is due to the sad experience of persecution through which it has passed and the unfriendliness of so many of the ministry, may be overcome in the future through the influence of the large numbers of the ordained ministry of the different denominations who have united with the Auxiliary League. It is not a case of hostility to the sacraments, but rather of neglect of them, which may be overcome in the future.

The doctrines of the Salvation Army are few and simple. It holds the common teaching of the Catholic faith of Christ's church. It avoids the hard doctrines which divide Christendom into hostile camps. Yet like all other religious movements the Salvation Army has characteristic doctrines. These characteristics are set forth in striking colors and figures upon their banners. The Motto "Blood and Fire" sums up the meaning of the scarlet color and the yellow star, redemption by the blood of Christ and consecration by the fire of the Holy Spirit. The blue border represents holiness, which every Salvationist is expected to seek and to possess. The influence of Wesleyan Methodism is evident in these characteristic doctrines, and yet they assume a somewhat different form. It is an interesting fact that the doctrines of the Salvation Army have been determined by the influence of Finney's theology upon Catherine Booth. President Finney, of Oberlin College, Ohio, was a very successful evangelist in the middle of our century, but in his later years founded the Oberlin School of Theology and was tabooed by the so-called orthodox for his views of Christian perfection. His theology had little influence upon his own generation; but crossing the

ocean it entered into the mind and the experience of Catherine Booth, and through her became one of the characteristic doctrines of a worldwide organization. And yet there is an originality in the shaping of the doctrine of holiness in the Salvation Army which avoids most of the objections against the older views of Wesley, Fletcher, Finney, and others. The holiness exacted of the officers of the Salvation Army "is not sinless or absolute perfection"; is not "a deliverance from temptation" or "being delivered from mistakes in judgment" or "from bodily and mental infirmities." It is "not a state in which it becomes impossible for the sanctified person to be thenceforward advancing to still higher religious experience and attainments; but rather a state in which such progress becomes possible and certain. Full salvation means the cleansing of the heart from pride and unbelief and all other native evils, and so makes the growth in grace certain and easy." "Holiness means constant obedience to the will of God, as clearly discovered to the soul through the dictates of conscience, the teaching of the Scripture, and the guidance of the Spirit of God." It means "loving God with all the heart," and that "the soul shall love its neighbor with a love which makes its possessor devote himself and all he has to the promotion of his neighbor's highest good."

It is easy to criticise these views as betraying a very inadequate conception of the doctrine of Sin. The Army is not Calvinistic; it is not Augustinian. It takes a very practical view of sin as an existing evil and it does not trouble itself with any theory of its origin or nature.

It may be said that the Christian standard of perfection should be infinitely higher than this. It is the merit of the Salvationists that they recognize this fact. But it is worth a great deal to society and to Christianity that the Salvation Army holds up such an ideal and insists upon its attainment even by those whom it rescues from the slums—its reformed drunkards, Magdalenes, and criminals of every kind.

The doctrine of the fire of the Holy Spirit is a renewal of the doctrines of the enthusiastic Quakers of the seventeenth century, and yet it is taught with a sobriety and scriptural simplicity that command the respect of those who cannot in all respects agree with them. The author has recently been called upon to examine the doctrine of the Divine Spirit in the New Testament. After

a careful study of every passage, he is convinced that the New Testament lays great stress upon the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the church and in the Christian individual. There are few passages from which any one could infer the personality of the Divine Spirit, but his almighty influence is everywhere. It is the sense of this fact that gave birth to the phrase of the Apostles' Creed "We believe in the Holy Ghost." The old theology lost the sense of the presence in the Church and the Christian of the guiding and transforming divine Spirit. The Salvation Army and the New Theology have come to the same opinion in this regard. They both believe in the Holy Ghost. In this respect also there is a resemblance to the Anglo-Catholic movement. The Anglo-Catholics, in the same mystic spirit, realized the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, in its institutions, sacraments, and offices, and the Church became transformed to them into a temple of the Holy Ghost—the continuation of the Incarnation of the Christ. The Salvationists realized the presence of the Holy Spirit in the individual Christian, and so the life of the Christian became transformed to them into a life of holiness under the influence of the indwelling Spirit. Here as elsewhere the two movements are complementary, each bringing into new prominence a part of the whole truth, each making a contribution towards a complete Christianity in the future.

The doctrine of salvation by the blood of Christ is a very simple one. It does not involve any of the many theories of the atonement which trouble the men of our times. It is a statement in the graphic language of the New Testament, stripped in such a way of all conflicting theories that all Christians could accept it, however inadequate they might think it to be. The Salvationists realize that they have to do in the main with plain, simple, and uneducated people, and that they must feed them with the first principles of Christianity; they must adhere to the main lines of Christian life and work; and yet they have proclaimed the necessity of repentance and good works in a real, earnest, consecrated, and holy Christian life, in such a thorough-going manner that we must regard the Army as a new development rising out of Protestantism towards a higher Christianity, overcoming some of its defects and reopening several lines of connection with the ancient Catholic Church.

The Salvation Army has made a valuable contribution to

Foreign Missions. The effort to extend Christianity among the ethnic religions by modern foreign missionary societies has been connected with the establishment of the sectarian and denominational peculiarities of modern Christianity and with the social and in some measure the political theories of Western Europe. Here and there a man like the heroic Bowen in India has protested against these methods, and has adopted the manners and customs of the natives, and has lived among them as one of them, and identified himself with them to bring them to Christ. The Salvation Army is, so far as I know, the first missionary organization to adopt this method. As the Army adapted itself to the tastes and customs of the lowest ranks of European society, it found it not difficult to become East Indians and Zulus in order to save these. Like the Church of Rome it knows no distinction of race or color, but becomes all things to all men. The Army began its work in India in 1882. It was welcomed by the native population, but opposed by the English residents. They were forbidden to hold their meetings, their leaders were imprisoned, and every obstacle was thrown in their way, but the natives organized a great mass meeting in protest against their ill-treatment. The Indian *Mirror*, an influential Hindoo paper, said of them :

"If the Salvation Army can prove that Christianity is really the religion of the poor ; that it can doff lavender-colored breeches and Christy's patent helmets to put on the mendicant's ochre garb ; that it can dance, shout, and march with the ordinary proletarian poor human nature from the mill, mine, and workshop,—if the Salvation Army can prove that, it will have done enough service towards the future evangelization of India. It is, after all, the sympathy between man and man that is of the utmost value !"

The uniform of the Army was changed and adapted to the Hindoo method of dress for men and women. Their officers and soldiers lived among the natives, and in every way possible adapted themselves to them. The result of this movement is that after twelve years 14,000 soldiers are now enlisted in the Salvation Army in India, and so successful has been the work during the past year that "seventeen heathen temples were given to the officers of the Army in one month for Salvation Meetings."

The Salvation Army has made two valuable contributions towards the solution of the evils of modern society, and in this regard has exceeded in originality, courage, and zeal all other re-

ligious bodies. The first of these was the great campaign led by Mother Booth, aided by Mrs. Josephine Butler and Mrs. Bramwell Booth, in behalf of Social Purity, in 1885. Doubtless mistakes were made by Mr. Bramwell Booth, and by the energetic Mr. Stead, and by others. We cannot approve all the methods and agencies used in that great struggle. But the end was noble —the struggle was courageous. Something had to be done. There was no other organization but the Salvation Army which could have carried this rescue work to such success. The raising of the age of consent to 16 years by Act of Parliament, after repeated neglect and defeat of the measure, was a magnificent trophy for the brow of Catherine Booth.

The second great social undertaking of the Salvation Army was the "Social Scheme" of General Booth. It is a magnificent enterprise, to rescue men from the depths of degradation, educate them to profitable employments, and remove them from the overpeopled districts and countries to the colonies where their labor is needed. It has been the privilege of the author to examine into this Social Scheme and to visit its chief agencies in London and at Hadleigh. He is not competent to give an opinion upon the financial side of the problem, or to estimate the scheme in all its relations to the great social problems of our times; but there can be no doubt that both from an ethical and a religious point of view the scheme has been a surprising success. Only a man of genius with a courage which few possess could have undertaken with such unsubstantial financial support to load the Salvation Army with so great an enterprise. It is not surprising therefore that there was a check upon the unfolding of the scheme and a bitter disappointment to its friends when the greatly needed aid did not appear so promptly as was anticipated.

The work has its several stages. There is first the rescue work. The men when found are taken to the Shelters, bathed and fed, examined, classified, and lodged. They are kept in these Shelters under strict discipline and under careful inspection and religious and moral training, with the effort to reform them and make them useful members of society. They are employed in factories, called, in the Army, Elevators, from their design to elevate the moral character and the self-respect and capacity of these poor fellows who have lost their self-respect, their character, and

their energy in the disappointments and failures and sins of a hard life. Some of them are sent to the large farm at Hadleigh, where they are trained in a great variety of agricultural occupations. The effort is made to secure occupation for them at home or abroad. But it was plain at the start that large numbers would have to be sent over the sea to colonies in South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. The latest statistics of the Darkest England Scheme are nineteen Shelters—total number of shelters for the year, 2,919,916, for which the homeless paid $267,410; seven Elevators, employing 900 men in carpentering, brushmaking, firewood, baskets, mats, paper sorting, tinwork, shoemaking, matchmaking, and the like; 7,881 men passed through these factories during the year, of which 1,583 were transferred to situations; 3,217 were temporarily assisted and helped over present difficulties; 899 transferred to the farm; 1,559 were unable or unwilling to work. The farm at Hadleigh-on-Thames contains 1,500 acres. The men are trained in agriculture, joinery, and making of bricks and shoes. Twelve hundred and seventy-eight men served as colonists during the year. Of these 338 were discharged for unwillingness to work or irreformable drunkenness. The remainder were provided with situations at home or abroad. There is also a Prison Gate Brigade, with a shelter and training-home. Nine hundred and twenty ex-prisoners passed through this home during the year, of which eighty-six per cent. are doing well. The work for women has eight Rescue Homes, two Shelters, and three Metropoles, with nightly accommodation for 400, affording in all 404,389 shelters during the year. This social scheme of the Army may be easily criticised, and doubtless it has many defects, some of which would be removed if a better and surer support could be secured; but it certainly points the direction and leads the way in social reform. It does not interfere with any other efforts, and contributes an important item towards the ultimate solution of the problem.

There are many things that still remain unsaid respecting the Salvation Army and its work. The jubilee of General Booth, so recently celebrated in London, and now so generally celebrated in the United States, in the many cities and towns which he is visiting during his tour of inspection, affords a suitable occasion for reviewing the movement which he and his wife inaugurated some seventeen years ago. We have given on a previous page the statis-

tics of the Army at the close of the first year. In seventeen years it has grown into these magnificent proportions:

LATEST STATISTICS OF THE SALVATION ARMY.

	Corps.	Officers.
International Staff and Employees, including Rescue, Trade, and Social Staff		1,159
Great Britain	1,210	2,981
Canada and Newfoundland	240	635
United S ates of America	539	1,953
South America	9	41
Australia	378	1,217
New Zealand	84	288
India and Ceylon	139	435
South Africa and St. Helena	63	194
France	47	206
Switzerland	67	199
Sweden	166	627
Norway	63	220
Denmark	60	188
Holland	55	214
Germany	24	81
Belgium	11	34
Finland	11	47
Italy	5	20
Jamaica	29	49
Grand total	3,200	10,788

The literature of the Army is very extensive in religious books and tracts, in hymn books and music books. But the great literary organ of the Army is the *War Cry*, the circulation of which is regarded as wellnigh as important as holding meetings. There are 28 *War Crys*, printed in 14 different languages, whose united circulation is 51,000,000 copies a year.

No religious organization in history has enjoyed such a marvellous growth as the Salvation Army in so short a time. If we can judge the Army by its fruits, it has vindicated its rightful place and its great importance in the religious development of our century, and it commands the respect and goodwill of multitudes of Christian people.

C. A. Briggs.

CONSULAR REFORMS.

BY HENRY WHITE, EX-SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY AT LONDON.

It is beyond a doubt that the movement in favor of reform in the Consular Service has of late made noticeable strides in this country. People are at last beginning to realize that the present system of appointments and removals for political reasons is very prejudicial to our commercial interests, especially when those of other countries are in the hands of consuls whose careful training and long experience give them every advantage over ours, and at a time when competition is so keen for trade in all parts of the world.

We send out consuls, many of whom are not only ignorant of foreign languages, but often of everything which such officials should know; and in order to do this we remove others just as they are beginning to acquire the knowledge and experience indispensable to the position. The result is that the Consular Service of the United States is a very costly training-school, from which the country derives little or no benefit.

I refer to the system and not to individuals—certainly not to the efficient consuls whom I have known, especially in Great Britain. We usually send, however, men of ability and good standing to that country, where in any case their efficiency cannot be impaired by ignorance of the language.

The urgency for consular reform has of late been frequently brought to the attention of the public by a series of interesting magazine articles,* each of which was extensively, and with very

* I refer particularly to those of the Hon. Robert Adams, M. C., and of the Hon. W. F. Wharton, Assistant Secretary of State under the late administration, which appeared in this REVIEW; to the opinions of the Hon. Robert Lincoln and other well-known public men, published in the *Century* of last June; and to the Hon. A. H. Washburn's article in the August *Atlantic Monthly*.

few exceptions favorably, commented upon by newspapers of both parties throughout the country. A forcible address was also delivered on the subject to the National Board of Trade in January last by Hon. Theodore Roosevelt; and quite recently Admiral Erben, whose opportunities have been frequent of observing the sorry figure often cut by our consuls in comparison with those of other countries, has expressed himself as strongly in favor of this reform, which is advocated by the National Board of Trade and other commercial bodies. Unquestionably, however, public opinion was especially aroused and crystallized by what has been aptly described in the newspapers as the "Consular Debauch" in which the late Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Josiah Quincy, was permitted to indulge during his brief tenure of office.

Between March 4th and December 31st, 1893, 30 out of 35 consuls-general and 133 out of 183 first-class consuls and commercial agents were changed, the numbers in the British Empire alone being 7 consuls-general (the entire number), and 62 out of 88 consuls and commercial agents. In Great Britain and Ireland the consul-general and 18 consuls and commercial agents out of a total of 24 were changed, Manchester being the only first-class consulate omitted from this clean sweep.

It is impossible to suppose that such an upheaval was intended to benefit the Consular Service, or that it could have been otherwise than exceedingly detrimental to its efficiency. Nor is it a matter for surprise, when the numerous removals which have taken place this year are added to the above figures, that most people should agree with Mr. Theodore Roosevelt in the opinion that the present system is

> "undoubtedly directly responsible for immense damages to our trade and commercial relations, and costs our mercantile classes hundreds of thousands—in all probability, many millions—of dollars every year."

It is not my intention, however, to make out a "case" against the Administration, nor to raise a question as to the extent to which President Cleveland has or has not carried out in his consular appointments the views relative to public office to which he at one time gave such frequent utterance.

My object is (1) to show that the system under which it is possible for the President to dismiss consuls by the hundred, and to appoint in their stead men of whom no proof of fitness is required,

is not only prejudicial to our commercial interests, but derogatory to our dignity as a nation; (2) to give a brief account of the manner in which the efficient Consular Services of Great Britain and France are recruited; and (3) to make a few suggestions as to the system which should be adopted in the United States.

The numerous duties of a consul have been so fully set forth of late by others, that it would be superfluous for me to repeat them. Suffice it to say that the most important of them all are: (1) the increase of our national revenue by detecting frauds in invoices on which articles to be imported to the United States are entered at less than their value; and (2) the promotion of our foreign trade by obtaining and sending home such information as is likely to be of assistance to our merchants in its maintenance and development.

There is, unfortunately, no means of estimating accurately the immense annual loss incurred through failure on the part of consuls to keep our merchants promptly and accurately informed as to the condition of trade. Such information is obtainable by a consul not only from printed statistics, but more particularly by mixing freely with the leading merchants and inhabitants of his district, and becoming thereby imbued withthe local current of commercial thought. But the following quotation from Mr. Washburn will give an idea of the extent to which the national revenue may suffer:

"The aggregate amount lost to the government in this way is almost incalculable; but some idea of it may be gathered, when it is remembered that an increase of only 2½ per cent. in invoice valuations at the little industrial centre of Crefeld alone would result in an annual accession to the customs receipts of $150,000. It is beyond mere conjecture that an addition of at least 5 per cent. could be brought about and maintained at many posts by competent and trained officers."

A consul cannot attain a thorough familiarity with the value of every article exported from his district, nor be able to detect frauds in invoice valuations, nor acquire a thorough knowledge of the people among whom he lives and of their methods of business, unless he be able to speak the language of the country and live there a number of years. Nevertheless, in Mexico, Central and South America, where we are supposed, and certainly ought, to exercise a greater influence than any other power, we require of our consuls neither a prolonged residence nor a knowledge of the Spanish language.

The following incidents will help to show what is possible and has occurred under the present system.

Shortly before President Harrison went out of office a communication was made by a leading European power to the United States Legation at its capital, requesting that the new administration be asked not to appoint as consul in an important dependency of that power an American citizen who had made himself objectionable to the local authorities by alleged attempts to cheat the customs, boasts of "getting a rise out of the government," and otherwise, and who had announced that upon the assumption of the Presidency by Mr. Cleveland he would receive the appointment in question. This communication was promptly transmitted to the Department of State, and under any other system but ours the matter would have ended there.

Shortly afterwards, however, the name of the individual in question appeared in a list of new appointments as consul at the very place at which we had been given to understand that he could not be received. Telegraphic inquiries were at once made, and elicited the fact that owing to the pressure of applications for office with which the State Department was just then overwhelmed, this important request of a friendly power had been overlooked. The appointment had, of course, to be withdrawn; but I need scarcely point out the difference from an international point of view between not making it and being compelled to withdraw one actually made.

The other incident to which I refer has recently occurred in Spain. In 1890, the consular agent at Seville—sent there, be it remembered, not as a missionary, but to represent the civilization of the United States and to further our commerce—thought it his duty to bombard with Protestant tracts the procession of the Corpus Christi as it passed through the streets. The excitement caused by this singular proceeding was great, and the official in question was arrested, being thereby protected from personal violence on the part of those who witnessed and were outraged by his conduct, which was promptly brought by the Spanish Government to the attention of our Minister at Madrid, who had him removed. This was bad enough, but it is not all. The same individual has actually been sent back again to Seville in a consular capacity, and I am informed that our government is pressing for

his recognition, to which Spain naturally demurs, and had not, up to a recent period, acceded.

The efficiency of a consul cannot be otherwise than seriously impaired when there exists a strong local animosity or prejudice against him. For this reason it is a great mistake, as has been pointed out by others, to send, as we often do, naturalized citizens as consuls to countries from which they originally emanated, our native citizens being much less likely to excite such local feeling. It is even more objectionable, however, to appoint members of the Jewish religion to consular posts in countries in which public opinion is strongly anti-semitic, as the latter involves social, and to a considerable extent political, ostracism. The same man sent elsewhere might prove a very useful consul; but under the above conditions it is impossible.

Great Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries take a very different view of the importance of their Consular Services, which are organized with the utmost care.

The British service was established in its present form by Act of Parliament in 1825 (6 Geo. IV., cap. 87). Up to that time its members had been appointed, on no regular system, by the king, and were paid from his civil list. This act placed the service under the Foreign Office, and provided for its payment out of funds to be voted by Parliament. Since then it has been the subject of periodical investigation by royal commissions and Parliamentary committees, with a view to the improvement of its efficiency. The evidence taken on these occasions is published in voluminous Blue-Books, the perusal of which I recommend to those interested in the reform in our service.

Appointments are made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Candidates must be recommended by some one known to him, and their names and qualifications are thereupon entered on a list, from which he selects a name when a vacancy occurs. The candidate selected, whose age must be between twenty-five and fifty, is then required to pass an examination before the Civil Service Commissioners in the following subjects: (1) English language. (2) French language, which the candidate must be able to write and speak "correctly and fluently." (3) Language of the place at which the consular official is to reside. It must be known sufficiently to enable him to communicate directly

with the authorities and natives of the place.* (4) British mercantile law. (5) Arithmetic to a sufficient extent to enable the consul to draw up commercial tables and reports.†

Men usually enter the service as vice-consuls, and are promoted or not according to their merits, but there is no regularity or certainty about promotion, owing to the fact that a man may be very suitable for one place and not at all for another. There is a strong feeling against removing a consul from a post in which he is doing well. To such an extent is this the case that a man is sometimes promoted to be Consul-General, without a change of post. A notable instance of this is Mr. Frederic Bernal, who was transferred in 1866 from Baltimore to Havre, where he was promoted, in 1883, to be Consul-General, and still remains.

The majority of British consuls will consequently be found to have occupied very few posts. The entire career of the late Consul-General at New York, which covered a period of over forty years, was spent at San Francisco (1851–1883) and New York (1883–1894); and the late British Consul at Paris held that post from 1865 until his death recently.

There are two important branches of the service for which candidates are specially trained, and admission to which is by means of a competitive examination open to the public, and whereof due notice is given beforehand in the newspapers, namely: The Levant (Turkey, Egypt, Persia), and the China, Japan, and Siam services.

Those who are successful in these examinations are appointed "Student Interpreters." They must be unmarried and between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four.

These student interpreters must study Oriental languages either at Oxford or at a British legation or consulate in the country to which they are to be accredited. They are called on to pass further examinations at intervals, and if successful they become eligible for employment, first as assistants, and afterwards as interpreters, vice-consuls, and consuls, as vacancies occur.

* German being requisite for posts in northern Europe, Spanish or Portuguese for Spain, Portugal, Morocco, and South or Central America; Italian for places in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, the Black Sea, or the Mediterranean (except Morocco and Spain).

† This examination is not competitive, and the Secretary of State has the power, under a special clause of an Order in Council, to dispense with it in exceptional cases, such as the appointment of a high official from another branch of the public service to a quasi-political post.

The salaries of British consular officers are fixed, under the Act of Parliament of July 21, 1891 (54 and 55 Vict., cap. 36), by the Secretary of State, with the approval of the Treasury, and no increase can be made in any salary without the approval of the latter. They average about £600 ($3,000) a year, but, of course, some of the important posts are much more highly paid: the salary of the Consul-General at New York being £2,000 (nearly $10,000), with an office allowance besides of £1,660, and a staff consisting of a consul at £600, and two vice-consuls at £400 and £250, respectively; that of the Consul at San Francisco, £1,200 (nearly $6,000), with an office allowance or £600 besides.

British consular officials are retired at the age of seventy with a pension.

There is also an unpaid branch of the service, consisting chiefly of vice-consuls, appointed at places which are not of sufficient importance to merit a paid official. They are usually British merchants, but may be foreigners. They are not subjected to an examination, and are rarely promoted to a paid appointment.

Consular clerks are required to pass an examination in handwriting and orthography, arithmetic, and one foreign language (speaking, translating, and copying).

In France, the consular service has for years past been an object of the most careful solicitude to successive governments, and the subject of frequent decrees tending to improve its efficiency on the part of the Chief of State.

Many of these decrees, and of the recommendations by Ministers of Foreign Affairs on which they were based, are interesting, and they show how the French have realized, under all recent forms of government, and particularly under the present republic, the absolute necessity of keeping "politics" out of their Consular Service, and devoting its energies exclusively to the interests of French trade.

The French service consists of consuls-general, first and second class consuls, vice-consuls, and pupil consuls (*elève consuls*). From the latter, vacancies are chiefly filled. A competitive examination takes place once a year for vacancies in the list of attaché of embassy and pupil consul. In order to compete therein, a man must have previously obtained admission to the "stage"—a probationary period of not less than one nor more

than three years—during which his fitness for the career contemplated (Foreign Office, Diplomatic, or Consular) is tested. The Foreign Minister nominates these probationers (*stagiaires*), who must be under 27 years of age, and possessors of a collegiate degree in law, science, or letters, or who must have passed certain other examinations or be holders of a commission in the army or navy.

This examination for pupil consuls is in international law, and English or German, political economy or political and commercial geography. Those whose papers are sufficiently creditable in the opinion of the examiners to warrant their going any further are then subjected to a public oral examination in geography, maritime and customs law, in addition to the subjects already mentioned. The successful competitors become eligible for appointment as pupil consuls, and before being assigned to a consulate they are obliged to spend at least one year at one of the principal chambers of commerce, whence they must send the minister periodical reports on the trade of the district. After three years' service as pupil consuls they are eligible for promotion to a vice consulship. No official in the French Consular Service can be promoted until he has served at least three years in a grade.

There are, furthermore, chancellors also, whose chief functions are to keep the accounts; interpreters and dragomen for the Levant and Asiatic services, who attain those posts by means of special examinations, and may eventually become vice-consuls, with hope of subsequent promotion.

In addition to the foregoing safeguards, a Committee of Consultation on Consulates (*Comité Consultatif de Consulats*) was created by Presidential decree in 1891. It consists of twenty-five members, of whom three are Senators, five members of the Chamber of Deputies, and nine Presidents of leading chambers of commerce.

Its functions are to advise the minister on matters pertaining to the Consular Service, particularly in connection with the development of trade.

Many more details might be given of the elaborate procautions taken by the French, but this sketch will suffice to give a general idea on the subject.

Want of space prevents me from giving similar details as to the German and other services, whose efficiency is well known.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that if consular services recruited in the manner I have described are productive of satisfactory results, we should, under a system somewhat similar, have one quite as good.

There is but one way, however, to obtain such a service, namely, a determination on the part of the American people to eliminate from it politics and "the spoils system," and to establish it on the same permanent footing as our naval and military services.

I would suggest that our service should consist of consuls-general, consuls (of two or three classes), and vice-consuls, the number of officials in each grade to be determinod by Congress, and the unmeaning designation of vice or deputy consul-*general* abolished: consular agents and consuls permitted to engage in business to be only retained (not as a portion of the regular service) where absolutely necessary, and with a view to their abolition at as early a date as may be practicable.

Those seeking admission to the service after a certain date (to be fixed by Congress) should be compelled to pass an examination in (1) the English language, (2) arithmetic, (3) commercial law, and (4) one or two foreign languages, either French, German, or Spanish (with a view to our interests in South America) to be compulsory, and the examination therein rigid. Successful candidates should be appointed vice-consuls.

Each original appointment as vice-consul and each subsequent promotion must be made by the President and confirmed by the Senate, as provided by the Constitution; but the assignment to posts of those appointed should, so long as no increase of rank takes place, be left to the Secretary of State. I can see nothing in the Constitution to compel the President to assign consuls to particular posts at the moment of their appointment, and there is no more sense in his doing so than there would be in his giving a captain in the navy the command of a ship or an admiral that of a squadron at the moment of his promotion.

The only foundation upon which a reorganization such as I have suggested can be based with any hope of success, is the Consular Service as existing at the time the same goes into effect; all vacancies after a certain date to be filled under the new system, and no removals to take place after the same date, save for causes to be determined by a board of officials, and which should, in each case, be communicated to Congress.

"Equalizing" the appointments between both political parties as a preliminary to consular reform is, to my mind, impossible, as it would admit of the continuation of the present system of removals.

Nor would the proposal to raise the consular salaries be of any avail, under the present system, in improving the service. Many of our consuls are insufficiently paid, and under a reformed system many salaries should undoubtedly be increased and a number of unnecessary posts should at the same time be abolished;* but to increase the salaries before the organization of a permanent service would merely augment the competition for, and consequent acquisition of, places on the part of those unfitted to fill them.

It has been said that it will be difficult for us thus to reorganize our service owing to the fact that no Congressional legislation can modify the power given to the President by the Constitution to appoint whomsoever he pleases as consul, provided the Senate assent. But surely, if Congress was able to prescribe, as it did by the act of 1855, and has often done since, where consular representatives should be appointed and what should be their rank and salary, the people can insist, through their Senators and Representatives, upon the appointment to posts thus created of such persons only as are duly qualified to fill them, and to prescribe the manner in which such qualifications shall be proved.

Even if this cannot be done by an act of Congress, a resolution can be passed by that body requesting the President in future only to appoint those who have demonstrated their fitness by means of an examination; and, if popular feeling were sufficiently strong on the subject, it is not to be supposed that any President would venture to disregard it in his consular appointments, or, if he did, that the Senate would confirm the appointees, or that the House of Representatives would vote their salaries.

It is presumable, moreover, that the President would welcome relief from any portion of the importunity on the part of office-seekers, with which he is overwhelmed.

The whole matter is, therefore, absolutely in the hands of the people of the United States, who have only to bring pressure to bear upon Congress, without which no great reform was ever accomplished.

* Notably in British North America, where we have about 130 consular officers, including three consuls-general.

An opportunity for doing this will probably occur during the coming session, when presumably the bills introduced last year by Senator Morgan and Representative Storer, providing for the creation of a permanent service, will be again brought in. It is earnestly to be hoped that the people will insist upon their due consideration. They require certain modifications, but are correct in principle and should be passed.

The chief obstacle to the creation of a service such as I have suggested appears to me to lie in the sacrifice likely to be entailed upon the political party which, being in possession of the executive branch of the government when the proposed reform goes into effect, is compelled to leave a considerable number of the opposite party's appointees in office. It is scarcely to be doubted, however, that such party will gain far more in the way of popular approval than it will lose through inability to give away a certain number of offices to its retainers; and there need be no fear that those retaining the consular offices would become "offensive partisans." They will, on the contrary, become what most of our diplomatic and consular officials long to be—servants of their country and not of a political party.

The few who might thirst for political activity would find the Consular Service an uncommonly poor field in which to give it scope, and would soon resign; but I do not think their number would be large. Some officials would not improbably have to be removed in the manner I have suggested for incompetence or other shortcomings, and their places would be filled by others who had deserved promotion and who would be succeeded by those appointed vice-consuls under the new system.

An efficient service in which eventually only those would remain who were disposed to make it a career, would thus come gradually into existence.

It is only by a gradual process of improvement in the existing services, and not by the sudden creation of new ones through parliamentary action or otherwise, that those in Europe, to which I have referred, have attained their present degree of efficiency; and it is only by a process somewhat similar, that ours can be made to produce the results which the people of this country have a right to expect, and which, I believe, it is their intention shortly to obtain.

HENRY WHITE.

WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS.

II. THE DONKEY.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE despised donkey may be said to be a more typical representative of the horse family (*equidæ*) than the horse himself. He has far more relations living in a state of freedom than has his prouder fellow-servant.

The four known species of zebra—the Cape or Mountain Zebra, Burchells Zebra, the Quagga, and the Zebra of North-east Africa—as well as the three or four species of wild ass, are all the donkey's near kin.

There is very little doubt that the ancestor of the donkey inhabited the mountainous tableland to the south and east of Egypt. There are still herds of wild asses to be found in this region which greatly resemble the finer specimens of our domestic breed. Ancient Egypt was the scene of his apprenticeship. The appropriation of the valuable qualities of the ass to man's use was an achievement of the early inhabitants of the Nile Delta, and we have inherited the benefits derived from it. The Persians and the dwellers in Central Asia never succeeded in domesticating either the Syrian or the Thibetan wild ass. Whether the donkeys of Asia were too clever or the men not clever enough, we do not know. One possible explanation can be found in the fact that the horse was domesticated in Asia long before he was introduced into Egypt.

As far as we know, the horse, the donkey, and the zebra are descended from a common fossil ancestor. This was the four or five toed piglike beast spoken of in my last paper.

We have seen how many of the most valuable qualities of the horse are attributable to the fact that he inhabited wide plains,

and that most likely he took to life in the open because of the carnivorous enemies which lurked in the jungle of the swampy lowlands. The ass also appears to have been driven forth into the wilderness by the same agency ; but he sought safety in a different direction. He fled to the inaccessible hills; and just as the horse became structurally adapted for a habitat on the plains, so the ass became adapted for life among the mountains.

The surefootedness of the donkey and the mule, which makes these animals so valuable for traffic upon precipitous roads, is one of the qualities so acquired of which man has constantly made use. The lesson learned amid the heights and gorges of Abyssinia, long ages before the first pyramid was thought of, still yields valuable results among the passes of the Andes and the Alps.

Let us see how far an examination of the donkey's other prominent characteristics bears out the conclusion as to his upland origin.

He is smaller than the horse, and the tendency is for all mountain animals to be small. We nowhere find huge beasts, such as elephants or hippopotami, living upon the tops of ranges of hills. In the first place they would not there find nutriment enough to supply their needs, and, secondly, their bulk would not allow them to climb actively about, as every mountaineer must.

The ass is grey in color, as are nearly all the dwellers among the rocks. The coloration of animals is itself a most interesting study. Generally speaking, they are of such a hue as renders them most inconspicuous when among their natural surroundings. There are striking exceptions to this rule ; but when such exist we find that there are special circumstances to account for them. For instance, the zebra is a very conspicuous animal (when seen in broad daylight), and the reason is found in the fact that zebras are banded together in large herds. Now, a herd of animals generally guards against the approach of an enemy, not so much through each member watching for himself, as by all individuals keeping a watch on one another, and especially on the leaders. Supposing a lion or leopard were perceived by one zebra: his excited movements would at once catch the eyes of his fellows, because he is so conspicuously marked, and they would either join in protecting him or flee, as the occasion required. The sharp vision of every pair of eyes in the

herd is thus made to contribute to the safety of the whole community. I ought to add that Francis Galton has shown the curious and interesting fact that in the twilight, when the zebra approaches the dangerous drinking-places, his mixed color seems to render him much less visible than if he were all of one shade.

Most *mountain* animals go in small bands, the members of which have to scatter over a wide area to find food, and so have to exercise great personal vigilance. To such, therefore, an inconspicuous coloring is advantageous, and in the case of the ass it is an imitation of the desert rocks of his ancestral domain.

His coat is more inclined to be shaggy than that of the horse, and this also, considering the fact that he is always found wild in warm climates, suggests a habitat in elevated regions where the air is chilly. In fact the donkey owes the power he has, and of which we make use, to adapt himself either to tropic heat or to our cold winters, to his mountain origin.

The giraffes, which come from near the same region, but are not highlanders, soon perish in a northern climate, as the trustees of the Zoological Gardens of London have found to their cost.

The donkey's legs have a considerable resemblance to those of the Bighorn chamois, and other climbing animals. They are stout and sinewy, and his hoofs are more pointed than those of the horse. He has no very great speed on level ground, but he can climb almost as well as a goat when he pleases. He has excellent nerves, and never loses his head on the most perilous track. The Syrian wild ass, the one mentioned in Scripture, is a much swifter animal; but I am here speaking of the family of our domestic variety.

The eyes of the donkey are not so prominent and quick as those of the horse, nor does he so often turn his head about to sniff the air; but we all must acknowledge that in development of the ear he excels his proud relation. On the sandy or grassy plains, where the sound of footsteps is deadened, the eye is most valuable as a sentry, and the breeze blowing evenly across the open to the nostrils of the wild-horse gives warning of the approach of a foe and betrays the direction from which the danger comes. But among the high rocks and gorges the wind is gusty and fitful; and there are many projecting crags round which the prowling enemy might creep unseen to within springing distance.

Here the keenness of the auditory sense is much more important. The rolling of a loose stone down the slope, or the sound of stealthy steps among the hard rock and shingle of the mountain-side, at once warns the sentry of the grazing herd. The long, movable ears of the ass will enable him to judge the direction from which a sound comes, to a nicety; and many a time they have doubtless saved him from a violent death.

Then consider his magnificent voice! What could be better adapted to advertise his presence to his comrades on the neighboring mountains, or to challenge his rivals from afar when the echoes took up his defiant "hee-haw," until every cañon and crag within half a mile rang with its repetition! It sounds ridiculous enough in the streets, I admit, but so does the Highland bagpipe, and the yödel of the Swiss mountaineer.

Civilization has used the poor ass badly. Our ways are not his ways, and he not unfrequently reminds us of the fact. When he does express dissent, he shows himself an uncompromising bigot. Yet let us consider for a moment why he is "such an ass."

He has been taken from a bold and free life in the uplands, where the very air tastes of independence, and has been degraded to the lowest kinds of drudgery. Nonconformist as he is, he is more of a Tory than the horse. He cannot fit himself to changed circumstances. He is like the free Caribs, whom the Spaniards tried to reduce to slavery. The condition is so foreign to his nature that he cannot fall in with it without losing all the nobler traits of his old self. It crushes him. He is proverbially patient, but his patience has in it something of the dullness of despair. Yet obstinate and rebellious as he occasionally is, he cannot be considered a fool. If he appears to be one, it is because we have removed him so far out of his national sphere. If any of us were taken from our civilized surroundings, and were turned loose to get a living among the desolate rocks of Abyssinia we should, doubtless, offer as fair a laughing-stock to the wild asses and baboons.

Now, where does the donkey get his obstinacy from? It is a useful quality in the right place. On a long journey, with short allowance of food and water, a mule will keep going longer than a horse. It seems to me likely that the great difference in character between the horse and the ass is partly owing to the fact that when wild the former go in large herds and the latter in small.

The horse is much more of a society animal than the donkey, and so his manners are more suave. He, like all those who have to mix freely with their fellows, has acquired an accommodating disposition. In the case of men, we seldom find an obstinate, self-assertive individual among those who live in cities and mix freely in society. Such ass-like natures are much commoner in small communities, such as farm hamlets and villages.

Let me make haste to say that a donkey is distinctly a more intelligent animal than a horse. It is his unwillingness to fall in with the wishes of those who would influence him, and his stubbornness in sticking to his own views, to which I am alluding. In his mountain home, where pasture is scarce, only a few wild asses, as a rule, go together. Should a foe suddenly appear when they are scattered in search of the scanty herbage, each must decide on a course for himself, for it would not always be possible to follow a leader. Hence self-reliance and a disposition to act independently would be valuable in the struggle for existence.

How do we know that the donkey's ancestors lived where pasture was scarce? Because any ass will eat a thistle, showing that his mouth has become adapted for such stringy and prickly diet as is found in desert places.

The dread of entering running water is another characteristic of the species. Darwin draws attention to this as an indication that the domestic ass first came from a region where water was scarce. He also alludes to the delight all donkeys show in rolling in the dust as an instance of inherited habits. I cannot see why the mere scarcity of brooks in the desert should give the beast this instinctive aversion. Why should the wild ass dislike entering water? One would think, after a day in the parched wilderness, the cool streams would have been his delight. There evidently must have been something about the Egyptian and Abyssinian rivers which gave rise to well founded emotions of fear. What could it have been? Crocodiles? We have seen how some horses become frantic with terror at the rustle of reed-beds, because it was at such spots for countless generations some of the most deadly foes of his race lay in wait for him. Indeed, far-fetched as it may appear at first sight, I am inclined to adopt the crocodile to account for the curious and universal prejudice of the donkey.

The dogs of Egypt have the greatest horror of crocodiles, and

approach the river with the utmost caution. They even, as Herodotus remarked long ago, run along the bank as they lap. Sir Samuel Baker, in his *Rifle and Hound in Ceylon*, tells a most instructive tale of a pariah dog which refused, when hunting, to cross a narrow stream. Sir S. Baker afterwards discovered that there were alligators lurking among the reeds, and of these the dog had the most abject terror.

Crocodiles and similar reptiles were much more plentiful in the past than they are now. The rivers in all the warmer parts of the world once swarmed with them. If, as is probable, the wild asses' forefathers have inhabited a crocodile-infested country ever since the Tertiary epoch, they must have had business relations of a very unprofitable sort for the poor jackass with these voracious saurians for hundreds of thousands of years. It would be a matter for surprise, especially when we consider the eminently conservative nature of the donkey tribe, if such a connection had left no traces in the instinctive habits of the race. Most animals have an inbred horror of lizards and snakes, and this instinct is almost certainly a vestigial echo of the long and deadly struggle for supremacy between the warm and cold blooded populations which must have gone on without intermission for hundreds of thousands of generations.

There was a time when, as Tennyson says :

> "A monstrous elf of old
> Was Lord and Master of earth,'

and the mammals were miserable underlings living where they could to avoid his lordship's terrible jaws. Why, then, should not the donkey, when he approaches a stream, dread the crocodile ? He has never been told that the brooks of Europe and of the northern part of the United States contain no such vermin. Let some one of the rising generation of naturalists think this theory out; and when he has got at all the available facts, but not until then, let him write a monograph upon the subject. I, for one, will promise to read it.

LOUIS ROBINSON, M. D.

THE PROPOSED INCREASE OF THE ARMY.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE D. RUGGLES, ADJUTANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE strength of the enlisted men in the permanent military establishment, or, as it is popularly known, the Regular Army, was established by law in 1866, one year after the close of the late war, at 51,605. This was reduced in 1869 to 35,036, and again in 1870 to 30,000. From that time till 1874 it remained at the last named figure. In 1874, for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1875, Congress appropriated for only 25,000 men, and the same for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1876. Later in 1876 this number was temporarily increased 2,500 on account of Indian hostilities in the Northwest following the Custer massacre, with the proviso that it should be reduced at the cessation of such hostilities. This reduction was made in 1877. From that time till 1879 appropriations were for 25,000 men only. In 1879 the strength of the army was fixed definitely by act of Congress at 25,000 men, "unless otherwise authorized by law."

At the time of this reduction, the organization of the line was the same as it is to-day, to wit: Ten regiments of cavalry, five regiments of artillery, and twenty-five regiments of infantry. Each regiment of cavalry consisted of twelve troops or companies; each regiment of artillery of twelve batteries or companies, ten of which were foot and two mounted; each regiment of infantry of ten companies. The reduction so crippled the companies of cavalry and infantry that in order to give them proper strength for independent movements, it was found necessary to consolidate the twelve troops into ten, and the ten companies into eight, by transferring to them the enlisted men belonging to the other two, and leaving the organization of these two on paper only. Conse-

quently, a regiment of cavalry to-day consists of ten troops with two skeleton troops, and a regiment of infantry of eight companies with two skeleton companies.

This number of 25,000 is then the maximum organization at the present time, with one-sixth of the cavalry and one-fifth of the infantry regiments existing simply on paper. While to the average mind this signifies a strength of 25,000 fighting soldiers, the number that actually bear arms, the number whose duties place them in action upon the line of battle, is much less. An army is necessarily composed of combatants and non-combatants. The non-combatants are those charged with necessary military duties which, if not performed by them, would withdraw fighting men from the line of battle. To ascertain the strength of this line of battle, there must be deducted from the 25,000 maximum: the United States Military Academy detachment; the Leavenworth Military Prison guard; the Engineer Battalion, which, though always at the front and much exposed, has special duties which preclude it from place on the battle line; the Ordnance detachment; ordnance sergeants as distinguished from the Ordnance detachment; commissary sergeants, post quartermaster sergeants, recruits and recruiting parties, and existing vacancies, making a total of about 2,100 men. There must also be deducted scouts, bands, field music, litter bearers, cooks and other special duty men, the sick, prisoners, etc., making a grand total of about 5,000 men. The fighting line may then be estimated very closely at 20,000 men.

The duties of this fighting line are to guard the Indian reservations from the encroachments of the white man and to prevent Indian outbreaks; to escort government expeditions and government treasure wherever protection may be required; to patrol the frontier along the free zone of Mexico so as to prevent smuggling and intercept smugglers; to man our seacoast forts, and to guard the extensive outlying line of seacoast; to protect the mints, the postoffices, the treasury and sub-treasuries, the United States court-houses, and all other public property; and, when ordered by the President, to support the civil authorities in the suppression of violence that would interfere with the transmission of the mails or would interrupt commerce between the States; and to assist in the suppression of insurrection in the States upon the call of such States and the order of the President.

By the census of 1890 the total Indian population is reported as 249,273. Of this number there were on Indian reservations or at school 133,382. The balance consists of the five civilized nations—the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles; the six nations, the Saint Regis, and other Indians of New York; the Eastern Cherokees of North Carolina; the Indians taxed or taxable and self-sustaining; Indian prisoners of war; and Indians, 184 in number, in penitentiaries. In the vicinity of the great Indian reservations occupied by the 133,382 Indians, under charge of the Indian Office, the presence of troops is found to be necessary.

Communication throughout the land is secured by 176,461 miles of railway. These are the iron bands which unite the States and make for us a more perfect union. Communication over them is to be kept open as the Union is to be preserved.

The length of our Atlantic seacoast is 2,043 statute miles, increased by indentations to head of tidewater to 36,607 statute miles; of the Gulf coast 1,852 miles, or 1,923 miles with indentations; and of the Pacific coast, excluding Alaska, 1,810 miles.

On the Atlantic coast, directly exposed to bombardment from the sea, are thirty-two principal seaports; on the Gulf coast five, and on the Pacific coast four. To garrison this line of coast we have now fifty foot batteries, or companies, of a maximum organization of sixty-five men each.

The report of the Endicott Board on Fortifications and other Defences of 1886 presents the views of representative officers of the army and navy, and professional experts in civil life, and is the most detailed and most conservative ever made on this subject.

According to it, an armament of not less than 1299 modern breech-loading guns and mortars is necessary for a reasonable protection of twenty-seven of our principal seaports. For the defence of mine-fields, small channels, and ports of less importance, reliance is placed upon the old smooth-bore and eight-inch muzzle-loading rifle armament, which we have already available.

The modern gun, with its mounting, is not only a costly but also a delicate machine. It is an instrument of precision, of which every part must be in perfect order. It is manœuvred by steam, hydraulic, and electrical machinery. Its service requires, besides cannoneers, expert engineers and electricians.

The artillery council assembled by Major-General Schofield, now General-in-Chief, when in command of the Division of the Atlantic, decided that the new armament of New York harbor would require, in war, 6,696 cannoneers for its service, as follows:

18 breech-loading rifles, 110-ton guns, 16 men each,	288 men
2 breach-loading rifles, 80-ton guns, 16 men each,	32 men
40 breech-loading rifles, 50-ton guns, 12 men each,	480 men
20 breech-loading rifles, 27-ton guns, 8 men each,	160 men
15 breech-loading rifles, 13-ton guns, 8 men each,	120 men
144 rifled mortars, 12 inch, 8 men each.....	1,152 men
	2,232 men

One day's action would require three reliefs per gun, or a total of 6,696 men. From this as a basis of calculation, it may be estimated that, for a reasonably efficient defence in time of war of twenty-seven principal seaport posts of the United States, a minimum of 42,500 artillerymen would be required. As many more would be needed for the smooth-bore and rifled guns of the old armament. Thus, an efficient land defence of all our seaports in time of war is estimated at not less than 85,000 artillerymen. No government maintains in peace the heavy artillery force necessary in war. Foreign nations, as a rule, maintain a peace footing of not less than one-fifth of the war strength of its fortress artillery. But while this proportion may not be expected from our people, it is not too much to ask, in consideration of the long and careful training that these men require, that one-fourth of this one-fifth, or one-twentieth of the war strength be maintained in time of peace. This would furnish a minimum peace footing of 4,250 heavy artillery troops, or seven regiments of six hundred artillery, plus fifty mechanical and electrical engineers. These 4,250 men will afford meagre garrisons for existing works at only the more important of our seaports, and will be simply sufficient for the ordinary care of their costly armaments. They will furnish a mere leaven of gunners for the total force required in war. That, from motives of economy alone, there should be this reasonable number of peace-trained gunners is evident from the fact that a single round, of maximum cost, wasted, is equivalent to the pay of one soldier for five years, and that a single round, of minimum cost, wasted, is equivalent to the pay of a soldier for

about nine months. This will appear more clearly from the following table :

Gun.	Projectile.			Powder.		Total.
	Weight.	Material.	Cost.	Weight.	Cost.	Cost.
16 inch rifle.....	2,370 lbs.	Steel	$711.00	1,060 lbs.	$116.00	$827.00
12-inch rifle.....	1,000 lbs.	Steel	300.00	435 lbs.	117.45	417.45
10-inch rifle.....	575 lbs.	Steel	172.50	250 lbs.	67.50	240.00
8-inch rifle.....	300 lbs.	Steel	90.00	130 lbs.	35.10	125.10
12-inch mortar..	630 lbs.	Steel	94.50	80 lbs.	21.60	116.10

Evidently there will be poor economy in untrained gunners for war service.

Like necessity exists for the instruction of the light artillery, the cavalry, and the infantry man.

The modern manner of attack and defence, the necessity for training in the art of moving with the minimum of loss over the extensive zones of modern fire, warn us that we should not repeat the expensive lessons of 1861 and 1862 of bringing our men, without previous instruction, into actual conflict on the field of battle at a deadly sacrifice of life and wicked waste of the country's money.

For field artillery service there are now attached to each artillery regiment two light batteries, or ten in all. For the increased artillery force it is estimated that twelve light batteries will meet requirements. To the strength of the seven regiments there must be added, for light artillery service, nine hundred men.

We must recognize the fact that the artillery defence is a pressing and immediate necessity. Our British neighbors already threaten our entire seacoast, immediately at our doors, from Halifax on the north ; from Bermuda on the south, in whose capacious harbor the entire British navy can find rendezvous ; from the Bahamas ; along our Gulf coast, from the British West Indian stations ; on the Pacific, from Esquimault in British Columbia. We are thus surrounded by a cordon of British posts from which within forty-eight hours a British enemy can be launched upon our shores. We must appreciate the fact that while during the Revolutionary war armies from Europe were placed upon our soil after six weeks' passage, the transit of the

Atlantic can now be accomplished in less than six days. We can no longer rest in the assurance that because we outnumber and live at peace with our Canadian and Mexican neighbors, and are separated by great stretches of water from other nations, we may fear no harm. Our people in the interior must no longer dream that, because they are distant from the seacoast, an attack upon our seaports cannot affect them. They should realize that every dollar of property destroyed by the bombardment of any one of our maritime cities, every dollar looted from our banks or our sub-treasuries there, is to be reflected by a corresponding loss in their own local banks and in their individual pockets. And, independently of the disgrace which would come to us as a nation by the successful bombardment by an enemy of any one of our seacoast cities, the cost in money and the disaster which would thus be effected in a few days would far exceed the expense of proper defence for years.

The General-in-Chief, Major-General Schofield, in his report to the Secretary of War, has set forth his views in these words:

"It seems clear that the effective strength of the army should now be considerably increased. Yet this can be done at a very small comparative increase in cost. The present regimental organizations need not be largely increased. Two additional regiments of artillery for the necessary seacoast defence; two additional regiments of cavalry to patrol the long lines of railroad under government protection; and the present twenty-five regiments of infantry, converted into three battalion organizations, would, it is believed, be a just, conservative estimate of what is now actually needed. For this the existing number of commissioned officers is nearly sufficient. But a considerable permanent increase in the enlisted strength of the army should be made, and a still further increase authorized to be made by the President when, in his judgment, an emergency requiring it may reasonably be foreseen."

The enlisted force thus outlined by the General would be as follows:

Heavy artillery	4,250
Light artillery, 12 batteries, 75 men each	900
Twelve regiments of cavalry	8,820
Twenty-five regiments of infantry, three battalions each, with strength of 80 men to the company	24,625
Staff departments, as now organized	1,124
	39,719

or, in round numbers, 40,000 men.

Of this force, two troops in each regiment of cavalry may be skeletonized as at present, and the third battalion in each regiment of infantry may not be filled till required. The strength of these skeletonized troops of cavalry is 1,560, and of the third

battalions of the twenty-five regiments, 8,000 men, making a total of 9,560. While these should be provided for in the organization, the law may prescribe that they shall not be called out save by order of the President in case of emergency. Deducting this number of 9,560 from the round total of 40,000 men, the remainder, 30,440 men, is the number now actually needed.

It thus appears that 5,500 men should be immediately added to the present enlisted force of 25,000, which would bring it to the standard of 30,500, or 500 in excess of that at which, after reduction, it was established twenty-four years ago. These men would be combatants. The cost of additional men is moderate. The cost of a private soldier for pay, subsistence, and clothing is $272 per year.

For this increased force there will be required an inconsiderable number of additional officers to replace those who were discharged as supernumeraries in the reduction of 1870. They can be furnished by the promotion of faithful officers of long service who have grown gray in the lower grades, and by filling the few vacancies at the foot of the list from graduates of the Military Academy, by promotion of worthy men from the ranks, or by appointments from civil life.

GEO. D. RUGGLES.

HOW THE CZAR'S DEATH AFFECTS EUROPE.

BY SERGIUS STEPNIAK.

THE decree of fate is sealed. The Czar is dead. A new leaf is turned in the history of Russia and a living enigma stands before the world in the person of his successor, a young man, almost a boy, who suddenly appears upon the historical scene as the autocratic ruler of a nation of a hundred and ten millions of souls and the absolute master of an army of four million combatants. The fatal illness of the Czar, which had been undermining his herculean constitution for several years, was kept so secret by his immediate surrounding, who must have known it, that the world outside had not a shadow of suspicion.

None of the crowned heads or prominent statesmen of our time gave such pledge of long life as Alexander III., and the question of succession seemed so distant that the personality of his heir did not excite the people's curiosity to any extent.

All the heirs to great crowns are as a rule more or less blanks. So it was with the late Czar, and with Alexander II. when he was heir-apparent, and with the present German Emperor. But about the new Czar even the scantiest hints are wanting.

The Russian army and officials and the millions of people in towns and villages have been summoned by the toll of the church bells to their places of worship, there to take the solemn oath of allegiance to the new Czar, promising to blindly, implicitly and unreasoningly obey every order of his, regardless of their own feelings, natural affections or interests. And yet not a single one of them has any idea of the man, or rather the boy, into whose hands they put their destinies, and they will not ask from him any pledge or promise in return.

Nobody can tell what the new powerful actor in the world's history has in store for us. But we cannot keep our minds in a

state of blank expectancy. We must fix upon something, be it conclusion or conjecture, hope or surmise. And in order to get some foundation for either, we must proceed to discover those elements of the problem which are known, in order to limit and circumscribe those which are unknown.

When the news of the mortal illness of the Czar came upon the unprepared world like a thunderbolt from a serene sky, the whole European press rang with expressions of sympathy and regret, such as have rarely been heard at the death-bed of the great benefactors of humanity. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.* But there are dead men about whom it is impossible to keep silent. Now, since one must speak, one must tell the truth, and the truth about Alexander III. is that as a ruler he was not a benefactor of his country.

With his many private virtues and unmistakably good intentions he never showed any of the qualities of a statesman, which made some of his predecessors great and glorious, though their lives and conduct were certainly most objectionable. During the thirteen years of his reign he used his enormous power for the sole object of obstructing in every possible way the natural progress of the nation. This is what impartial history will tell about him and this is what every unprejudiced man of our time will admit.

Alexander III. became popular in Europe since he was declared to be the peacemaker of the nations. And now people ask themselves with anxiety whether his successor will follow in the same line, or, perhaps, will rush headlong into some foreign war, in order to distract people's attention from domestic affairs.

Apprehensions of that kind, we can say it quite confidently, are perfectly groundless.

It is an unmitigated pleasure to render justice to an enemy whom one has no longer to fight. In his foreign policy the late Czar was as fortunate and reasonable as he was ill advised, unlucky, and blamable in his domestic *régime.* True, in his relations to Bulgaria, where it was necessary for him to depart from the autocratic routine and strike a new line of action, he committed no end of blunders, wantonly alienating the sympathies of a young and promising nation whose enthusiastic loyalty he could have kept so easily. But even in Bulgarian affairs he did not allow his personal feelings to lead him into open hostilities. Domesticated and retiring as he was, he had no desire to bring himself

into public notice, to shine, to be talked about, to play a prominent part on the world's scene, like his grandfather Nicholas, and Alexander I., whose romantic ambition cost Russia rivers of blood. His ideal was the stubborn preservation of the *status quo*. This made his reign one of the darkest in the annals of our country, but it was just what was needed from him in foreign politics. He naturally became a staunch partisan of peace, war offering no temptations to him. We must be grateful to a Czar even for so little. But we must not forget that in following the dictates of common humanity he was at the same time acting in conformity with his personal and dynastical interests, which would have been endangered by any serious war.

There is one fundamental fact which must be taken into account by those who wish to form a clear idea of the Russian situation. It is that within the last thirty years Russia has made an enormous stride in advance, notwithstanding the stagnant immobility of her political institutions. She has become quite a new country. The economic conditions which modern sociology declares to be the keynote of national life have changed since the emancipation of the serfs, assuming gradually the European type. But more striking still has been her intellectual growth. The bulk of the Russian educated class is entirely European in their culture; and for them autocracy is now as much an obsolete, absurd institution as for the intelligent foreign observers who look upon Russian things from outside. Hence the deep rooted antagonism between the government and all the educated classes in the country, antagonism which found its most glaring manifestation in the so-called nihilism, but is much broader than may be judged by this extreme manifestation of discontent. For one man who joins the revolution there are thousands of men who are secretly in sympathy with the efforts to have done with the present *régime*, and to obtain for their country freedom and representative government, which would make the Russians masters of their own destinies. And behind them there are hundreds of thousands and millions of people, who, not having logic enough to fully adhere to a constitutional programme in the European sense, are dissatisfied with the present *régime*, and want changes in the constitutional line.

We are just in receipt of a very interesting document from Russia—a project of a constitution, which had been circulating

in St. Petersburg for some time before anything was known of the Czar's serious condition. It is from the pen of a man standing high in the legal profession, and it testifies to careful study and thought. But it is not the project itself that interests us, so much as the introductory remarks which the author prefixes to it. He says:

"Two questions are now before the Russian people: (1) Is a constitution *necessary* for Russia? (2) Is a constitution *possible* in Russia? The first of these questions is a question only in form; in fact, it has been already solved in the mind of the Czar, whose daily experience reminds him of the necessity of a constitutional government for the regular course of state administration. It is solved in the minds of an overwhelming majority of statesmen in power, and only the inveterate custom of bureaucratic insincerity seals their lips. It is solved in the minds of Russian society and all its representatives, the press, the *zemstvo*, and town deputies with only insignificant exceptions. It is solved even in the minds of the uneducated classes of the masses, because the discontent with the existing arbitrary rule, which pays no attention to law, is universal, and the thirst for freedom and justice is growing. And finally it is no longer a question for the revolutionists, who, in times past, denied the importance of constitutional government to the welfare of the people.

"True, different classes of our society represent that constitution to themselves differently, but this touches already on the second question—that of the possibility of a constitution for Russia, because at a particular time in a country only one constitution is possible, namely, that which answers to its social and political peculiarities. Very, very soon a constitution for Russia will be universally discussed, because every one is already thinking of it. The time will come when the stones will cry out: Prince Meschersxy* will propose a constitution of his own make, Witte and Yermoloff† of theirs, Pobydonostseff of his."

Autocracy has outlived its age, and its overthrow is a question of days, the banner of democratic freedom rallying nowadays all that is progressive and truly patriotic in Russia. The great difficulties and dangers of the struggle, the enormity of the distances and scarcity of population, which stand as almost insuperable obstacles to a concerted action, while the government, having at its command railroads, telegraphy, and all the resources of modern industry, has the advantage of tremendous concentration of its forces; the barbarous punishments, inflicted upon all who dare to raise their voices against the present form of government—all this may, and does, keep down in a latent state the smouldering discontent, forcing upon the people

* The editor of the reactionary paper *Grazhdanin*, which advocates privileges for the nobility.

† Ministers of Finance and Agriculture, respectively, who are supposed to represent Liberalism in the present ministry, but who are strong supporters of protection.

the habits of hypocritical reticence, which is the greater scourge of tyranny. Still that discontent is there, constituting an enormous hidden force, which is more dangerous to the autocracy than all the bombs and all the palace or street insurrections.

It is a mistake to suppose that autocracy is maintained by brute force alone. Brute force is of no avail without the intellectual force to direct it or utilize it in one way or another. The autocracy is maintained by the universal hypocrisy and lies of the educated classes, their timidity and mutual diffidence. If all those who wish for a change of the system of government, would all of a sudden get the courage to frankly say so, autocracy could not stand one month.

Now a war is just that powerful engine which operates such a transformation. No people can preserve a timid reticence in time of war, when the destinies of the country and the lives of those most dear to them are at stake. No police can then be strong enough to make the people silent. They will speak out their mind, and in so doing they will bring to light the existence of that common bond of ideas and aspiration which emboldens them and urges to more energetic demonstration leading to decisive steps.

Those who were in St. Petersburg at the time of the last Turkish war, when the news of the reiterated disasters under Plevna came like thunderstrokes upon the public, remember that the city seemed on the eve of a revolution. In the streets, at the public places and gatherings, people were abusing the government in a way unheard of in Russia, and the police were nowhere, pretending not to hear and daring not to further provoke the people by interference.

In the present conditions of the country, moral, economical, financial, a war would be infinitely more dangerous. With her huge population and universal conscription, which has been in force since 1871, Russia might be able to put into the field as many soldiers as Germany, Austria, and Italy put together. But the finances of the state would not admit of anything like an armament on such a gigantic scale. The Russian Czars were wise enough to be satisfied with keeping the armament at the same high level as the strongest of their western neighbors—Germany. We may fairly hope that on her own soil, for defensive purposes, Russia would be able to put into the field—somewhat slowly, we fear—a force equal to that of the Teutonic Empire. But

the finances of the state will not allow her to muster one-fourth of that force for a war of invasion, which is much more expensive and which alone can trouble the imagination of foreign politicians. The last Turkish war can serve as a good test of the real force of the Russian Empire. Whilst in the war of 1870–71 Germany hurled upon France over two-thirds of its nominal forces, Russia in 1877 could send against the Turks only about 300,000 combatants; and the effort exhausted her finances so completely that she was compelled to stop midway without accomplishing her historical task. Since that time things have not improved, but have gone from bad to worse; Russian finances and credit being equally shattered. On the eve of the Turkish war, when her credit was naturally at a low ebb, the Government of Russia was able to obtain a loan of eighty-seven and one-third million roubles at the premium of eight and three-tenths per cent. Since 1890, notwithstanding the glamour of Vyshnegradsky's schemes and the enthusiasm of her French allies, the Russian Government had to pay a premium of about 20 per cent. (19½)—a fine upon its poverty which is exceeded only by that imposed by the financiers upon the insolvent Turkey. And even at that price Alexander III. could not get the money he wanted. The loan of last autumn has not been covered yet and is not likely to be, although the French subscribed to it eight times over. The great famine of 1891, the result of many years of misgovernment, was a blow to the Russian finances as well as to the prosperity of the people.

Is it possible that in such circumstances the new Czar can think of embarking upon a war? No certainly, unless he loses his mind. And, even if he does, there is the whole of his family, his ministers, and court to prevent his committing such madness. It is a question of life and death for all of them; because any arduous, not to say unsuccessful, war, unless it be a defensive one, will mean the collapse of the system by which they live and thrive. Russia must stick to peaceful policy, whatever the personal inclination of the Czar. Besides, there is not the slightest reason to suppose him to be otherwise than peacefully inclined.

The danger of a European war does not lie with Russia, but with Germany, whose Emperor, both by his personal inclination and through considerations of interior policy, may give the signal for a frightful butchery. Will the check which is laid upon him by

Russia's alliance with France be removed or not? That is the question of the moment, which could hardly be answered definitely, even by the most intimate friend of the former Czarevitch. It depends to a great extent upon the personal inclinations of the new autocrat. And autocrats are changeful in their moods, being subject to so many underhand influences, namable and unnamable, court intrigues and whims. We can only make conjectures.

The French party is decidedly predominant at the St. Petersburg Court, the German party being hardly represented at all since the Grand Duke Vladimir has been converted to the French side. Some few years ago he was the main prop of the German party, his wife having been on one memorable occasion ordered to leave the capital for being too confidential in her communications to Prince Bismarck.

The Czarina is also entirely on the French side, and so is the Minister of Finance, Mr. Witte, who is said to be the coming man, and Professor Bunge, the unswerving partisan of peace, whom Alexander III. recommended to his successor as his special adviser. For some time to come the young Czar will surely be led by his advices, dazzled as he must be by the sudden accession to power. But how long this influence will last, and what will be those that shall succeed it, nobody can tell. It is all a game of chance.

Is it not clear, one is naturally led to ask, that it is unsafe to build upon the personalities of rulers? Would it not be much wiser for all the friends of peace and progress to put more of their trust upon the great democratic and liberal Russia, which alone can fulfil their expectations and which, let us hope, will fulfil them in the not very distant future.

S. STEPNIAK.

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS.

I.—A REPUBLICAN VIEW.

BY REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH W. BABCOCK, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

HISTORY shows that nations are slow in making great changes which come from the steady growth of public sentiment through education and experience. In our own government within the past two years there have been recorded two of the most wonderful political revolutions that have ever occurred.

In the election of 1892 the Democrats secured what they had been seeking for thirty years. They had persuaded the people to believe what they said, and had made them willing to trust the Democratic party with full power, and on the 4th day of March, 1893, the Executive and both branches of Congress passed into their control. Yet in twenty months' time thereafter we see the people everywhere uprising to reinstate the Republicans in both Houses of Congress and in nearly every other place of public trust as to which suffrage has an opportunity to assert its power. The causes which led to and effected this accomplishment are matters of speculation. They appear to me to be as follows.

The Democrats came into power as a heterogeneous organization. To the "Solid South" as well as to the great Northwest, they promised free silver, while in the East they urged a single gold standard, pledging themselves, in the matter of currency, to repeal the ten per cent. tax on State banks.

Their platform, adopted at Chicago, was interpreted to mean free trade for the importers and protection for the manufacturers. To those most directly interested they promised the repeal of all internal revenue laws, as being iniquitous and unjust. Through the press and on the platform they promised better

markets for the farmer, and that the goods which he must purchase should be cheaper. To the laboring people of the country they proclaimed better times by reason of steady employment, without reduction of wages, and with lower prices for all things necessary. To the soldiers they promised equitable protection and better treatment in the dispensation of the Federal patronage. In the expense of conducting the affairs of the National Government they promised retrenchment and reform.

Their failure to abide by any of the pledges offered, and their inability to perform any of the promises so freely made, must suggest a most reasonable answer to the question as to why the political revolution has occurred, culminating in their overthrow. With the whole government resting in their grasp, the President did not convene Congress, as he could have done, for the purpose of initiating the reforms which his party claimed were necessary to the prosperity of the nation. Two months after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, distrust and the threat of financial disaster to be omnipresent, yet he and his advisers paid no heed to the generally expected avalanche which it seemed would sweep business from the land, and not until August, six months after the inauguration, was any effort made to stay the tide that had already set in strongly against the Democratic party. Instead of convening Congress for the purpose of meeting the emergency then existing, the President, in his proclamation, pointed to the purchase and coinage of silver as the great and only difficulty which had retarded business and seemed to threaten further danger. With the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, the Democrats were content to adjourn and go home, which they did, leaving the country in a much worse state than that in which they had found it sixty days earlier, when the special session met.

When the regular session convened in December, the President's annual message was so indefinite where it touched upon the causes of the great financial depression and industrial prostration throughout the country, that few had hope of any substantial relief at the hands of the party in power. In Mr. Cleveland's message the McKinley bill was designated as a partial cause of the condition, and to this the Democratic Congress slowly and sluggishly gave attention.

From December, 1893, until July 27, 1894, the Democrats attempted by party trading and dickering to satisfy the various

elements which they in part represented in the House and Senate. Local interests, except those of the South, were not kept in sight, while trusts and combines overshadowed all party and popular interests, and the tariff bill finally enacted was a protective measure without protection and a revenue measure without revenue. It went into effect at once, and from the time of its passage until the close of the session, business, instead of improving, became steadily worse, so that on the day of election, November 6, the Treasury of the United States was in a less hopeful condition for want of revenue than it had been at any previous time during the twenty months of Mr. Cleveland's second term. Then they went further, and promised that if continued in power they would make still greater reductions in the duties levied until a free-trade basis should be reached, and this threat of the party leaders augmented the terrible uncertainty which had prevailed, and confirmed and extended the demoralization of our business and manufacturing interests.

Reviewing from a Republican standpoint the history of this legislation as it was presented during the campaign, the people were given to see the weak and unsound places in the policy of the Democratic party. Having promised free silver for the South and West, they had failed to favor the people of those great sections in any degree, had killed a free-coinage act, and had done little to strengthen the gold standard measure for which the people of the East had clamored. On the currency question, the promise so solemnly made to repeal the ten per cent. tax on State banks proved to be one of the greatest farces of the new administration, the bill for that purpose failing when the House had more than eighty majority pledged to its passage.

The internal revenue tax, which had so often been stigmatized as a war measure, unjust in all its relations, and in no wise suited to our Government in days of peace and prosperity, instead of being repealed was added to by the Democrats, who increased the tax on whiskey, thereby adding many millions to the coffers of the whiskey trust; and the income tax, patterned upon the English notion of supporting free trade at the expense of local taxation, was made a part of the great tariff law which is now upon our statute-books. The American people always demand equity in taxation, and will never indorse any law by which the burdens are not justly distributed.

On the question of money, Democratic apologists rose suddenly to show that the Republican party had robbed the Government of its surplus and bequeathed a bankrupt Treasury to the Democrats; but it has been clearly shown and proven, and the people seem to know, that Mr. Cleveland has simply failed to collect revenue sufficient to pay the ordinary expenses of the Government, the Treasury now being short more than one hundred and thirty millions in excess of receipts. The balance of trade, always a bulwark of Republican strength and national credit in the past, soon turned against us.

The promise of care and equity made to pensioners and old soldiers by the Democratic party led them to believe that under the new order of things that party would deal justly by them; but in the twenty months of Mr. Cleveland's administration many thousands of them were dropped from the rolls or their pensions suspended, whereby a total reduction of twenty-nine millions was made in the pension appropriation bill in one year.

In our dealings with foreign nations no other such occurrence as the Hawaiian incident is found on record. The people were thoroughly outraged by the action of the President and Secretary of State in attempting to force the Republic of Hawaii into the most dishonorable position any weak nation of the earth had ever known

A further incident in the Democratic campaign just closed is worthy of notice. The single-tax theory of Henry George, as advocated by the Honorable Thomas Johnson, of Ohio, was made a leading feature, as shown by the Democratic literature with which the country was flooded, and was put forth as one of the reasons why the Democratic party should be retained in power. This was something which no political party or any considerable number of people in the United States had ever hoped or wished for.

In this brief summary may be found the complaints which the people have investigated for themselves, and upon which they have acted in their might. Democratic promises and professions were trusted and believed in, but Democratic methods and practices proved stronger and more convincing. The people based their judgment of the party in power upon its acts and their results, rather than upon its past professions and pretenses; and after a campaign of education extending over a period of nearly

one year they went to the polls thoroughly conversant with the situation, and voted to restore to power the Republican party, which they knew had stood for good money, for protection, reciprocity, American opportunities, and American prosperity.

J. W. Babcock.

II.—A DEMOCRATIC VIEW.

BY SENATOR CHARLES J. FAULKNER, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

After a full discussion and the most deliberate consideration, the American people in 1890, and again in 1892, by an overwhelming expression of popular sentiment, condemned the extravagance of McKinleyism, and approved the declaration of principles announced by the Democratic convention at Chicago, which embraced, as its most essential feature, the tenet that the power of taxation with which the Government was clothed, was limited to the raising of revenue to meet the necessary and economical expenditures of the Government, and for no other purpose. This declaration is not, as some have supposed in their enthusiasm, an enunciation of the theory of free trade, nor was it so understood by the country.

We were then confronted with an economic system that had grown and flourished for over twenty-five years, whose grasping beneficiaries at each period of its revision had increased the burden, and demanded additional onerous exactions, of the people, not with a view of meeting governmental wants or administrative necessities, but with the purpose of increasing their own profits and accumulations.

This policy culminated in what is known as McKinleyism. The issue passed upon was therefore clearly understood by the American people, and the results of the election of 1894 have not reversed their verdict.

The causes which have led to what is supposed by some to be a change of sentiment on the part of the electors of this country, will, by a closer examination, be found to rest upon a foundation other than an approval of a prohibitory tariff. The correctness of this position is fully sustained by the course of the

leaders of the Republican party during the present campaign. But one of its prominent statesmen has maintained the policy of McKinleyism, while all others have been careful to avoid committing themselves to its principles, being willing to submit the appeal made to the country, on the details of the existing law as passed by a Democratic Congress. No Republican leader, except Mr. McKinley, has formulated a policy upon this subject by which his party should be guided in the Fifty-fourth Congress; but with a deliberate purpose to exclude the consideration of any change in existing law, it has been boldly proclaimed that the interest of the country required that tariff agitation should cease. This, we have a right to assume, is an acquiescence by the Republican leaders in the policy announced and embodied in the Revenue Act of 1894—or at least an admission that it is to have a fair trial.

The prominent causes which have influenced the North and West to send a largely increased Republican representation to the House, and has enabled the Republican party to make such inroads into the Democratic party of the South, must be national in their character, not sectional, as the effect has embraced the whole country. They may be classified under two general heads.

First: The financial and industrial condition of the country, when Mr. Harrison turned over the administration of the Government, in March, 1893, to Mr. Cleveland.

Second: The continuation of that financial and industrial condition during the present year; the dissatisfaction, impatience, and want of confidence on the part of the Democratic electors, as to the ability, statesmanship, and integrity of Democratic leaders in carrying out the pledges and policies of the Democratic party.

When Mr. Harrison surrendered the administration of the Government to his Democratic successor, he at the same time turned over to him a bankrupt Treasury. To such an extent is this true, that his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Foster, had in February, 1893, issued a written order, directing that the plates be prepared for the printing of bonds, that through their negotiation the meagre balance in the Treasury might be enlarged. From June, 1892, until March, 1893, every means had been employed to conceal the condition of the Treasury; generally, by delaying and postponing the payment of requisitions made upon

it. That the monthly statements of the Treasury Department might show a balance of available assets, fifty-four million dollars of a trust fund held for the redemption of National Bank notes, thirty millions of seigniorage from the coinage of silver bullion, and twenty-four million dollars of subsidiary coin were treated in the monthly statements by the Treasury Department as available assets for the discharge of public obligations. The Sherman silver-purchasing law, "a mere makeshift" to harmonize Republican differences, with other causes, had shaken the confidence of investors to such an extent that the excess of gold exports over gold imports during Mr. Harrison's administration exceeded the sum of one hundred and fifty-seven millions of dollars. The reckless extravagance of the Fifty-first Congress, and the general but rapid reduction of the public revenues under the prohibiting provisions of the McKinley bill, brought this great and wealthy government face to face with national bankruptcy, and laid the foundation for the panic which broke upon the country in its acute form almost immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland. Confidence, not only among the financiers and business portion of the community, but, like a widening circle, among all classes, was shattered. A monetary stringency marked a period of the most absolute business depression. Securities shrank from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent., the value of the products of all the great industries declined. Industrial stagnation, with its attending evils, made labor cry out for bread. Such was the legacy bequeathed to the Democratic party on the threshold of its administration of the government. A treasury depleted to the point of insolvency, business disorganized, labor unemployed: all resulting from causes for which the Democratic party was in no way responsible, and which it had enjoyed no opportunity to remedy.

To restore the confidence which had been lost through this financial depression and industrial paralysis, that was felt in every hamlet as well as in the busy marts of trade, and to put again in operation the wheels of activity, both time and affirmative legislation were required.

A candid and impartial observer of current events must admit that this condition of affairs continuing from the summer of 1893 the tariff bill was passed too late to admit of its beneficial effect being felt and observed by the country before the elec-

tion. For these reasons it is not unfair nor unreasonable to claim that, among the most prominent causes which controlled the result at the recent election, were the financial and industrial condition of the country, the result of influences which had their origin during the administration of the government by the Republican party.

It may be unprofitable, it certainly is not a pleasant task, to regard the causes which have affected the Democratic party in the minds of the American electors, as the result of Democratic errors, or of misrepresentations of Democratic action made either through malice or misapprehension of the conditions which surrounded the Democratic Congress. If, however, it is proper to discuss the influences which have led to this result, it should be done in a spirit of absolute impartiality, and with a frankness born of a determination to "hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may." When the extra session was convened in August, 1893, both branches of the Congress were controlled by the Democratic party, the House by a majority of eighty-nine, and the Senate by a majority of two. To succeed in passing political measures with the small majority in the Senate, it will be admitted that unity and harmony in the councils of the party were essential. For the first time since 1861, the control of two of the important branches of the government—the executive and legislative—had been transferred to the Democratic party. Its success in promptly and effectually legislating on the line of Democratic policy and pledges, depended upon harmonizing the views of its members upon all questions of a political character. To solidify its organization, it was of the highest importance that those questions should have been presented for its consideration upon which all agreed as to the principles involved, although there may have been a difference as to details.

Many of the Democratic leaders, recognizing the importance of these considerations, were anxious that an extra session of Congress should be convened immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland, and a revision of the tariff at once entered upon. In fact, there was no difference of sentiment in the Democratic party in reference to the duty and obligation that rested upon it to proceed at once to revise the tariff on the lines laid down by the party in its platform. It was then felt that no

serious division would be found to exist within the party, and that by judicious action a united front would be presented in carrying out its policy.

It was further believed that a Democratic measure could be passed before the opening of the regular session, which would have given almost a year, before the election, for business to adjust itself, and for the practical effect of the law to be clearly seen. For reasons satisfactory to the President, these views were overruled, and Congress was not convened in extraordinary session until August of that year. When then convened, the issue upon which the Democrats had won the country was, under the necessities that confronted us, thrust aside by the proclamation of the President convening that body, and his message to it when assembled.

The Congress was convened for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. This question necessarily involved the financial policy of the Government; especially, as it related to the use of silver as a part of our currency. At once a serious division manifested itself among the members of the Democratic party in both houses, and there was created an antagonism between the President and a large section of his party as to the wisdom of the position of the administration, which insisted upon unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. In both houses a majority of the Democratic members were in favor of conditional repeal. The views of the administration were, however, successful. Unconditional repeal was enacted into law by the aid of Republican votes, against the views of a majority of the party in power. This left the party disorganized and disheartened, and its baneful effect was fully appreciated by those who came into close contact with its organization during the contest for tariff reform in the regular session.

When the Congress assembled in December, 1893, despite a revival checked, to some extent, by the known purpose of the Congress to revise the revenue law, the deplorable financial and industrial condition, resulting from causes which have already been referred to, was apparent to even a casual observer. Unrest was clearly manifested upon the part of the people. Attacks by the press upon the Senate during the extra session had even at that time lessened the confidence of the people in its ability to deal with the exigencies which confronted it.

After over five months' consideration by the Committee and the House, the Wilson Bill was sent to the Senate, fifteen Democrats voting against it on its passage.

Owing to the bitter and long protracted contest in the Senate between members of the Democratic party at the extra session, its organization was not as perfect, united, and aggressive as it otherwise would have been. Numerous and serious objections were advanced to the Wilson Bill by individual members, some to the principles embodied in it, and others to the details of the measure.

Bitter opposition to the incorporation of the income tax was early developed, on the ground of its being undemocratic and unauthorized by any declaration of the party platform.

The wisdom and policy of placing, at once, iron ore and coal upon the free list was questioned.

Inequalities in the several schedules were suggested and criticised.

Determined opposition was shown to placing raw and refined sugars upon the free list.

Deficiency in the revenue, under the McKinley bill, was, in the opinion of many, largely increased by the provisions of the Wilson bill; the deficit being placed, by some, as high as seventy million dollars annually.

These were among the prominent differences which at some periods during the controversy seemed hopeless of adjustment, in a body where the Democratic party could boast of a majority of but two. Several caucuses were held, with a hope of compromising these antagonistic views, but a discussion of the details only emphasized the diversity of views of the individual members of the party. As a last resort, the whole subject was committed to the Democratic members of the Finance Committee, to formulate such amendments as would command forty-three Democratic votes, a majority of the whole; and this action was concurred in by all but two members of the Democratic party.

The industry, wisdom, and high integrity of that committee, the views of whose members were known to be in perfect harmony with the policy and pledges of the party, inspired a degree of confidence that justified this last supreme effort to unite the forty-three Democratic votes in favor of a revenue measure. With this small and at times doubtful majority; with the differences exist-

ing as to details of this bill; and an active, alert, aggressive minority ever ready to take advantage of the situation ; the members of the party, in the interest of success, were compelled to surrender their individuality, and to follow the lead of their committees, until the bill finally passed the Senate. It required time to remove the obstacles in the path of the Democratic party, and to tear down the wall which had gradually been built, higher and higher, by the influence of greed and selfishness, during the last twenty-five years.

A review of the condition in the Senate during this memorable contest is rendered necessary in considering the character of the attacks upon that body by the press of the country, and in determining whether the influence exerted by that powerful agency, in controlling the result, was justified by the circumstances. Within a few weeks after the bill reached the Senate, the metropolitan press of the country, including its Democratic and Independent representatives, turned their batteries upon the Senate as a body, and later singled out individual members of the Democratic majority, holding it and them before the public gaze as careless and indifferent to the public interests, wilfully corrupt, or stupidly ignorant of public sentiment, traitors to their party and false to their pledges to the people. From Maine to California the substance of these animadversions were daily and weekly read by the Democratic masses, who, losing confidence in the wisdom, statesmanship, and even personal integrity of those whom they had honored with their confidence and trust, became discouraged, disgusted, and indifferent to the success of a party whose representatives, they honestly believed, had betrayed their trust, and sacrificed the interests of the people at the dictation of the trusts and of combinations of capital. The people had been taught for eight months to believe that these were the influences which had delayed and postponed action upon the bill. This, in my judgment, was a most potent influence in producing the result at the recent election. For that result will not show, from my information, an increased Republican vote over previous elections, but a falling off in the Democratic vote. Every revolution of popular sentiment like that which occurred on the 6th of November is accomplished by the "stay at home" vote, and not by the change of political allegiance.

The influence of Mr. Cleveland in moulding public opinion has been equal to, if not greater than, that of any other leader of either political party. When, therefore, he threw the weight of his personal popularity into the scale in opposition to the bill which was passed by the Senate, and which subsequently became the law by the action of both houses, and when he emphasized his position, in reference to that bill, by declining to approve it—thus presenting to the country the spectacle of a Democratic measure, passed in pursuance of Democratic pledges, upon a subject involving the most important issue between the two great parties, condemned and discredited by the acknowledged leader of Democracy—he deprived the party, as far as a great and admired leader could, of the battle-cry which should have rallied the active, intelligent, and aggressive forces to the standard of Democracy.

One of the most important influences operating in the recent contest, against the Democratic party, was the impression created upon the minds of the business community, and by them necessarily communicated to those depending upon them for employment, that the passage of the tariff law of 1894 was but the beginning of the agitation for revenue reform, and that the Fifty-fourth Congress would again seek, not simply to correct errors and imperfections which might be found in the existing law, but to make a general revision of all the schedules, and again involve the country in the unrest and uncertainties of tariff legislation. This argument was used with great effect and power by Republican leaders and by the Republican press. It was plausible and found many believers among those engaged in industrial enterprises, who imagined that many of the evils that they had experienced during the last eighteen months were due to the agitation of this question.

The greatest curse incident to the exercise of political power in this country, is patronage. Its exercise by any political party creates dissatisfaction, personal animosities, and paralysis of political activity among a large number in every community; to such an extent is this true that in close elections it is sufficient to turn the scale against the party in power. From this source—the election being held so soon after the assumption of the National Government by the Democratic party—arose influences which increased the dissatisfaction and

discontent resulting from the other causes to which I have referred.

In conclusion, I desire to observe that it has not been my purpose to criticise the acts or motives of others, nor have I endeavored to justify the conduct or sustain the views of those who have been condemned, in my opinion, unjustly. My desire has been to make a plain, frank, and impartial statement of facts, leaving the conclusion to be drawn by the intelligent reader. Although disappointed in the result, I feel a confident assurance that the extravagance of McKinleyism is a thing of the past; that tariff reform, by the adoption of the existing law, is in an advanced position from which its enemies cannot dislodge it; and that the principles of protection, for protection's sake, have secured but few, if any, converts.

CHARLES J. FAULKNER.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WHY OUR WOMEN MARRY ABROAD.

WHY does the American girl marry the Briton? Has she any adequate justification? Do you suppose it pays her? and can such a choice on her part be defended on large grounds as promotive of the greatest good of the greatest number? Is it a fact, as has been flippantly suggested, that she moves to England to get country life, because we have no good roads here yet? Or, on the contrary, can it be demonstrated that one reason our country roads are so bad is that the American girl cannot abide the country, and promptly carries her man off to town at the earliest moment that sees his endeavors blessed with the necessary increase? Is it her fault that country interests tend too much to fall to the care of a residuum that is too poor to get away? Or has the country life not much to do one way or the other with her British propensities?

To be honest, there are other conceivable reasons for marrying an Englishman besides his country roads. He may be a charming gentleman —they are said to be so once in a while—who can win a wife by plain personal courtship, and whom any woman would be justified in marrying on general principles and without specific excuses. Or he may be a good, "average" sort of a man whose advantage over his American brother is a matter of size or complexion or hale appearance. I have known American women who ventured to assert that the feminine eye rejoiced more in the type of male human that treads the pavements of Piccadilly and Pall Mall than in the contemporaneous pedestrians of Fifth Avenue and Broadway.

Or, may be, it is his superior stolidity that electrifies in the Briton. It is to be feared that there is truth in that tale Mr. Kipling or somebody was telling the other day of how the phlegmatic merchants of the East had discovered that the way to beat the American was simply to put him off and let him fret himself reckless. Stolidity is not quite the same as repose, but to persons who are suffering from an acute dearth of repose it may appeal as a tolerable substitute, so that one can imagine an American maid, worn with the restless aspirations of her high-pressure countrymen, turning with sincere relief to pillow her fair young head upon a bosom behind which lurked no threat of heart-failure.

Of course there are American women who cross the seas to endow barren titles, but that sort there is no need of discussing. The question that is really interesting is whether the instinct of preservation is busy inciting our women to marry away from their own land. I know a person who is sometimes asked, "Shall we go and grow up with Chicago?" "No! no! no!" she says. "Shall we go to Boston?" "No!" "Shall we move to New York?" "Not yet." "Will you go and live in London?" "Yes!" "Paris?"

"Oh, yes!" And yet this person ought to have as valid and pronounced a set of American preferences as any of her countrywomen.

Alas! probably she has. They all seem willing to go, if only they can hit on a reasonable excuse and a satisfactory prospect. It must be for the same reason that makes the Needle of Cleopatra and Gorringe lean a little longing dip toward the Nile and the Pyramids every evening at sundown. The Needle knows that the greatest climate in the world for development is one of the worst for preservation, and that things that have been perfected beyond any reasonable prospect of improvement are likely to last longer in some less stimulating atmosphere than this. Our women, as all the world concedes, have attained a wonderfully close approximation to perfection. With so much to keep as they have, and so comparatively little to gain, we ought not to wonder, perhaps, that so many of them would be willing, under favorable circumstances, to go and dwell where time is somewhat less edacious than it is with us.

EDWARD S. MARTIN.

"CLAIMS OF LONG DESCENT."

To any one who does not consider the vanity inherent in human nature it is astonishing to note the number of people, even in this country, where every man is a sovereign, who lay claim to royal descent. The third edition of "Americans of Royal Descent" has recently been issued, with 900 pages and several additional pedigrees. Not so very long since a Richmond (Va.) paper had several columns giving in great and edifying detail the pedigrees of divers and sundry families in that State who ran back their genealogical line to some king of England. And farther North the *nouveaux riches*, overwhelmed with all the good things of the present, and feeling secure for the future, not infrequently proceed to provide for the past also by purchasing themselves a comfortable pedigree with some king as a *terminus a quo*. These genealogical acquisitions, like the similar traditional claims of the F. F. V.'s in the Old Dominion, are deemed by the public exceedingly doubtful. Tennyson (himself of undoubted royal ancestry) has said:

> "From yon blue sky above us bent
> The grand old gardener and his wife
> Smile at the claims of long descent."

While claims of royal origin could be of no benefit to the claimants if proven, and certainly could be of small credit, seeing that the average royalty has been a rather disreputable character, there is another side to this question which has been little considered. And that is that these claims, notwithstanding public incredulity, are probably all true. Let us consider. William the Conqueror ascended the throne of England A. D. 1066. Allowing thirty-three years as a generation, there have been twenty-six generations since, counting his children then living as the first generation. Many people leave several children, others leave none. It is certainly not an immoderate calculation to average each descendant as leaving three children. For if each descendant with his wife left only two children, the population would have stood still, whereas the less than a million inhabitants of the British Isles of that day have grown to be nearly forty millions there, and seventy millions on this side of the water. William the Con-

queror had four sons and six daughters. Averaging each of these as having three children, with the same average for each of their descendants down to the present, and the ten children of William in the present or twenty-fifth generation, by a simple arithmetical calculation, would have 2,824,295,-314,810 descendants now living in the British Isles, in America, in the colonies or wherever men of British descent are to be found. As this is fully 25,000 times as many as there are people of British descent on the globe there must be an error in the above calculation. There are two. First: while an average of two children to each descendant is too small since that average would have kept the population stationary, an average of three is too high, as that is an increase of fifty per cent. every thirty-three years, an average which few countries other than the United States could show. The second error is that intermarriages among descendants must be allowed for. Say that owing to these errors the result of the calculation is 25,-000 times too much, it would still result that every man of the English-speaking race is descended from the Conqueror. Reduce it as much more as you like, and the chances are yet strong that any given man of your acquaintance, as well as yourself, is probably a descendant of the victor at Hastings. Carry the *propositus*—as lawyers call him—back a few generations further, say to Alfred the Great or Charlemagne, and the chances are almost inevitable that any given individual is their descendant. Indeed in the light of arithmetic it may be doubted if to-day there is any person speaking French, German, or English who is not a lineal descendant of Charlemagne. It is at least a mathematical certainty that to-day there lives no one in any civilized country who is not a lineal descendant of some king or other eminent historical character. So true is it that He has made "all people of one blood," and so puerile are claims of any one whatever to superior descent over his neighbor.

The six wives of Henry VIII. of England came from three different countries and different ranks, but each, as well as Henry himself, was descended from Edward III. This fact is commemorated on the windows of the chapel of the Royal Palace at Hampton Court, as will be remembered by all who have been there. In London, too, there is to-day a butcher (and many others of like rank) who can prove unbroken lineal descent in a legitimate line from a king of England.

There is another view, too, of this matter. While taking any historical character as a *terminus a quo*, his descendants widen out in each generation like a pyramid from its apex; yet taking any given person, yourself, for instance, and tracing back his ancestors in like manner, they double in each ascending generation till in a few hundred years they become "like sands on the seashore for multitude." The first error in the above calculation as to descendants is eliminated. The ancestors in each ascending generation must be exactly double the number of those in the generations below it. The only error to be allowed for is the duplication of ancestors by intermarriage of relatives, till finally, by the operation of this fact in the remote past, the whole human race is narrowed to one pair for its origin. But taking each individual living to-day as the apex of an inverted pyramid, with his ancestors doubling with each ascending generation, those ancestors become countless. Putting the population of the British Isles in William the Conqueror's day at 1,000,000 it may be doubted if any English speaking man breathes to-day who is not descended not only from William himself, but from each other of the great majority of the whole population

of that day. It is true families die out; but if they survive and increase to the third or fourth generation, with each successive generation decrease greatly of course the chances of all the branches dying out. Even where descendants apparently fail in the direct line there always is a chance that descendants exist who have become obscure and been lost sight of, or there may be descendants through illegitimate and hence unrecognized descendants. Every man may safely count on the fact that among his innumerable ancestors are not only kings and other historical characters, but also as certainly tramps and criminals of every description. Fortunately criminals do not, as a rule, "live out half their days," and their line is more apt to become extinct in the first or second generation succeeding; yet he who

> "The ancestral line would ascend
> Will find it waxed at the other end
> With some *lineal* progenitor."

True, indeed, it is that every man is descended not only from heroes, kings, princes, poets, but also as certainly from murderers and thieves. The doctrine of heredity has some force in it, but much that is called heredity is simply the effect of environment. A man may be a thief or the opposite because his father was such, but it is much more likely that his bent towards larceny or good works is due rather to his surroundings and early influences than to qualities transmitted in the blood. Inasmuch as the grandchild is only $\frac{1}{4}$, his son $\frac{1}{8}$, his son $\frac{1}{16}$, and his son $\frac{1}{32}$ (and so on in geometrical ratio) the possessor of inherited qualities from any given ancestor, the effect of descent speedily minimizes. Nothing is more absurd and unfounded than the claims of an aristocracy based upon the supposed continued transmission of virtues and talents, as in the British House of Lords, or of a monarchy, all of which have been founded by some great chieftain of his day. But more absurd still is the spectacle of any one individual seeking to attract imputed honor to himself by asserting claim to descent from one who held some post of honor centuries ago. If the chain of descent can be made out, countless others are equally as certainly descended from the same origin, and furthermore the claimant is equally as certainly descended from numerous disreputable characters, whose qualities he has the same chance to have inherited with those of his more conspicuous and honored ancestor. No conception is more false in fact than the current conceit that any man is descended from a single line of ancestors. The lines of descent approach infinity. And nothing is more certainly destroyed by the inexorable logic of figures than any assumed merit based upon "claims of long descent." We are not only all descended from Adam and Eve, but probably every German, Frenchman, Spaniard, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon is likewise a descendant of Julius Cæsar and Charlemagne. It is true royal dynasties have died out, but no account is taken of illegitimate descendants, usually numerous, in such cases. Besides, luxury and wars decimate dynasties, and intermarriages reduce the number of descending lines. Cæsar left no legal heir in the direct line, but according to what Suetonius and Plutarch tell us of him he doubtless left many descendants. Famine and war have destroyed whole populations, but when after a few generations a man's descendants have multiplied into many lines, no disaster could within any reasonable probability cut off all his descendants. These modern "claimants" have no monopoly. The beggar

next door is probably a genuine lineal descendant of Charlemagne. As Pope says:

> "What can ennoble fools or slaves or cowards?
> Not all the blood of all the Howards."

Or as Sancho Panza hath it:

> "Every man is the son of his own works."

Every man leaving descendants who survive beyond the third or fourth generation will, in all probability, in a few centuries be one of the ancestors of every man of his nationality then living on the globe. But if there is any element of uncertainty as to a man's descendants there is none as to his ancestors. The "past at least is secure." Every man has necessarily had millions of ancestors, and equally of necessity has "royal blood in his veins."

WALTER CLARK.

WOMEN AND AMATEUR ACTING.

IT is odd, but no one, I believe, as yet has taken up the question which occurs to me as a very pertinent and not altogether unimportant one; and this is in how far and in what way amateur acting reacts upon and modifies the amateur actress; how much or how little, and whether for good or for evil, this pursuit influences the pursuer; wherein the accomplishment serves to form the woman, and what are the accidental and incidental differences it imposes upon her character.

One of the most powerful tendencies of modern life is undoubtedly the profound, absorbing, mastering impulse—which rules the men and not infrequently overrules the women of our nineteenth century—the impulse to give forth, to give out, to express, to obtain that which fifty years ago would have carried an ineradicable odium in its train, but which to-day is as a laurel crown on her whose brows support it: I mean *notoriety*. The goal to be gained is, being talked about. The means to be employed, in the very nature of things, must be flagrant, blatant, intensely *en evidence*.

And what can present itself more apposite, other arts and accomplishments being, perhaps, out of reach or uncongenial, than amateur acting? The power of theatrical application is common enough. The power of dramatic insight is extremely rare. To be theatrical is both easy and usual. To be dramatic is both uncommon and also impossible unless one is guided by the rein of that divinity which hedges Genius to far more purpose than it ofttimes hedges kings.

I know of no amateur actress whatever who is in the least inspired by dramatic insight. I know of none who does not possess a fair share of theatrical perspicacity. Nor yet of one who exhibits, even when superexcited, the force sufficient to tear a passion to tatters—setting aside the rarer ability to epitomize that passion by a glance, a single word, or an intonation. Do what they will they fail ignominiously, utterly, completely, at doing that which they expressly set out to do; they cannot *act*, they cannot represent, they cannot live and breathe and be before our eyes the passionate or polished lives of the "people of the play." And acting—unfortunately for the amateur actresses—is (*pro tem.*) *being*, and it is not talking to an audience about what is.

To what degree the modern fad of amateur acting may be said to influence the characters of the women who have taken it up, it may not be difficult, but it may be distinctly distasteful (to them) to state. Amateur acting

carried to the point at which it at present rests, is, in my opinion, a very demoralizing amusement, fashion, pursuit, whatever one wills to call it. In the first place, it unquestionably alienates, if it does not divorce, a woman from what we are very justly condemned to call the realities of life. It robs her of the savoring salt, and bestows upon her instead the unsanative sugar. It confers upon her a rather tropically flavored fictional existence, and takes from her the real throe, and throb, and pulse, and pleasure of a true and unsentimentalized state of being. It takes from her the bloom of her best prerogatives, and renders her back nothing in their place save the exitial excitements of an applause that is too often totally insincere as well as totally unmerited—an atmosphere that is false, and a code of manners that is ill-built on some kind of insecure foundation called by some one the "freemasonry of art!" and it leaves her glorying in a nondescript phase of self-adornment, which, for lack of the courage to christen it *demi-mondaine*, we impertinently designate as "actress-like."

This woman, it is unnecessary for me to say, is not what she appears to be. She is very probably a thoroughly respectable woman, with a heart, and a soul, and a brain as well as another; and that heart and soul and brain of hers, commensurately with her era, have whispered, and sung, and screamed and shrieked the same weary, rending cry that all the other women's hearts and brains and souls seem in these days to have shrieked and sobbed unto them, crying out:

"I will be heard! I will be seen! I will be pointed at, talked about, written of, commented on, criticised, cavilled at even, if needs be, but I *must be* something, *do* something, other than lead the life of a womanly, sweet and serious woman. That will kill me! I need action—scope. I must express, not repress! I must declare, and not refrain! I must give out, and not hold in!" In so far as the mere fact of amateur acting, *pur et simple*, is concerned, it is a charming amusement, an inspiriting diversion; it affords an outlet often enough for many a tense and tugging strain that otherwise might easily prove too much, perchance, for the character called upon to sustain it; but amateur acting, in common with a vast number of other things in our age of the world, is carried to what I may be fully justified in denominating as a forlorn extreme. It has long since ceased to be an amusement. And, paradoxical as it may sound at a first hearing, it has become a literal profession, very much as beauty became a profession some few years ago, and with very like and very deteriorating results, as a backward glance can assure the most biassed inquirer.

From starting out as an entertainment merely, amateur acting presently grew to be progressive, and from being progressive, it has now, in my opinion, reached the point where it begins to be degenerative. It has gained its *ultimatum* and touches upon its decay. It gives us to-day no better acting, no more artistic impersonations, no further evidences of genius, or even of talent among its women than it did when the craze first broke upon our unsuspecting vision. But it can show us a clique of young women scattered all over the country whose style is bizarre, whose manners are meretricious and unwomanly, whose atmosphere just hesitates—one says looking at these dispassionately—at the threshold of that which is presumed to be a monopoly in another quarter, and whose lives, hopes, aims are certainly unwholesome. And tending whither?

FANNIE AYMAR MATHEWS.

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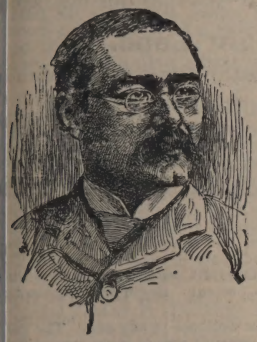

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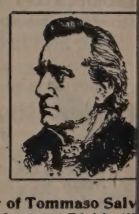

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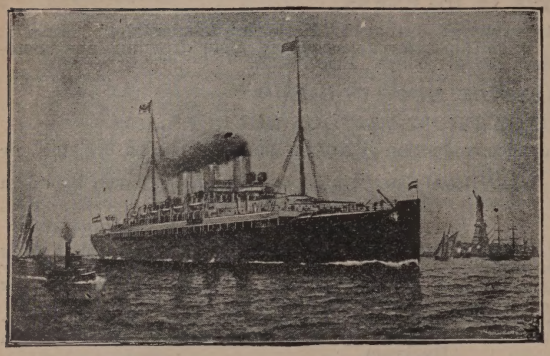

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For several years past the Hamburg-American Line has organized during the winter season excursions to the Mediterranean and the Orient, placing at the disposal of travellers one of its floating palaces, and affording them all the comforts and luxuries of modern life. These excursions have become so popular with the American travelling public that during the coming season two of the Hamburg-American Twin-screw Express Steamers of 13-16,000 horse-power, the *Augusta Victoria* and the *Fuerst Bismarck*, will leave New York for the Mediterranean and the Orient, the former on January 22 and the latter on January 29, 1895.

Instead of sailing direct for Gibraltar, as in previous years, the steamer will call at *Ponta Delgada* on San Miguel, one of the *Azores Islands*, and also at *Funchal* on *Madeira*, and thence proceed to the historical and picturesque fortress of *Gibraltar*, where it stays about twelve hours. From there it continues to *Algiers*, which combines the comforts of a modern French town with the picturesqueness of the Orient.

The steamer next heads northward across the Mediterranean to *Genoa*, the great commercial emporium of Italy. This beautiful city is justly entitled to the epithet "La Superba." Her streets remind the visitor at every turn of great historical events.

The steamer now proceeds to *Villefranche*, the port of *Nice*, enabling passengers to visit the celebrated *Riviera*; then crosses the Mediterranean for quaint *Malta*, one of the bulwarks of England's naval supremacy, and thence reaches *Alexandria* and the land of the Nile. Egypt has the peculiar charm of the Oriental climate, the singularly clear atmosphere and the wonderful coloring and effects of light and shade unknown to northern countries. From Alexandria a short trip brings the traveller to *Cairo* and the *Pyramids*, where a whole week may be spent.

From the land of the Pharaohs the steamer proceeds to *Jaffa*, the seaport of the Holy Land, whence a railroad ride of a few hours takes the traveller to *Jerusalem*, where once the stupendous scenes were enacted which exercise so supreme an influence on religious thought throughout the world.

The emporium of trade and commerce of the Levant, *Smyrna*, "The Beautiful," is the next point visited by the excursion. Smyrna, by far the greatest of the cities of Asia Minor, is full of the bustle and activity of a beehive of industry, while monuments of antiquity are encountered in every quarter.

Through the Dardanelles then the steamer winds her course toward the "Golden Horn" and *Constantinople* with its mosques, kiosks, and bazaars. Every door here recalls some wonderful occurrence, or some carnage, some love or mystery or prowess of a Padishah or caprice of a Sultana.

Turning south again the steamer enters the port of Piræus, the seaport of *Athens*. The classic period of ancient Greece, with its marvellous works of art, has left its vestiges here wherever you turn.

The next stop is at *Messina*, the steamer anchoring in full view of the majestic Mount Etna, the loftiest volcano in Europe, and, after a short stay, proceeds to *Palermo*, the capital of Sicily.

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The steamer again touches *Genoa*, to disembark passengers who wish to prolong their stay in Europe, and then turns homeward, being scheduled to reach New York about 65 days after departure. Passengers leaving the excursion at Genoa have the privilege of returning by any of the other express steamers of the Hamburg-American Line from Genoa, Naples, Algiers, Gibraltar or Hamburg and Southampton.

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BULLETIN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, DECEMBER, 1894.

A NEW FEATURE FOR 1895.

THE REVIEW *will publish, in twelve chapters, beginning with the January number, the*

"PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE,"

a historical work of unsurpassed importance, which will throw a flood of new light upon the chequered career of Napoleon III. and the influences which led to the collapse of his Empire in the gigantic struggle with united Germany, under Wilhelm I. and his Iron Chancellor. It is as fascinating as a romance, being richly anecdotal and full of information drawn from sources hitherto inaccessible, presented in the graphic and vivacious style which "The Englishman in Paris," by the same author, has made familiar to thousands of readers.

A unique feature of the December number of THE REVIEW is the leading article by His Excellency Monsignor Satolli on "The Catholic School System in Rome." The Most Rev. Francesco Satolli, who belongs to an ancient and distinguished family, was born in Marciano, in the diocese of Perugia, July 21, 1839. He attended the primary schools in his native town, and in 1853 entered the seminary in Perugia, having as a teacher his brother, John-Baptist, a well known scholar and famous preacher. In 1862 he was ordained by Leo XIII., then Archbishop of Perugia. From 1862 to 1870 he was a professor in this seminary, and also acted as rector of a parish in the same city. From 1870 to 1875 he was a professor in the Benedictine Abbey of Montecassino. From 1875 to 1880 he served as rector of one of the most important parishes in Marciano. He was also a member, and afterwards director, of the "Academy of St. Thomas." In 1880 he was called to Rome to teach theology in the Propaganda college, which he did until 1892. In 1884 he was appointed rector of the Greek College, and he held this office until 1886. In 1885 he was appointed Canon of St. John "*in Laterano*" and Domestic Prelate to His Holiness. In the following year he was appointed President of the Academy of the Noble Ecclesiastics, and in

1888 was consecrated titular Archbishop of Lepanto. In 1889 he was chosen to represent the Holy Father at the Centennial celebration of the American hierarchy and at the inauguration of the Catholic University. In 1892 he was sent to the United States again as Apostolic Delegate and his name has since then been prominently before the public.

The articles by Senator Faulkner and Representative Babcock, on "The Meaning of the Elections," possess a special value, in view of the official position of both writers. The Hon. Charles J. Faulkner was born at Martinsburgh, West Va., September 21, 1847. He accompanied his father, who was Minister to France in 1859, and attended noted schools in Paris and Switzerland, returning to the United States in 1861. He served in the Confederate Army under Generals J. C. Breckinridge and Henry A. Wise. In 1866 he entered the University of Virginia, graduating in 1868. He was admitted to the bar in 1868, and in October, 1880, was elected Judge of the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1887, and was re-elected in 1893. The Hon. Joseph W. Babcock was born at Swanton Falls, Vt., March 6, 1850, and removed with his parents in 1856 to Iowa, where he received a common-school education at Mount Vernon and Cedar Falls. In 1881 he settled at Necedah, Wis., where he has since resided. He was elected to the Fifty-third Congress in 1892.

Brigadier-General Ruggles, who writes on "The Proposed Increase of the Army," was born in Newburg, N. Y., September 11, 1833, and graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1855, being assigned to the mounted riflemen. He served on frontier duty until the Civil War, and in 1858 was acting Adjutant-General of the Department of the West at St. Louis. He served with distinction throughout the war.

The recent epidemic of train robbery furnishes occasion for a suggestive paper entitled "Brigandage on Our Railroads," by the United States Commissioner of Railroads, Hon. Wade Hampton. Another specially informed writer is Mr. Henry White, until recently Secretary of the United States Embassy at London, who points out the urgent necessity for "Consular Reform."

The readers of the REVIEW have already been furnished with brief biographies of Comptroller Eckels, Prof. Goldwin Smith, Senator Lodge, Dr. Briggs, Sergius Stepniak, and Dr. Louis Robinson, who contribute the remaining articles to the December number.

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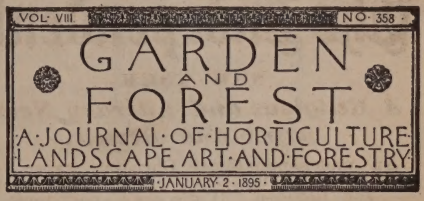

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Chicago as late as 1830 was an insignificant trading post, with its location as an embryo city not even definitely fixed by the projection of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. She now easily holds second place among the cities of the Western World; and if comparative registration figures have any significance, her many partisans are more than justified in the assertion that New York's days are numbered as the metropolis of the continent.

At the election held to authorize the incorporation of the town of Chicago in 1833, twelve votes were all that could be mustered. The election held this fall shows 275,000 male voters. What significance have mere figures or comparative percentages of increase in describing the growth of a place which, according to a crude census of 1831, had but threescore inhabitants, and now, on the authority of the recently completed school census, has a population of 1,600,000. It is a situation to which even the well meaning and conscientious statistician utterly fails to do justice. Even the increase by decades is almost incomprehensible—4,470 people in 1840; 29,963 in 1850; 109,263 in 1860; 306,605 in 1870; 491,512 in 1880; 1,099,850 in 1890; and almost any estimate within reason for 1900. It has been nothing but geometrical progression in population, property values, business development, and commercial importance.

From a real-estate standpoint the history of Chicago begins with the surveying and platting of the original town. Included in the first survey was about three-eighths of a mile of territory, while within the limits of the Chicago of to-day are 174 square miles. In 1837 a valuation of something like half a million dollars was placed on the real estate of Chicago. This entire valuation is now frequently represented in the transfer of a single holding. Within two years a morsel of a lot 20 by 40 feet in dimensions sold for two fifths of the entire value placed upon the realty of the Chicago of 1837. During the last four years the average yearly transfers of property

have been $180,000,000. The increase of realty values has fully kept pace with the development of the city as a commercial centre, and at a number of periods has been temporarily out of proportion with the city's advance. As in the case of population and area, figures fail to give an idea of the enhancement of land values. To most of the great fortunes of the city it has contributed, and many of them it has created. The wildest predictions made as to the future of the city have been more than discounted. The real-estate man who in the seventies, when the population was shown to be 300,000, predicted that before the end of the century the census would show a million, was unhesitatingly branded as visionary. From the present outlook he was too conservative by half. In 1833 the first brick building was erected in Chicago, and thirty years later the building operations of the year represented nearly $5,000,000. In 1892, the banner building year, the building permits issued provided for an outlay of $65,000,000.

Natural conditions favored the establishment of a great metropolis at the lower end of Lake Michigan. The projection of the canal simply determined that the trading-post at the mouth of the Chicago River should grow into the required seat of commercial empire. Chicago is surrounded by the largest and most productive tributary body of agricultural land in the world. Its position at the head of Lake Michigan not only gave it water communication with the East, but made it a practical impossibility for any east and west trunk railway line to pass by it. The first railroad was built into Chicago in 1836, and now the city is the terminus of thirty-eight lines. As a distributing and receiving point, Chicago is without a peer on the continent.

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The first business building erected in Chicago was built in the summer of 1832. It was used in the packing of beef and pork for the mercantile and lake trade. In 1862 Chicago took the lead in the packing business, distancing Cincinnati. In 1893 it was estimated that $20,000,000 was invested in the production of provisions, with a product valued at $107,000,000. In 1838 the receipts and shipments of grain at Chicago amounted to but seventy-eight

bushels; in 1893 the breadstuffs received here, even with the low values current, represented $105,000,000. The wholesale lumber business of Chicago in 1892 and 1893 represented $78,000,000.

Figures could be multiplied to show the commercial greatness of Chicago, but it is not area, population, or wealth and power which alone make a city great. There are other elements equally essential—favorable sanitary surroundings, happy social and economic conditions, and educational advantages, in none of which Chicago is lacking. The city government, while by no means ideal, is perhaps all that could be expected in view of Chicago's sudden growth and the diversity of her population and interests. Her very faults and vices are those of youth and extravagant development, rather than those of senility and decay.

The natural sanitary conditions of the original Chicago were far from happy. Its site was a marsh which made necessary an elevation to grade of fourteen feet. Until 1844 there was no pretence made of paving streets, and not until eleven years later was the first stone pavement laid. In 1854 there were but six miles of sewers built. Last year 140 miles of street pavement were laid, making the total of paved streets over 1,000 miles. Since 1862 it is estimated that $76,000,000 have been paid out for street improvements of all kinds. Of course, with the unprecedented growth and the widely distributed population, it is unreasonable to expect that all thoroughfares should be paved, or that all streets and alleys should be as clean as those of Amsterdam or Paris. It must be remembered that in Chicago, street improvements are made, not by public taxation, but by special assessment of the properties benefited. In the case of downtown streets a pavement is scarcely laid before it is torn up by corporations offering the public new gas and electric service, or facilities for intra-mural transportation. Downtown buildings which twenty years ago were considered fully up to the requirements of the day, are now being torn down to be replaced with ten to twenty story structures. The term "modern building" has a very limited significance in Chicago. Until this evolution of central business property is complete, downtown streets can never reach perfection.

In the nature of things, Chicago, outside of this charmed circle which bounds its central business district, will probably never be so compactly built as other great cities. Modern means of transportation in a measure annihilate space, and distances from the business centre are measured by minutes and not by miles. All this gives more breathing-places, larger lots for dwellings, less expensive homes, and, as a consequence, less tenant owners and a more contented and healthy people.

To any one who is called upon to deny that the mainspring of Chicago's development has been the accumulation of money *per se*, the public-park system is a patent illustration ready to his hand. The park system, the

the fame of which is coextensive with the renown of Chicago, was conceived back in the sixties, when the city was practically in its infancy. The twenty-eight parks and public squares comprise nearly two thousand acres, exclusive of the connecting boulevards; and the more important public pleasure grounds are bound together by a chain of boulevards thirty miles in length. The original cost of the land alone in one of the three park systems was $3,208,000.

An expenditure of $20,000,000 or upwards is being made in the waterway connecting Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River, to dispose of the city sewage and prevent possible contamination of its water supply. The present sanitary conditions of Chicago are reflected in a death rate lower than that of any other city of considerable size in the world except Berlin. When the great drainage canal with a flow of 600,000 cubic feet of water per minute is completed, making the sewerage and water supply systems practically perfect, a death rate much lower than that of any other great city may confidently be expected.

To my mind the most remarkable development of the last few years has been along æsthetic, educational, philanthropic, and literary lines. In taking this into account it must be remembered that here there is no inherited wealth, and the leading citizens are first-generation men. The men who have become public benefactors are still men of affairs, leading busy lives and managing great business interests. Men of this character in other cities usually devote their earnings to accumulation of wealth, and the public only becomes indebted to them through their testamentary bequests.

Among the notable philanthropic, educational, and charitable institutions of the last few years endowed by benevolent Chicagoans are the Crerar and Newberry reference libraries, the Armour Institute, the Lewis Polytechnical Institute, the Academy of Sciences just opened to the public, the Field Columbian Museum, and the splendid Art Institute. The buildings and grounds of the Chicago University, which has the distinction of being, next to the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, the most richly endowed of the newer institutions of learning in the country, in the main represent gifts of Chicago citizens. The endowment for some of the enterprises enumerated above have, to be sure, been provided for by will, but most of them are tributes of men still active in the management of large commercial and financial interests. The World's Columbian Exposition was a fit memorial to the public spirit and generosity of Chicago citizens of all classes. In the $11,000,000 stock subscription, not only were the wealthy represented, but the feature was the interest shown by people of moderate means, and even of those in poor circumstances. It was freely given, without hope of direct return, and even the 10 per cent. dividend, which was finally paid back, was largely turned over to supplement the endowment of the Field Museum.

The Chicago Real Estate Board occupies a unique position among the real-estate exchanges and boards of the country. It is in no sense a trading organization, intimately connected with the sale and purchase of real estate. It is more nearly a great public-service committee, the members of which are always ready to spend their time and money in the advancement of public improvements and municipal reform. In questions of public interest there is a tacit understanding that the Real Estate Board will always array itself on the side of property-owners and householders.

The Union League Club, unlike the clubs of the same name in other cities, is not a partisan political organization, but uses its money and influence in the interests of good government and municipal reform. The Real Estate Board, the Union League Club, the Citizens' Association, and the Civic Federation, in the last of which the best women of the city have united with the best men, are all working along the same general lines.

Now, what is the ethical reason for Chicago's growth, both materially and on a higher plane, outside of its natural and assured advantages? I answer unhesitatingly, the civic pride of her citizens. The attachment of the Chicagoan to his city is only equalled by that of the Jew to Jerusalem before its final conquest, of the Athenian to Athens in the age of Pericles, of the Roman to Rome in the time of the Cæsars, of the English to London in the age of Elizabeth, and in later days of the Parisian to Paris. The contrast in this respect between Chicago and its only rival, New York city, must be apparent to any one visiting, even temporarily, the two places.

This civic pride is to a city what patriotism is in a nation, faith in religion, truthfulness in man, and virtue in woman. It is the saving grace through which permanence and improvement are to be hoped for. Without it, interest in city affairs will cease and the bad element obtain absolute control. With it the triumph of evil will be but temporary, and we can confidently look for a future Chicago not only the leading city on this continent in population, wealth, and business, but in education, art, public and private charities, and sanitary conditions, and a model of good government by a happy and contented people.

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No more delightful winter trip can present itself to the imagination than that offered by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company which takes pleasure in announcing the inauguration of a new train, "The Sunset Limited," to run between New Orleans and San Francisco once a week during the coming season.

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No pen and ink sketch can adequately portray the vivid contrast of life, society, and race that exists between Mexico and the United States. It must be seen to be appreciated. The surprising natural beauty of the country will also enhance attention, while its varied health resorts are worthy of more than a passing thought. Of these, Monterey, with its pure air and mild climate, has much to recommend it.

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Within the past three or four years we have made and sold about a million and a half barrels of our wall material known as KING'S WINDSOR ASBESTOS CEMENT, with which masons have mixed their *own* sand; but finding that in some instances they have disregarded our directions as to the *amount* and *quality* of sand to be used with it, and not being thus able to guarantee results without having control of the *quantity* and *quality* of this essential ingredient, we have, therefore, recently established in connection with our Mills an extensive SAND PLANT, and now incorporate with our famous Cement not only a *suitable quality* but *correct quantity* of the best selected, silicious, sharp, bank sand, being itself first systematically treated—that is, thoroughly *screened, washed* and *kiln-dried*—thus providing a *reliable* and *perfect* wall material, ready for use, except the addition of water by the plasterer—and this is our WINDSOR ASBESTOS CEMENT DRY MORTAR.

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By this method, together with accurately proportioning all the ingredients (by automatic weighing of the same), we are now fully enabled to control the *proportion, quantity* and *quality*, and *homogeneous incorporation* of *all* the materials, and thereby to guarantee perfect Walls and Ceilings.

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The Indispensable Requisites in the Production of Wall Plaster, of whatever nature, are: 1st, suitable *quality* and *preparation* of the materials, especially the *sand;* 2d, proper *proportions* of the ingredients; and, 3d, thorough and homogeneous *mixing* of the same. None of these requisites is or can be strictly or approximately complied with in making wall plaster by the usual means. The sand is seldom well selected, is never treated (that is, properly screened, washed and dried); the materials are proportioned by guess, without pretension to the least accuracy, and never but partially incorporated or mixed—to do either of which by *hand labor* would be too expensive, and absolutely impossible on or at the premises where the plaster is to be used. Nothing short of an extensive plant and steam-power renders it possible to produce properly made Wall Plaster, and this is why we can produce a superbly superior material for even less than a poorer article.

RELATIVE COST OF OUR CEMENT AND COMMON PLASTER.

Though our material is infinitely superior to any wall plaster made of lime, hair and sand, or other ingredients, our method of production enables us to more than compete with the cost of a fair quality of common (or any other) wall plaster, as will appear. The materials and labor for lathing, cornices, centre-pieces and finishing coat, and the labor for applying the plaster that constitutes the scratch and brown coats of given thickness, will cost the same whatever be the kind of plaster used for the *scratch* and *brown* coats; therefore, the relative cost of our Windsor Cement Dry Mortar and Common Plaster is narrowed down to the *comparative cost of common plaster (for scratch and brown coats) stacked, wet up and tempered, ready for the hod; and the cost of our Windsor Cement Dry Mortar, delivered, also ready to wet up.* For comparison we will take Col. Gilmore's Formula for common plaster, which is employed for Government work, and cited in Form Books as *standard:* Lime, 4 casks, at $1.10; Hair, 4 bushels, at 25 cents; Sand, 7 loads, at 75 cents; labor for mixing, stacking and tempering, $3.75—amounting to $14.15 for 100 square yards, or $14\frac{15}{100}$ cents per square yard. Our material delivered at the building, at our price, $6.70 per ton (after deducting rebate for bags returned), for 62½ sq. yds., is $10\frac{72}{100}$ cts. per sq. yd.—showing a difference in favor of our material of $3\frac{43}{100}$ cts. per sq. yd. This comparison refers to ¾-inch ground work on wood lath, and holds good on all other lathing, brick walls, etc.

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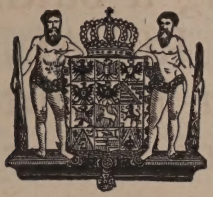

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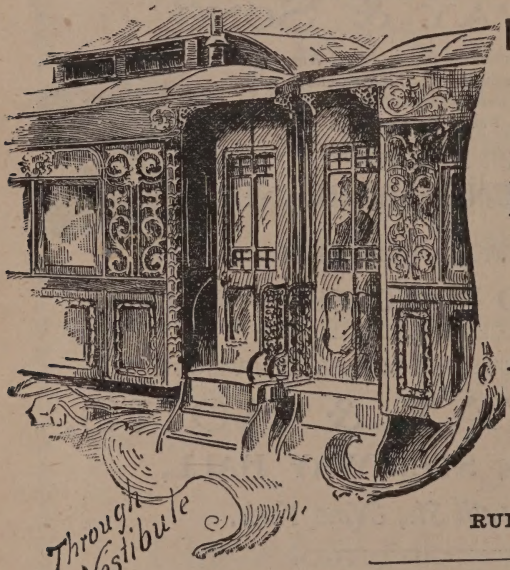

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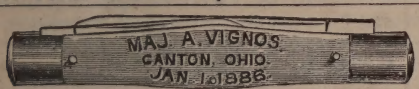

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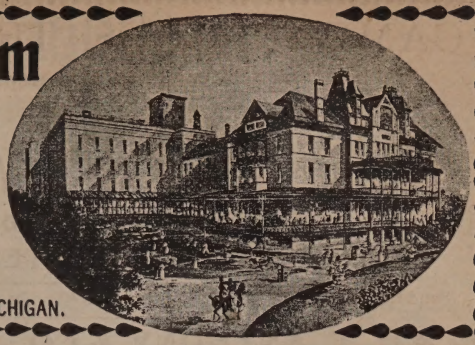

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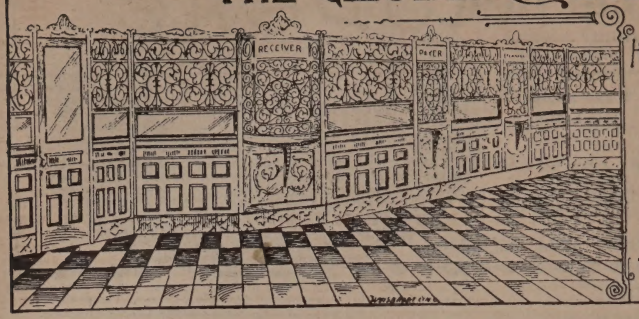

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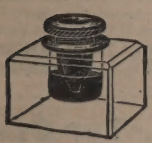

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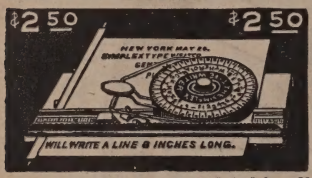

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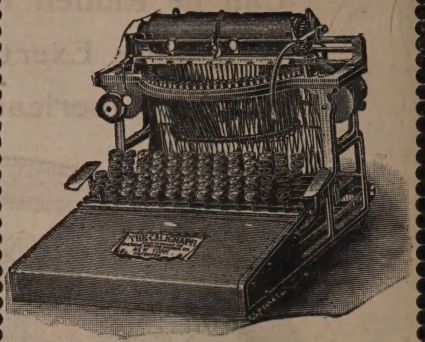

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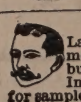

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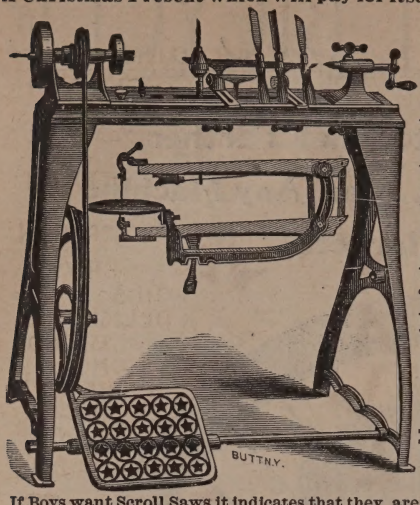

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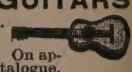

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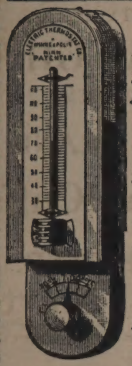

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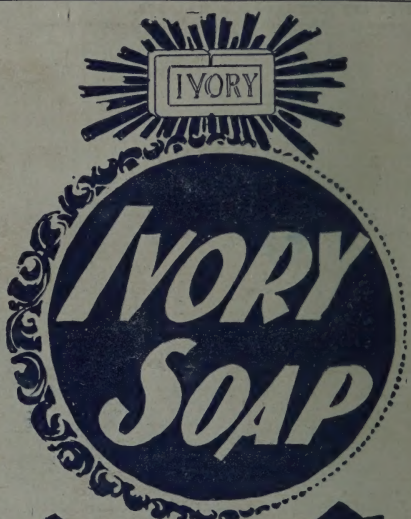

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